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A DETECTION OF THE Court and State OF ENGLAND,

During the

REIGNS of K. JAMES I. CHARLES I. CHARLES II. and JAMES II. As alſo the INTER-REGNUM.

Conſiſting of

PRIVATE MEMOIRS, &c. with Obſervations and Reflections.

Wherein are many SECRETS never before made *publick*: As alſo, a more *impartial* Account of the CIVIL WARS in *England*, than has yet been given.

By *ROGER COKE*, Eſq;

The FOURTH EDITION. Continued thro' the Reigns of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, and to the Death of Queen ANNE.

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A

DETECTION

OF

AFFAIRS

During the

INTER-REGNUM:

OR,

In the INTERVAL between the Death of King *Charles* I. and the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of the Adminiſtration of Affairs by the Rump-Parliament.

FAITH, Truth and Piety, are rarely found in Men who follow Camps. The Army, who in their Remonſtrance would have the Parliament diſſolved, and another called which might ſettle the Nation; now they had got the *Rump* to be their Head, whereby they may ſhare the Church, Crown-Lands, and Delin-

quents Eſtates among themſelves, regard neither Parliament nor Nation; and ſure never was there ſuch a Generation, who ſo impudently out-braved Truth, and all that may be call'd Sacred. If you could force a Belief into them, they firſt told you they fought for King and Parliament; then they declared for the King and People againſt the Parliament; and now they have taken off the King, if you will have any Benefit of their Protection, you muſt engage to their Government, without King or Houſe of Lords, and be content with a piece of the Commons call'd the *Rump*.

Monarchy aboliſh'd. Not content with the Death of the King, the *Rump* proceeds to aboliſh Monarchy, and place the original Power of Government in the People, whoſe Repreſentatives they are, if you'll take their Word; and voted it High Treaſon to reſtore Monarchy, or to aſſiſt, or pray for *Charles Stewart*, or any of that Line; and overthrow the King's Statue, with an *Exit tyrannus Regnum ultimus*. Nor are they ſatiated with the Blood of the King, but erect another High Court of Injuſtice, whereof one *Liſle*, an ignorant Fellow, was Preſident; who condemns the Duke of *Hamilton*, Earl of *Holland*, and Lord *Capel*, for raiſing Arms againſt the Parliament, which themſelves had deſtroy'd.

But tho' the *Rump* and *Army* were eſtabliſh'd upon theſe ſtrange Principles, yet being the Inſtruments of Divine Vengeance, like a Torrent broke looſe from raging Seas, in leſs than five Years time they overwhelm not only *England*, but *Ireland* and *Scotland*, almoſt pull'd the *Dutch States* up by the Roots, and made *France* and *Spain* tremble. But that we may obſerve what follow'd, let's ſee what went before.

A re-capitulation of ſome new Troubles. The *Scots* were the firſt who invaded *England* againſt the King, to impoſe their *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, which was more againſt the *Engliſh* Laws and Conſtitutions than *Laud's* Service Books, Canons and High-Commiſſion, were againſt the *Scotiſh*. In *July* laſt the *Scots* invaded *England*, commanded by the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*; in *Auguſt*, *Cromwel* routs, and utterly overthrows this Army, and takes *Hamilton* Priſoner;

Priſoner; So the *Scots* who began theſe Wars firſt, are the firſt chaſtiſed by the *Engliſh* Army. But this is but the earneſt of what ſhall follow.

The ſecluded Members who firſt join'd the *Scots*, beginning firſt with an equivocal Proteſtation, but afterwards down right join'd with the *Scots* in their Covenant, are now not only turn'd out of the Houſe by the *Rump*, but kept in naſty Priſons, till they become as little dangerous as *The Houſe of Lords*.

The horrid *Iriſh* Maſſacre and Rebellion ſucceeded in the third place: And now the *Rump* having eſtabliſhed themſelves, by ſubduing of the *Scots* under *Hamilton*, and depoſing the ſecluded Members, are laying Rods in Piſs to ſcourge theſe abominable *Iriſh*. But before we proceed, let's ſee how things ſtood in *Ireland*.

In *October* 1641. the *Iriſh* Maſſacre was, which ſucceeded in a Rebellion, in which *Richlieu*'s Scarlet was to be deep dyed, as in the *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* Commotions. The Head of this accurſed Crew was *John Baptiſta Pennuncio*, the Pope's Nuncio, who in his Paſſage through *France* threatned he would ſuffer no Man to live in *Ireland* that wiſhed well to the King, or to the *Engliſh* Affairs. Thus you ſee how all the Factions conſpired againſt the King, the Laws and Conſtitutions of *England*: But for theſe laſt ſeven Years, viz. ſo long as the Diſtractions were continued in *England*, the War was purſued but by halves in *Ireland*.

King *Charles* in his Life-time, had made the Marqueſs of *Ormond* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who in 1643 made a Truce with the *Iriſh*, that the King might make uſe of the *Engliſh* in *England*: But the *Iriſh* kept their Faith no better in it, than the *Scots* had before with the King in the Peace of 1639. For on a ſudden they riſe againſt the Marqueſs (now the *Engliſh* are ſent into *England*) and had ſurpriz'd him, if he had not been inform'd before, and eſcaped into *Dublin*: And being in no condition to defend it, but obliged to deliver it up, either to the *Engliſh* ſent by the Parliament, or to the *Iriſh*, he gave it up to the *Engliſh*, who make Colonel *Jones* Governor; and ſo *Ormond* leaves *Ireland*.

After the Marqueſs was withdrawn, thee Nuncio behaved himſelf with ſuch a Deſpotick Tyranny, that he became intolerable, even to the *Iriſh* themſelves; who being preſs'd by *Jones*, *Coot*, and *Monk*, combine in a Body, and ſend to the Queen and to the Prince of *Wales*, to return the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, and they would ſubmit to his Authority, and join to expel the *Scots* and Parliament's Forces. The Nuncio taking this for an Affront to his Authority (being that of the Apoſtolick See, which is infallible) threatens Excommunication to them who ſhould not obey him; but neither he, nor his Excommunication, were obey'd, but was forc'd to Capitulate with the *Iriſh* themſelves to procure his Departure, which was as ſhameful, as his Entrance was proud and inſolent.

Upon the Marqueſs's Return, he enter'd into moſt diſhonourable Articles with the *Iriſh*; which yet would not pleaſe *Owen Ro Oneal*, who join'd with the Parliament's Forces, and reliev'd *Londonderry*, then beſieg'd by the Lord *Ards*.

After this Pacification with the *Iriſh*, ſuch as it was, *Ormond* raiſes a numerous Army, and by my Lord *Inchiqueen*, routs a Party of *Jones*'s going to *Drogheda*, who takes the Town, and *Dundalk*, *Green-Caſtle*, *Newry* and *Trim*, and returns Victorious to the Marqueſs. Hereupon the Marqueſs beſieges *Dublin*, but unfortunately ſends my Lord *Inchiqueen* into *Munſter*, with, if not the greateſt, the beſt part of the Army; *Jones* falls upon the remainder, and utterly routs them: This was in *Auguſt* 1649. And the ſame Month *Cromwel* lands at *Dublin*, with an Army of 15000 old Soldiers.

Upon this Diſaſter, the *Iriſh*, no more to be reconciled to the *Engliſh*, than the *Scots* Covenant to Epiſcopacy, quarrel with the Marqueſs; which was never after compoſed: So the Marqueſs left *Ireland* again, leaving the Earl of *Clanricard* Deputy.

Cromwel reduced Ireland.

Cromwel, after his landing, firſt ſtorms *Drogheda*, or *Tredah*, with a moſt terrible Execution; and after, in leſs than one Year, all *Ireland*, upon the matter, is reduc'd to the *Rump*; who take dreadful Vengeance upon

upon all the *Iriſh* who could be found to have had any hand in the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh*.

The King, *Charles* II, having loſt *England* and *Ireland*, with all their Dependencies, except the Iſles of *Guernſey*, *Jerſey*, *Man* and *Scilly*, and the Plantations in *America*, which ſhall ſoon follow, ſet up for *Scotland*, and makes the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* his Commiſſioner; who having got together about 400 *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Poles*, and *Germans*, lands them at the *Wick* of of *Cathneſs* in *April* 1650, and takes *Dumbeath*: But *Leſly* having ſent Major-General *Straughan*, with 300 choice Horſe, he ſet upon this ill compos'd Body of *Montroſs*, and utterly routs them: *Montroſs* fled, but was betrayed by the Laird of *Aſton*, who had formerly ſerved him.

Marqueſs of Montroſs's Misfortunes.

The Covenanters, to ſhew their Clemency and Humility, bind the Marqueſs in a Chair planted backwards in a Cart, that all Men might ſee him, the Hangman, with his Hat on, riding before; and upon the 28th of *May* 1650, by a Sentence pronounced the Day before by the Lord *Lowden*, was hang'd upon a Gibbet 30 Foot high, at the Croſs of *Edinburg*, for three Hours: after which, he was quarter'd, and his Head ſet upon the *Tolbooth*, and his Legs and Arms over the Gates of *Sterlin*, *Glaſgow*, *Dundee* and *Aberdeen*. But ſee the Piety and Commiſeration of theſe humble People! They order, in the Sentence, that if he repented, ſo that his Excommunication ſhould be taken off, the Trunk of his Body ſhould be buried in the *Grey-Friars*; otherwiſe, in the *Burrough-Moor*, the common Burial of Malefactors. But Vengeance ſhall ſoon overtake theſe cruel Proceedings.

Romeo Argyle

For the Kirk, ſore afflicted for their depoſed Brethren in *England*, now in naſty Priſons, whereby Hereſy, Schiſm, and Profaneneſs raged, and the Throne of Presbytery was defaced, but being unable of themſelves to reſtore their Brethren, before *Montroſs*'s Death, had agreed to have the King proclaimed King of *Scotland*, *England*, *France* and *Ireland*; yet ſo as to take the Solemn League and Covenant, to give Signs of Sorrow and Repentance for his Father and Mother's Sins, and baniſh and turn out

of his Court all who had not taken the Covenant, or taken up Arms for his Father. But the Kirk could not have found a Plant ſo unlikely to produce the Fruit of Repentance, or to eſtabliſh the Throne of Presbytery, as this King. However, they'll try what's to be done; and to this end, ſend Commiſſioners to treat with the King at *Jerſey*, not yet reduc'd by the *Rump*: and a Treaty is agreed to, to be at *Breda* in *Holland*.

Charles II. in Scotland.

The King was perplex'd what to do; but to be a King in Fact, he deſired above all things, ſo as a Man does for a Wife, he forſakes Father, Mother, and dearly beloved Friends, and comes to *Breda*: there the News comes of *Montroſs*'s tragical Defeat and Execution, which had like to have ſpoil'd all; but over Shoes, over Boots; on he goes, having ſubmitted to all the rigid Terms the Kirk-men impoſed upon him, and in *June* 1650, arrives in *Scotland*, to be anew inſtructed in the Diſcipline of the Kirk.

The *Rump* in the mean while were not idle, for having ſpued up Presbytery in *England*, they ſcorn'd to chew the Cud of it from *Scotland*: and therefore *Fairfax* having refuſed to command an Army againſt the *Scots*, they ſend for *Cromwel* out of *Ireland*, by this time as good as reduc'd by him, and declar'd him General of all the Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; who, about the latter end of *June* 1650, enters *Scotland*, with a well diſciplin'd rather than a numerous Army: and having taken many Places of ſmall moment, and often beat the *Scots* in Skirmiſhes, upon the 3d of *September* utterly overthrows the much more numerous Kirk-Army at *Dunbar*, commanded by their old General *Leſley*, 3000 *Scots* being killed, 9000 taken Priſoners, with all their Baggage and Ammunition, and above 200 Colours, which, as Trophies, were hung up in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the *Engliſh* and *Scots* had before taken ſuch Pains and Care to unite both Nations in the Solemn League and Covenant.

Battle of Dunbar.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Kirk at *Edinburg* were cloſe at their Devotion, hourly expecting the Feet of thoſe who ſhould bring the glad Tidings which

which were at hand; when *Leſley*, the ſame Day, brings Tidings of their utter Overthrow. Now was all their Joy turn'd to Lamentation and Wo, and the Songs of *Sion* are like to be ſung in a ſtrange Land.

To augment theſe Miſeries, the King, who could not ſubmit to the rigid Diſcipline of the Kirk, runs from *Schone* to the Houſe of the Lord *Dippon*, intending for the *Highlands*, where he might go to School with more Liberty. Now all is in a Hurlyburley. After the King runs *Montgomery* from the Kirk, promiſing the King, if he would return, the Kirk would remit part of ther Diſcipline: upon which, the King returned to St. *Johnſton's*.

Whilſt theſe things were thus doing in *Scotland*, lets ſee what was agitating in *England*: In *January* this Year the *Rump* erected a High Court of Juſtice, whereof one *Keeble*, an ignorant Petty-fogging Lawyer, was Preſident in *Norfolk*, upon pretence of an intended Inſurrection for bringing in of the King, where 24 were condemned, and 20 executed: one Mr. *Hobbard*, Brother or near Kinſman to Sir *John Hobbard*, who after married *Cromwel's* Niece, and Widow of Col. *Hammond*, was one that was ſaved. And in *March* following the *Rump* erected another High Court of Juſtice, which condemn'd Sir *Henry Hide* for taking the King's Commiſſion to be his Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*.

The Kirk Party now loſe their Reputation; they had nothing left but to Preach and Pray, and rail: and now the Parliament and General Aſſembly take in all who will take the Covenant, but all to no purpoſe.

For *Cromwel* having taken *Edinburg* Town and Caſtle, *Jedworth*, *Reſlan* and *Tantallon* Caſtles, ſends *Overton* and *Lambert*, with Boats over the *Frith*, who rout Sir *John Brown*, and Major General *Holborn*, kill 2000 of their Men, and take 1200 Priſoners, and *Brown* himſelf, with 42 Colours. Cromwel's *Succeſs in* Scotland.

Now, tho' *Scotland* were a cold Climate, 'twas too hot to hold the King and his Army, and therefore with them he ſlips into *England*, by the way of *Carliſle*, leaving the Kirk in Lamentations and Woes, that

that Hereſy and Schiſm had overſpread the Beauty of Holineſs, now Prophaneneſs and Superſtition had left it.

Harriſon and *Lambert* followed the King, and *Cromwel* ſoon after, who at *Worceſter* (that Day Twelve Month after he had routed the *Scots* at *Dunbar*) utterly again routs the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, kills 3550, with Duke *Hamilton* and General *Forbes*, and takes 5000 Priſoners, with the Earls of *Rothes*, *Karnwarth*, *Kelly*, the Lord *Sinclare* and *Montgomery*, General of the Ordnance; and ſoon after, *David Leſley* is routed by *Lilburn*, and taken Priſoner, with *Lauderdale*. (who held Correſpondence in *England* with the Covenanting *Scots*) and the Lords *Kenmore* and *Middleton*: Yet the King by a Miracle eſcaped, to be reſtored.

But the ſame Fate did not attend the Noble Earl of *Derby*, who coming out of the Iſle of *Man*, with about 250 Foot, and 60 Horſe, to have aſſiſted the King, which he joined with about 1200 raiſed Men in *Lancaſhire*, was ſet upon by Col. *Lilburn* (*John*'s elder Brother) and routed the 29th of *Auguſt*, where the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Thomas Tidderſly*, Col. *Boynton*, Sir *Francis Gamul*, Major *Trollop*, Sir *William Throgmorton*, Col. *Leg*, Col. *Ratcliff*, and Col. *Gerrard*, with ſome others, were taken Priſoners; but the Earl, tho' wounded, eſcaped to the King at *Worceſter*: but it was his hard Fortune to be afterwards taken, and tried by a Court Martial upon the 6th of *Octobor*, which conſiſted of 20 Officers and Captains, five Colonels, Maj. General *Milton*, and Col. *Mackworth* Preſident, at *Cheſter*; and upon the 22d was beheaded.

When *Cromwel* came into *England*, he left *Monk* to command in *Scotland*, who beſieges and takes *Sterlin* Caſtle by Surrender, with all the Guns, Ammunition and Arms, Money, Jewels, and the Regiſters tranſferred from *Edinburg* thither, and quite defaced the lofty Inſcription:

Nobis hæc invicta dedere
Centum ſex Proavi

About this time old General *Leſley* was raiſing an Army in *Perthſhire*. *Monk* ſends *Morgan* and *Alured* to prevent it; who ſurpriz'd them, and take *Leſley*, he

the Earls of *Crawford* and *Lindſey*, the Lord *Ogilby*, and many other Priſoners: and after take *Dunfrize*.

At this time *Monk* beſieges and takes *Dundee* by Storm, with as terrible an Execution, as *Cromwel* the Year before had done at *Tredah*: Here it was, and at *Sterlin* Caſtle, the *Scots* had lodged all their Plunder and Money they had got in *England*, which was ſo plentiful, that the *Engliſh* common Soldiers ſhared Money by Hatfuls. The terror of this Succeſs frighted *Aberdeen*, and all the other Towns in *Scotland* into Obedience; nor did it ſtay here, but all the Iſles of *Orcades* and *Shetland* ſubmitted; which neither *Roman* nor *Engliſh* Force could ever accompliſh.

Now the Kirk Party are all in Yelling and Woes, Hereſy and Schiſm had overſpread the beauteous Diſcipline of Reformation: Now they cannot perſecute other Men, they exclaim and cry out they are perſecuted themſelves: Their Nobles (except *Argile*) which were not killed, are committed to Priſon, that they might ſhare in the Tribulations, as well as Triumphs of their Brethren in *England*.

But the Tribulations of the *Covenanting Party* did not end in Impriſonment only, but extended to Life; for upon the 22d of *Auguſt*, *Love* and *Gibbons* (two moſt zealous *Covenanters*) were executed by a Judgment of a High Court of Juſtice (as 'twas called) for holding Intelligence with their Brethren in *Scotland*; ſo that this High-Juſtice, or *Summun Jus*, reached the *Covenanters* as well as the *Royaliſts*.

Now the *Rump* change the Fabrick of the *Scotiſh* Government, and make Itinerant Judges, part *Scots* part *Engliſh*, and make a Council of State of that medly; yet allow them 30 Commiſſioners to ſit and vote in their Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; ſo that tho' the Crown of *Scotland* were independent upon the Crown of *England*, yet *Scotland*, as well as *Ireland* and *England*, muſt depend upon the *Rump*: And that the *Scots* may be the more tamely ridden, they are denied Arms, and even Horſes, unleſs on neceſſary Occaſions.

The-

Worceſter Battle. The Victory at *Worceſter* ſwell'd the Sails of *Cromwel's* Ambition brim full, ſo that he began to entertain Thoughts of ſetting up himſelf; yet, being a tickliſh Point, wherein he was ſure to be oppoſed by the Factions as well as Royaliſts, upon the 10th of *December* he called a Meeting of divers Members of the Houſe, and ſome of the Principal Officers of the Army, and propoſed to them, *That now the old King being dead, and his Son defeated, he held it neceſſary to come to a Settlement of the Nation; and that he requeſted this Meeting, that they might conſider and adviſe what was fit to be done, and to preſent it to the Parliament:* So much eaſier is it to deſtroy a Government, than to erect another. However we'll give the Account of theſe Men's Opinions *verbatim.*

Cromwel confers about a Settlement.

Lenthal. *My Lord* (who made him ſo?) *This Company were very ready to attend your Excellency, and the Buſineſs you have pleaſed to propound to us is very neceſſary to be conſidered: God hath given marvellous Succeſs to our Forces under your Command, and if we do not improve theſe Mercies* (Blood, Rapine and Murder) *to ſome Settlement, ſuch as may be to God's Honour and the Good of the Commonwealth, we ſhall be very much blame-worthy.*

Harriſon. *I think that which my Lord General hath propounded as to a Settlement both of our Civil and Spiritual Liberties, and ſo that the Mercies which the Lord hath given it to us, may not be caſt away; how this may be done is the great Queſtion.*

Whitlock. *It is a great Queſtion indeed, and not ſuddenly to be reſolved; yet it were pity, that a Meeting of ſo many able and worthy Perſons, as I ſee here, ſhould be fruitleſs; and I will humbly offer in the firſt place, whether it be not requiſite to be underſtood in what way this Settlement is deſired, whether by an abſolute Republick, or with any mixture of Monarchy.*

Cromwel. *My Lord Commiſſioner* Whitlock *hath put us upon the right Point, and indeed it is my meaning, that we ſhould conſider whether a Republick, or a mix'd Monarchical Government, will be beſt ſettled; and if any thing Monarchical, then in whom that Power ſhall be placed.*

Sir Tho. Widdrington. *I think a mix'd Monarchical Government will be moſt ſuitable to the Laws and People of this Nation; and if any Monarchical, I ſuppoſe we ſhall hold*

hold it moſt juſt to place that Power in one of the Sons of the late King.

Fleetwood. *I think that Queſtion, whether an abſolute Republick, or a mix'd Monarchy be beſt to be ſettled in this Nation, will not very eaſily be determined.*

L. C. J. St. John. *It will be found that the Government of this Nation, without ſomething of Monarchical Power, will be very difficult to be ſettled, as not to ſhake the Foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties of the People.*

Lenthal. *It will breed a ſtrange Confuſion, to ſettle a Government of this Nation without ſomething of Monarchy.*

Desborough. *I beſeech you, my Lord, why may not this as well as other Nations be govern'd by a Republick?*

Whitlock. *The Laws of* England *are ſo interwoven with the Power and Practice of Monarchy, that to ſettle a Government without ſomething of Monarchy in it, would breed ſo great an Alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, that you will ſcarce find time to rectify; nor can we well foreſee the Inconveniencies which will ariſe thereby.*

Whaley. *I do not underſtand Matters of Law, but it ſeems to me the beſt way, not to have any thing of Monarchical Power in the Settlement of our Government; and if we ſhould reſolve upon any, whom ſhall we pitch upon? The King's eldeſt Son hath been in Arms againſt us, and his ſecond Son is our Enemy.*

Widdrington. *But the late King's third Son, the Duke of* Gloceſter, *is ſtill among us, and too young to have been in Arms againſt us, or infected with the Principles of our Enemies.*

Whitlock. *There may be a Day given for the King's eldeſt Son, or for the Duke of* York *his Brother, to come in to the Parliament, and upon ſuch Terms as ſhall be thought fit and agreeable, both to our Civil and Spiritual Liberties, and a Settlement may be made upon them.*

Cromwel. *This will be a Buſineſs of more than ordinary Difficulty; but really* (a Word much uſed by him) *I think, if it may be done with Safety, and Preſervation of our Rights, both as* Engliſhmen, *and as Chriſtians, that a Settlement of ſomewhat of Monarchical Power would be effectual.*

So that the Soldiers were for a Republick, except *Fleetwood*, who knew not what to ſay; the Lawyers for

for a mix'd Monarchy, and many for the Duke of *Gloceſter* to be King; but then *Cromwel*, (deſigning for himſelf) ſtill put off the Debate to ſome other Point; ſo the Company part without any Reſult at all: yet *Cromwel* diſcovered by this Meeting the Inclinations of the Perſons which ſpake, for which he fiſhed, and made uſe of what he thus diſcerned.

In *October*, this Year, *Haines* reduced *Jerſey* to the *Rump*'s obedience; and in *January*, *Barbadoes* was ſurrender'd to *Askew*, ſent thither by the *Rump*; and in this Month, an *Engliſh* Man of War meeting with ſome *Dutch* Fiſhermen, demanded the tenth Herring, as a Duty for their Fiſhing in theſe Seas; which the *Dutch* denying, the *Engliſh* ſunk one of their Ships, and all the Men were loſt, and here began the firſt Quarrel between the *Rump* and *Dutch*.

The *Rump* thus every where victorious at Home, yet it may be, fearing they had diſguſted all Chriſtian Princes by the Death of the King (and already the *Czar* of *Muſcovy* had revoked all the Privileges of Trade which had been granted to the *Engliſh* in the Reigns of Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*) upon the 11th of *March* ſent the Chief Juſtice St. *John* and Mr. *Strickland* to treat of a Coalition with the *Dutch*; and if this could be obtain'd, both Republicks being incomparably ſuperior to all the Kings in the World by Sea, they need not fear any Enemies abroad.

But the *Dutch* fearing this Coalition with *England*, (where the Harbours for Shipping are more, and much better than thoſe in *Holland*) would rob them of the Trades they were poſſeſſed of, and that their rich Merchants would be tempted to lay out their Monies upon real Securities in *England*, rather than to venture them in the contingent Accidents of Trade, not only refuſed to enter into a Coalition, but rudely treated *St. John*; whoſe haughty Spirit ill brooking ſuch Affronts, made a Report of his Embaſſy, little to the *Dutch* Advantage.

Rump *and* Dutch *quarrel.*

Hereupon the *Rump* made the Act of Navigation, deſigning thereby to have, in a great meaſure, leſſened the *Dutch* Trade, and encreaſed the *Engliſh*; tho' both ſucceed quite contrary: Yet the *Engliſh*, by virtue of this Law, took occaſion to ſearch the *Dutch* Veſſels,

Veſſels, and often to make Prize of them; whereupon the *Dutch* ſent over four Ambaſſadors to pacify the *Rump*, who, upon their firſt Audience, upon the 5th of *April*, demand the Arrears for the *Dutch* Fiſhing upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*; that the Survivors of the *Dutch*, aſſiſting in the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, ſhould be given up to Juſtice; and a free Trade up the *Scheld*.

The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors were ſurprized at theſe Demands, yet ſtill continued to make great Proteſtations of their Love and Affection to the Commonwealth of *England*; but privately gave the States an Account how little was to be expected from the *Rump* by a Treaty. Hereupon the *Dutch* prepare for a War, nor was the *Rump* herein behind hand with them.

The *Dutch* in *May* ſet out a Fleet of Men of War, commanded by *Van Trump*, pretending for the Security of Trade, but with Inſtructions not to ſtrike Sail to the *Engliſh* Flag; and upon the 17th of *May* came into *Dover* Rode to Anchor, as if he defied what the *Engliſh* could do to him.

Blake, the *Engliſh* Admiral, had but 15 Men of War, yet reſolved to have an Account of *Trump* what he had to do in *Dover* Road, and ſailed directly to him: hereupon *Trump* ſtood to the Eaſt-ward, and by that means being become headmoſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet, bore directly upon them; and being come within Muſquet-ſhot of the *Engliſh*, *Blake* gave Orders to fire at *Trump's* Flag, which was done thrice, but inſtead of ſtriking it, *Trump* poured a Broad-ſide upon *Blake*, and Major *Bourn* at this time coming to *Blake's* Aſſiſtance with 8 Men of War, both Fleets engaged from four in the Afternoon till Night, wherein there were not leſs than 2000 Shot exchanged upon one and the other ſide; and the *Dutch* had one Man of War taken and another ſunk, and 150 Men ſlain: but the *Engliſh* had not one Ship loſt or diſabled, and very few Men killed. This Fight was the 19th of *May*. *Van Trump*, in the Night, drew his Ships on the Back of the *Goodwin* Sands, and next Morning ſailed back to *Zealand*, inſtead of ſecuring the *Dutch* Trade. *Firſt Sea Fight with the* Dutch.

Here-

Hereupon the *Rump* ſet a Guard upon the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Chelſey*; but tho' the *Engliſh* Fleet in the Fight received little Damage, yet that of the *Dutch* was ſo batter'd, as made it unfit to fight. About this time *Virginia* ſubmitted to the *Rump*, but not *New-England*, nor ever after did that I can find.

Dutch excuſe it. The *Dutch* thus balk'd in their Expectation of great things to be done by *Van Trump*, and finding the contrary Succeſs, ſent a Paper to their Ambaſſadors which was preſented to the Council of State the 20th of *June*, therein *taking God the Searcher of all Hearts to witneſs, the moſt unhappy fight of the Ships of both Commonwealths, did happen againſt the Knowledge and Will of the Lords States-General of the United* Netherlands, *and that with Grief and Aſtoniſhment they received the fatal News of that unhappy raſh Action.* A likely matter, as if *Van Trump* ſhould dare to do ſuch an Action without their Order, and they not puniſh him for it.

That they did conſult and endeavour to find out what Remedy chiefly may be applied to mitigate that raw and bloody Wound, and to that end had written to gather a ſolemn Meeting of Parliament, or all the Provinces, whereby they doubt not but a help may be found for theſe Troubles, and a better hope of our Treaty in hand for the common good of both Nations, to ſhun the deteſtable ſhedding of Chriſtian Blood (ſo much deſired, and would be dearly bought by the common Enemies of both Nations.) We again crave this moſt Honourable Council, and beſeech you by the Pledges both of common Religion and Liberty (Terms unuſual in the High and Mighty States, and never uſed by them to any King ſince the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*) *mean while to ſuffer nothing to be done out of too much Heat, that afterwards may prove neither revocable nor repairable, but too late Vows and Wiſhes; but rather that you would let us receive a kind Anſwer without farther Delay, upon our laſt Requeſt.*

To this Cant, wherein God's ſacred Name is expoſed to cover *Dutch* Hypocriſy, the *Rump* gave this Rump's Anſwer. Anſwer: *That calling to mind with what continued Demonſtrations of Friendſhip and Affection, from the beginning of their Inteſtine Troubles, they have proceeded with their*

Neighbours

Neighbours of the United Provinces, *they do find themſelves much ſurprized with the unſuitable returns they have made thereunto, and eſpecially at the Acts of Hoſtility lately committed in the very Roads of* England *upon the Fleet of this Commonwealth, the matter of Fact whereof ſtated in clear Proofs, is hereto annexed: Upon ſerious Conſideration of all, and of the ſeveral Papers delivered by your Excellencies to the Council of State, the Parliament thinks fit to give this Anſwer.* A.D. 1652.

As they are willing to make a Charitable Conſtruction of the Expreſſions uſed in theſe Papers, endeavouring to repreſent the late Engagements of the Fleets without their Knowledge and againſt the Minds of their Superiors; ſo when they conſider how diſagreeable to that Profeſſion, the Reſolution and Actions of your State, and of your Miniſters at Sea, have been, even in the midſt of a Treaty offered by themſelves, and managed by your Excellencies, by the extraordinary Preparations of 150 Sail of Men of War, without any viſible occaſion, but what does now appear a juſt ground of Jealouſy in your own Judgments, when your Lordſhips pretended to excuſe it, and the Inſtructions themſelves given by your Superiors to their Commanders at Sea, they do find too much cauſe to believe that the Lords States of the United Provinces *have an Intention by force to uſurp the known Rights of* England *in the Seas, to deſtroy the Fleets that are, under God, their Walls and Bulwarks, and thereby to expoſe this Commonwealth to Invaſion, as by this late Action they attempted to do.*

Whereupon the Parliament conceive they are obliged to endeavour, with God's Aſſiſtance, as they have opportunity, to ſeek Reparation of the Wrong already ſuffer'd, and Security that the like be not attempted for the future.

Nevertheleſs, with this Mind and Deſire, that all Differences between the two Nations may (if poſſible) be peaceably and friendly compoſed, as God by his Providence ſhall open a way thereunto, and Circumſtances ſhall be conducing to render ſuch Endeavours leſs dilatory, and more effectual than thoſe of this kind have hitherto yet been.

This was the 10th of *June*, and on the 12th, the Captains *Peacock* and *Taylor*, fought with two *Dutch* Men of War on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, for refuſing to ſtrike their Top-ſail; and after a ſhort Diſpute, the *Engliſh* took one of them, with all their Officers and

*A.D.*1652. Mariners, but ſhe was ſo torn ſhe preſently ſunk, and they run the other upon the Sands to avoid being taken. Upon the 13*th* *Blake* took 26 Sail of *Dutch* Merchant-Men near the *Downs*, and three Men of War, and upon the 29*th* the *Rump* paſſed theſe Votes. 1. *That the* Lords States *do pay to this Commonwealth the Charges and Damages they have ſuſtained by their Attempts.* 2. *That upon Payment or ſecuring thereof, there ſhall be a Ceſſation, and their Ships and Goods releaſed.* 3. *This being aſſented to and put in Execution, the Security for the time to come, to be a firm Amity and Intereſt of the two States for the good of both.*

Hereupon the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors the next Day demanded Audience of Leave to depart, which was granted; but the *Rump* would not recede from *demanding Satisfaction for all their Damages.*

The *Dutch* foreſeeing a War would neceſſarily follow, enter into a Confederacy with the King of *Denmark* againſt the *Engliſh*.

About the beginning of *July*, *Blake* with a gallant Fleet went Northwards, and left *Askue* to command the reſt in the *Downs*, who took five *Dutch* Merchant-Men, and *Blake* in his Paſſage took two Men of War, and two Merchant-Men; and within a Day or two after, Sir *George* met forty *Dutch* Ships, took ſeven of them, burnt four, and run twenty four on Ground upon the *French* Shore.

Upon the 24*th* *Blake* took one hundred of the *Dutch* Fiſhing Buſſes, and in them fifteen hundred Priſoners: and about the laſt of *July* fell upon the *Dutch* Convoy for their Fiſhery in the Northern Seas, conſiſting of twelve Men of War, and ſunk three, and took the other nine, with all the *Dutch* Buſſes, unloaded all their Fiſh, and ſent their Fiſhermen home; and *Blake* alſo took three of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Men richly laden. In theſe Actions *Blake* had but eight Men of War.

Another Engagement. Upon the 20*th* of *Auguſt*, *Askue* with thirty eight Sail of Men of War ſet upon the *Dutch* Fleet of fifty Sail, and fifteen Merchant Men near *Plimouth*; the Fight laſted three Days, and the *Dutch* loſt two Ships, one ſunk, the other burnt, the *Engliſh* none. The *Dutch* retir'd to the Coaſt of *France*, and

and Sir *George* follow'd them, and ſunk the *Dutch* Admiral, and loſt but one Fire-ſhip. A.D. 1652.

At this time there was no Peace between the *Engliſh* and *French*; and the *Spaniards* having beſieged *Dunkirk*, the *French* ſet out a Fleet under the Duke of *Vendoſme* to relieve it: This Fleet was ſet upon by *Blake* in the *Downs*, who had then but ſeven Men of War with him, whereof the *Soveraign* was one; and upon the 6th of *September*, *Blake* engaged the whole *French* Fleet, took ſeven of their Men of War, and diſperſed the reſt; whereupon *Dunkirk*, and after *Gravelin* ſubmitted to the *Spaniard*.

Van Trump upon his Misfortune having laid down his Commiſſion, his Command was given to *De Wit*; and the King of *Denmark* having made a League with the *Dutch* againſt the *Engliſh*, ſeized all the *Engliſh* Ships and their Effects within the *Sound* or *Zundt*, and joined five Men of War with the *Dutch*.

But the Succeſs of the *Engliſh* Fleet in theſe Seas was not anſwered in the *Levant*; for *Bodiloe* with five or ſix *Engliſh* Frigats, was ſet upon by *Van Galen*, Admiral of the *Dutch* in thoſe Seas, about the latter end of *September*, with ſixteen *Dutch* Men of War, in which Encounter the *Phœnix* was taken by the *Dutch*, and the *Engliſh* forced to retire under the Protection of the Port of *Leghorn*: but *Van Galen* bought this Victory with the loſs of his Life; and upon the 20th of *November* following, Captain *Cox* with two Boats of brave *Engliſh* in the Port of *Leghorn*, boarded her and brought her off, and young *Van Trump* was forced to ſkip into the Water, to ſave his Life, or being taken Priſoner.

De Wit had ſmall Joy of his Employment, having *De Ruiter* joined in Commiſſion with him; for having fitted out as great a Fleet as the *Dutch* could put out, they took up their Station in *October* on the ſide of the *North-Foreland* upon the *Kentiſh* Coaſt.

Blake having been on the Weſtern Coaſt, and taken five *Dutch Weſt-India* Ships, and ſix *Straits* Ships, valued at 200000 *l.* haſtned with his Fleet towards the *Dutch*, and divided it into three Squadrons, one commanded by himſelf, another by Vice-Admiral *Penn*, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourn*; and

upon

A.D. 1652. upon the 28*th* of *October* engaged the *Dutch* Fleet, near the *North-Foreland*, boarded and took their Rear-Admiral, ſunk two more of them, and one was blown up; and the reſt of the *Dutch* Fleet was ſo ſhatter'd that it was forced to fly, and was purſued by the *Engliſh* twelve Leagues: the *Engliſh* loſt not one Ship, though many of them were diſabled in their Rigging.

Van Trump thus laid aſide, the ill Succeſs of *De Wit* and *Ruiter* put the *States* to their Trumps what to do; when the King of *Denmark*, fearing to be called to a ſevere Account by the *Rump* for his ſeizing the *Engliſh* Ships in the *Sound*, in caſe the Rump prevail'd over the *Dutch*, ſent a Meſſage to them, proffering to aſſiſt them with twenty Sail of Men of War, if they would re-eſtabliſh *Van Trump* again in his Command, which the *Dutch* did, and uſed all poſſible Induſtry to fit out another Fleet, and having got eighty Sail of Men of War, and ten Fire-ſhips, ſailed directly to the *Downs*, where *Blake* lay with about forty; and upon the 29*th* of *November* a furious Fight was between them, which laſted from ten in the Morning till ſix at Night: When the *Dutch* Fleet, double in Number to the *Engliſh*, prevailed, took the *Garland* Frigat, burnt the *Bonadventure*, and ſunk three more: on the *Dutch* ſide, one of their Flag-ſhips was blown up, and all the Soldiers and Mariners were loſt but two, and *Van Trump*'s and *De Ruiter*'s Ships much damag'd; and if the Night had not favoured the *Engliſh*, the whole Fleet would have been in danger to be loſt.

After the Fight *Van Trump* ſailed to the Weſtward, to convoy home the *Dutch-French* Fleets; and now the *Dutch* were ſo elated by their Victory, that they talk'd of nothing but blocking up the River of *Thames*, and forcing the *Engliſh* to a Peace, but they were miſtaken in their Meaſures.

The *Rump*, with incredible Diligence and Conduct, repaired their ſhatter'd Fleet, and fitted up another, to the Amazement of the *Dutch*, commanded by *Blake*, *Dean* and *Monk*; and upon the 8*th* of *February* ſet Sail from *Queenborough* with ſixty Men of War,

War, from whence they ſailed to *Portſmouth*, where they were joined with twenty Men of War more, and from thence ſailed over againſt *Portland*, half Seas over, to call *Trump* to an Account for paſſing the Channel without the *Rump*'s leave: and upon the 18*th* of *February* the Southern Ships of the *Engliſh* Fleet deſcried the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy ſix Men of War, which had the Charge of convoying thirty Merchant Ships. *Blake* and *Dean* were in the *Triumph*, and with twelve Sail more engaged the Groſs of the *Dutch* Fleet; and the *Triumph* having received 700 Cannon-ſhot in her Hull, was bravely relieved by *Lawſon* (the reſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet being not able to come up.) *A.D.* 1652.

But when the reſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet came, a moſt furious Fight ſucceeded, wherein the *Dutch* had ſix Men of War taken and ſunk, whereof one was a Flag-ſhip; but the *Engliſh* loſt not one Ship. The next Day after in the Morning, the *Dutch* Fleet was diſcerned ſeven Leagues off *Weymouth*, whither the *Engliſh* ply'd, and in the Afternoon engaged them with the like Fury they did the Day before: *Trump* put his Merchant-Men before him, and after the firſt Shock, fought retreating towards the Coaſt of *Bulloign*; but in his way thither, the *Engliſh* Frigats at large took many of his Merchant-Men, and *Lawſon* boarded and took one of the *Dutch* Men of War. The next Day, *Sunday* the 12*th*, early in the Morning, the *Engliſh* renewed the Fight, which continued till four in the Afternoon; then the Wind proving croſs to the *Engliſh* at N.N.E. *Trump* got to *Calais* Sands, and the *Engliſh* thought fit to purſue him no further. *Another Sea Engagement, wherein the* Dutch *were very much worſted.*

In theſe three Fights the *Dutch* loſt eleven of their Men of War, and thirty of their Merchant Ships; the *Engliſh* loſt but one Ship, the *Sampſon*, but the Captain, *Button*, and moſt of the Men were ſaved, though the Captain was much wounded.

This Victory of the *Engliſh* was ſo much more ſurprizing to the *Dutch*, by how much they expected *Van Trump* ſhould have block'd up the River of *Thames*, and obliged the *Engliſh* to ſeek a Peace: But

*A.D.*1652. the Succeſs proving ſo contrary, the common People in the *Dutch* Provinces were all in an Uproar and Tumult, whereupon the Province of *Holland* (without the Conſent of the other Provinces,) did privately employ Colonel *Doleman* and ſome others (gaining to them *Hugh Peters*) to try the Inclinations of the *Rump* for a Peace.

Here take notice, that King *Charles* the Second employed one Mr. *Stubbe*, commonly called Dr. *Stubbe*, (who was a Man of great Parts) to write a Vindication of the ſecond *Dutch* War in his Reign, whereby *Stubbe* had the Opportunity of inſpecting all the Manuſcripts relating to the *Engliſh* Treaty with the *Dutch* at this Time; for the *Rump* refuſed to treat with them but in Writing: and out of theſe, and *Leo ab Aitzma* (a moſt faithful Collector of the Treaties of Peace and War and Commerce between the Princes and States of his time, and ſometime before) Dr. *Stubbe* hath, I believe, faithfully ſet out this Treaty of Peace between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*; and therefore, though but in *Epitome*, I ſhall take him for my Guide herein.

Dutch ſue for Peace. The *Rump* did not refuſe to treat of a Peace upon juſt and honourable Terms, but not in *Holland* or any Neutral Place; nor would they condeſcend to any Treaty before *Holland* made the firſt Overture in Writing. Whereupon the States of *Holland* upon the 18*th* of *March*, by their Secretary *Herbert Van Beaumont*, ſent the Rump a canting and equivocal Letter, wherein I cannot find one Categorical Propoſition, and wherein the ſacred Name of God is more rent and torn than I can find in any of our Enthuſiaſts; of their Zeal for the Reformed Religion, much endanger'd by this War, and the Joys the Enemies of it conceived thereby; and of their Deſire of preventing the further Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood; *and carried on by a pious Zeal, and in no wiſe conſtrained by any other Conſideration*; That Conſideration may be had what may be done for the Honour and Glory of God, and the good of each State; whereupon, without doubt, the good God for his Name ſake, and by the Inſpiration of proper and fit Expedients, will give his Bleſſing, *&c.*

The

The *Rump* having got this Letter, and to make a further Diſtraction in the *States General*, ſent an Anſwer the firſt of *April* 1653, to the *States of Holland*, and a Letter to the *States General*: That to the *States of Holland* was; *A. D.* 1652.

" That the Inconveniences to Religion in general, and to the Trade and Liberties of each Nation, were ſuch as any Man might have foreſeen; and that none could be ignorant how requiſite it was for both Nations to preſerve a good Correſpondence and Amity together; that the *Engliſh* had not omitted any thing on their parts, but the *Dutch* had aſſaulted them in the midſt of a Treaty for a ſtrict Union; and their Ambaſſadors had uſed ſuch Tergiverſation, as made them juſtly imagine that their ſenſe of things was different from what they now profeſſed. That the good Endeavours of the Parliament were anſwered with unuſual Preparations, Acts of Hoſtility, and other extraordinary Proceedings thereupon. That they had this Comfort and Satisfaction in their own Minds amidſt the Troubles and Calamities of War, that they had with all Sincerity done what lay in their Power to obviate all the Evils ſpecified: That they did look upon the Overtures of *Holland*, if approved by the *States General*, to be an effectual means for compoſing this unwelcome War; however, the Parliament having diſcharged their Duty, would with Patience acquieſce in the Iſſue of Providence, whereof they had ſo gracious Experience." Rump's Anſwer.

That to the *States General* was: *That there could be no doubt of the ſincere Affection, and good Will, which the* Engliſh *did bear to the* United Provinces; *ſo that it might be well imagined, that they were really inclined, by juſt and honourable means, to extinguiſh the Fire of War, ſtop the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, and reſtore Amity between the two Nations: That as they had not been wanting in the beginning to prevent the enſuing Calamities, ſo they were not altered with Succeſſes from their former good Intentions: That they were ready, upon the Grounds expreſſed in the Letter from the Provincial* States of Holland *and* Friezland, *friendly to compoſe Differences*, &c.

*A.D.*1652. This Letter had the desired Effect; for the rest of the Provinces complained, that *Holland* had broke the Union. However, fearing the Calamity would be common to them all, if the War continued, did consent to a Treaty of Peace. However, the *Rump*, in their Letter to the *States*, refused to give them any other Title than the *States General*, notwithstanding the Title of *High and Mighty*, obtained at the Treaty of *Munster*, not five Years before; nor did they assume this Title, when they returned this answer to the Parliament of *the Commonwealth of England*.

Dutch Reply. To these Letters the *States General* returned this Answer to the Parliament of *the Commonwealth of* England: "That they always endeavoured, with a good "Intention, not only to keep, but to augment more "and more all manner of Friendship and Correspon-"dence with the said Parliament; and would now "do any thing that might contribute to so pious and "Christian an Union, desiring a neutral Place, and "Plenipotentiaries might be appointed forthwith on "both sides." But before this Answer was returned, a new face of things happened in *England*; for *Oliver* had turn'd out the *Rump*, and set up for himself.

You have heard how *Cromwel* felt the Pulse of the Lawyers and Soldiers for the Establishment of the Nation, and how the Lawyers were of Opinion, that no Settlement could be made without some mixture of Monarchy; and that *Cromwel*'s Opinion was *really* that a Settlement, with somewhat of a mixt Monarchy, would be very effectual; but this somewhat of a Settlement of mixt Monarchy he reserved for himself: But herein he found three *Rubs*, the *Rump*, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and *Monk* in *Scotland*. To remove these two latter, in *February* 1652, he got *Gloceſter* to be sent beyond Sea; and about the same time sent for *Monk* into *England*, and found him pliable to his Design.

Cromwel's Conference with Whitlock. Now he enters into a long Dialogue with Commissioner *Whitlock*, wherein he takes notice of the Danger of a victorious Army living idle in Peace, more than in War; and of their murmuring in not being rewarded according to their Deserts; and that the Army had a strange Disgust against the Parliament for

their

their Pride, Ambition, Self-ſeeking, engroſſing all Places of Honour and Profit to themſelves and Friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent Factions; their Delays in Buſineſs, and Deſign to perpetuate themſelves; their meddling in private Matters, contrary to the Inſtitution of Parliament; their Injuſtice and Partiality in thoſe Matters, and the ſcandalous Lives of ſome of the chief of them: So that unleſs there be ſome Authority ſo full and high as to reſtrain and keep things in better order, and that may put a ſtop to theſe Exorbitances, it will be impoſſible, in humane Reaſon, to prevent our Ruin. A.D. 1652.

Whitlock having magnified *Cromwel*'s Government of the Army, ſtarted great Difficulties, how he could reform the Parliament, he being ſubordinate to them; and having taken his Commiſſion from them, and hopes the greater part of the Members are not ſuch, as *Cromwel* ſays, when great Matters come before them.

Cromwel ſaid: "There is little hopes of a good "Settlement by them, *really* there is not, but a great "deal of fear that they will deſtroy again what "the Lord hath ſo graciouſly done for them and "us: We all forget God, and God will forget us, "and give us up to Confuſion; and theſe Men will "help it on, if they be ſuffered to proceed in their "ways: Some Courſe muſt be taken to curb and re-"ſtrain them, or we ſhall be ruin'd by them.

Whitlock anſwered: "We ourſelves have owned "them the Supreme Power, and taken our Commiſ-"ſions from them; and how to reſtrain them after "this, will be hard to find out.

Cromwel. "What if a Man ſhould take upon him "to be King?

Whitlock. "I think the Remedy worſe than the "Diſeaſe.

Cromwel. "Why do you think ſo?

Whitlock. "As to your own Perſon, the Title of a "King would be of no Advantage, becauſe you have "the Kingly Power in you already; concerning the "Militia, as you are General: As to the Nomina-"tion of Civil Officers, thoſe whom you think fitteſt

"are

A.D.1652. " are ſeldom refuſed; and tho' you have no Nega-
" tive Vote in paſſing Laws, yet what you diſlike is
" not eaſily carried; and the Taxes are already ſet-
" tled, and in your Power to diſpoſe the Monies
" raiſed: And as to the foreign Affairs, though the
" Ceremonial Part be in the Parliament, yet the
" Expectation of good or bad Succeſs, is from your
" Excellency; and particular Solicitations of foreign
" Miniſters are made to you only.

" So that I apprehend, indeed, leſs Envy and Dan-
" ger, but not leſs real Opportunities of doing Good,
" in your being General, than it would be, if you had
" aſſumed the Title of King. *Whitlock* after enlarged himſelf, " how dangerous would it be to *Cromwel*
" to aſſume the Title, for that the main Controverſy
" between us and our Adverſaries, is to be eſtabliſh-
" ed in a Monarchy, or a Free State, and moſt of our
" Friends have engaged with us, upon the Hopes of
" a Free State; and to that end have undergone
" all their Hazards and Difficulties. If then your
" Excellency ſhould take upon you the Title of a
" King, this ſtate of our Cauſe will be thereby
" wholly determined, and Monarchy eſtabliſhed in
" your Perſon; and the Queſtion will be no more,
" whether our Government ſhall be by a Monarchy,
" or Free State, but, whether *Cromwel* or *Stuart* ſhall
" be our King.

After, *Whitlock* deſired his Excellency to conſider his Condition; *viz.* " You are environ'd with ſecret
" Enemies; upon your ſubduing the publick Ene-
" my, the Officers of the Army account themſelves
" all Victors, and have had an equal ſhare with
" you.

" The Succeſs which God hath given us hath not
" a little elated their Minds, and many of them are
" turbulent and buſy Spirits, and are not without
" their Deſigns, how they may diſmount your Ex-
" cellency, and ſome of them get into the Saddle;
" how they may bring you down, and ſet up them-
" ſelves.

" They want not Counſel and Encouragement
" herein; it may be from Members of Parliament,
" who may be jealous of your Power and Greatneſs,

" leſt

" leſt you ſhould grow too high for them, and A.D.1652
" in time over-maſter them; and they will
" plot to bring you down firſt, or to clip your
" Wings."

Cromwel thank'd *Whitlock* for his good Advice; then ask'd him, *What were his Thoughts for Prevention of the Miſchiefs which hung over our Heads?*

Whitlock adviſed him to make a private Treaty with the King of *Scots*, whereby " he did not doubt, " but in the Condition the King was in, *Cromwel* " might ſecure himſelf and Friends, and might make " himſelf, and Poſterity, as great and permanent, to " all humane Probability, as ever any Subject; and " provide for his Friends, as well as ſecure our ſpi- " ritual and civil Liberties." *Cromwel* heard him, and ſeem'd diſpleas'd, and brake off the Diſcourſe; and his Carriage to *Whitlock*, from that time, was altered.

Notwithſtanding the manifold Pretenſions of the *Dutch* and *Rump*, wherein God's ſacred Name was ſo often expoſed to cover their Hypocriſy of ſincere Love and Friendſhip of either *State* to one another, and of their Zeal for Propagation of the Honour of God, and encreaſing the true Reformed Religion, neither *State* truſted the other, but made all imaginable Preparations for carrying on the War; and the *Rump*, for Encouragement of the Seamen, order'd them ſome Pay before-hand, and Subſiſtence for their Families in their Abſence; and that for every Ship, which ſhall be adjudged good Prize, 40 *l. per Ton*, and 6 *l.* for every Piece of Cannon taken or found in Prize-Ships; and 10 *l.* for every Piece of Cannon, which ſhould be taken on board of any Ship they ſhould take or fire, to be diſtributed to the Seamen, according to their Qualities; and that whoſoever ſhould enrol themſelves in the Parliament's Service within 40 Days, ſhould receive a Month's Pay, not to be paſſed upon Account; and Hoſpitals were provided for ſick and wounded Men. This was in *Jan.* 1652.

Cromwel's Ambition to be uppermoſt, could no longer be ſuppreſt; but now the *Rump* being the only Obſtacle, he firſt ſet the Officers of his Army

to

A.D. 1652. to bait the *Rump*, which they did with the Words *Cromwel* put in their Mouths, and which he before declared to *Whitlock*.

During theſe Commotions, *Doleman* and *Hugh Peters*, ſet on by the *Dutch*, did make very ſubmiſſive Applications to the *Council of State*, and *Rump*, confeſſing, (*they were not able to conteſt with the Puiſſance of* England; offering to acknowledge to the *Engliſh* the Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, and to pay 300000 *l.* to the *Rump*: But the *Dutch*, above all things, dreading the *Rump*, animated *Cromwel* with the Promiſe of a far greater Sum, in caſe he would depoſe the *Rump*. See *Stubbe*, pag. 81.

If the *Dutch* dreaded the *Rump*, the *Rump* did not leſs dread *Cromwel*, and therefore made their Application to *Monk* for Protection, but failed; for *Cromwel* had gained him before, and he diſcovered all to *Cromwel*, and that he had no Concern for them, nor Obligation to them.

All other Obſtacles thus removed, and *Cromwel* heightned in his frantick Reſolutions, by the Expectation of Mountains of Gold from the *Dutch*, upon the 20th of *April*, with a Party of Soldiers with him, marched to the Houſe, and led a File of Muſqueteers in with him, and the reſt he placed at the Door of the Houſe, in the Lobby; and entring the Houſe in a furious manner, bid the Speaker leave the Chair, and told the Houſe, "That they had ſat long enough, "unleſs they had done more Good (*I could have told him, they had done two good Deeds for him; one, in taking away the King's Life, to let him into his Throne; the other, that they had made him General, to enable him to turn them out of Doors*) "That ſome of them were "Whore-maſters, looking towards *Henry Martin* and "Sir *Peter Wentworth*; That others of them were "Drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt Men, and "ſcandalous to the Profeſſion of the Goſpel; and "that it was not fit they ſhould ſit any longer as a "Parliament, and deſired them to go away."

Cromwel turns out the Parliament.

But the Speaker not ſtirring from his Seat, Col. *Harriſon* took him by the Arm, to remove him from his Seat; which, when the Speaker ſaw, he left the Chair. Some of the Members roſe up to anſwer *Cromwel*,

Cromwel, but he would ſuffer none to ſpeak but himſelf. He bid one of his Soldiers *take away that Fool's Bauble, the Mace*; and ſtay'd himſelf 'till all the Members were out, and then cauſed the Doors to be ſhut up. A.D.1652.

We will look upon this Act in a threefold Conſideration; *viz.* In the Doers; to whom done; and in the manner of it.

1. The Doers were the *Rump*'s Servants, raiſed by the *Rump*, and no ways provoked by the *Rump*. So little do Benefits received by ill Men create any Obligation of Gratitude in thoſe who receive them. *Obſervations upon it.*

2. The *Rump* were a Parliament which were impowered to make War or Peace, or were not; if they were not, then *Cromwel*, and his Aſſiſtant's Commiſſion from the *Rump*, to judge the King to Death, and all the Acts of Hoſtility, which they did during theſe Wars, were *Murder* or *Rapine*: But if they were a Parliament, who might grant Commiſſions in War, and make Laws, then *Cromwel*, and his Aſſiſtants, were greater Rebels, and Violators of the Liberties of the Nation, than either the *Iriſh* or *Scots* were againſt the King, or the Royaliſts againſt the Parliament; for the *Iriſh* and *Scots* pretended Grievances and Oppreſſions againſt the preſent Powers, whereas *Cromwel*, and his Aſſiſtants, pretended not one categorical Complaint againſt the Rump; and the Royaliſts fought to preſerve the *Eſtabliſh'd Laws* and *Conſtitution* of the Nation, which *Cromwel*, and his Aſſiſtants, did not. Beſides, herein *Cromwel*, and his Aſſiſtants, aſſumed a Power above Regal, in depoſing the *Rump*, if it were a Rightful Parliament, which the King could not do without their Conſent.

3. For the manner of *Cromwel's* depoſing the *Rump*, it was ſo barbarous and rude, as I do not think you will find the like among the moſt ſavage People, unleſs it were when *Cromwel*, and his Agents, depoſed the ſecluded Members: Yet ſure there was a divine Juſtice in both; for as the Covenanting Members expelled the Royaliſts for not taking the Covenant, or joining with them in the Innovations which the Covenanters brought into the *Church* and *State*; ſo *Cromwel* and the *Rump*, expelled them for their Covenanting,

*A.D.*1652. Covenanting, and ſet up themſelves inſtead of them; and now *Cromwel* does the like by the *Rump*, to exalt himſelf.

The Government of the Rump.

Thus, by their own mercenary Servants, and not a Sword drawn in their Defence, fell the haughty and victorious *Rump*, whoſe mighty Actions will ſcarcely find Belief in future Generations; and, to ſay the Truth, they were a Race of Men moſt indefatigable and induſtrious in Buſineſs, always ſeeking for Men fit for it, and never prefering any for Favour, nor by Importunity. You ſcarce ever heard of any revolting from them in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, during their time, except by the *Levellers*, 1649. No murmur or Complaint of Seamen or Soldiers, employ'd by them either by Sea or Land, for want of Pay. In all the Ports of *England*, during the *Dutch* War, Money or Credit was found to pay off the Seamen, whenever their Ships were deſigned to be laid up. Nor do I find they ever preſs'd either Soldiers or Seamen in all their Wars. And as they excelled thus in their Management of Civil Affairs, ſo it muſt be owned, they exerciſed in Matters Eccleſiaſtic no ſuch Severities, as either the *Covenanters*, or others before them, did upon ſuch as diſſented from them.

And as the *Rump* were thus induſtrious and victorious in War, ſo were they not negligent in reforming the Abuſes in the Practice of the Common Laws; and to that end, in *October* 1650, order'd that all the Books of the Law be put into *Engliſh*; and that all Writs, Proceſs, and Returns thereof, and all Patents, Commiſſions, Indictments, Judgments, Records, and all other Proceedings in Courts of Juſtice, ſhall be in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and not the *Latin*, or *French*, or any other Language. See *Whitlock's Memoirs*, fol. 459. *a*.

The *Rump* further ordered a Committee for regulating the Law; and the Committee reported the Draughts of ſeveral Laws, *viz.*

1. *The taking away Fines upon Bills, Declarations, and Original Writs.*

2. *Againſt Cuſtomary Oaths of Fealty and Homage to the Lords of Manors.*

3. *For*

3. *For taking away common Recoveries, and unneceſſary Charge of Fines, and to paſs and charge Land intailed, as Lands in Fee Simple.* A.D. 1653.

4. *For more ſpeedy Recovery of Rents.*

5. *Touching Pleaders and their Fees.*

6. *For more ſpeedy regulating and eaſy Diſcovery of Debts and Damages, not exceeding 4 l. and under.* See *Whitlock's Mem.* 504. *a.*

CHAP. II.

A Continuation of this Treatiſe during the Uſurpation of Oliver Cromwel.

WHEN Men forſake the plain and foreknown Ways of Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, they not only run into Confuſion, or contrary Extreams; but theſe they endeavour to ſanctify, by previous ſwearing to them, and impoſing them upon other Men. In *Scotland* 1638, the *Scots*, without the King's Conſent, made their Covenant, wherein they abjure Epiſcopacy, and ſwear a mutual Defence of one another herein, againſt all Perſons whatſoever, without excepting the King; and impoſed this upon all ſorts of People with Violence, and Menaces; as beating, tearing of Clothes, drawing of Blood, and expoſing thouſands to Injuries and Reproaches; and notwithſtanding ſeveral Laws to the contrary, expelled all Profeſſors of Colleges, and Miniſters out of their Places, who refuſed to ſubſcribe their Covenant.

A Digreſſion concerning Oaths.

To encounter the *Scots* Covenant by a contrary Extream, the *Engliſh* Convocation, in the Year 1640, after the King had diſſolved the Parliament, impoſed, without conſent in Parliament, an Oath, wherein they ſwear, "That they approve the Doctrine and 'Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, as containing 'all things neceſſary to Salvation; That they will "not

A.D.1653. " not endeavour to bring in any *Popiſh* Doctrine con-
" trary to it: That they will not conſent to alter
" the Government of this Church, by Archbiſhops,
" Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons, &c. as it now
" ſtands, and ought by right to ſtand; nor to ſubject
" it to the Uſurpations and Superſtitions of *Rome*:
" That is, they do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge
" and ſwear, and do it heartily and willingly." Thus was God's Sacred Name expoſed to cover their Ambitious Deſigns, on both ſides, and for which neither gave any Reaſon. Nor did this Convocation ſtay here, but impoſed, without conſent of Parliament, ſix ſubſidies upon the Clergy, to be paid in ſix Years, for carrying on a War againſt the *Scots*, the Refuſers to be ſuſpended and excommunicated. Thus you ſee now, *In Nomine Domini*, on both ſides, theſe Feuds began at the Clergy; and the King, to ſecure the Convocation, ſet Guards about *Weſtminſter Abby*.

Here lets examine and compare theſe two Oaths: The Covenanters in *Scotland* ſwear, *That according to their Places and Callings, they ſhall endeavour the Preſervation of the Reformed Church of* Scotland, *in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government.* At this time there was no Reformed Church in *Scotland* but the Epiſcopal, unleſs the *Scots* Covenanters erected another: So here the *Scots* do not diſtinguiſh, which Church they ſwear to endeavour to preſerve; nor ſay what the Doctrine, Diſcipline, Worſhip and Government of the Church of *Scotland* was. So that herein, in the firſt part of the Oath, they ſwear equivocally; and in the ſecond, they ſwear by implicit Faith, without declaring wherein their Doctrine, Diſcipline, Worſhip and Government does conſiſt.

That they ſhall alſo endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, *Prelacy, Superſtition, Hereſy, Schiſm, Prophaneneſs*, &c. All Oaths are to be taken in Truth, *viz.* of what a Man knows, or truly intends: Can any Man believe, that every *Scot* which ſwears to the Covenant, knows what Popery, Prelacy, Superſtition, Schiſm and Prophaneneſs are, eſpecially when they have an, &c. joined to them? I do not believe that ever the Church of *Rome*, or any other Nation, ever impoſed ſuch an *Equivocal* and *Canting* Oath, as this Covenant, by a Rout

Rout of Men, and contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Govern- A.D. 1653.
ment in being, and againſt the King's expreſs Will.

And to make all ſure, they ſwear, *to defend all thoſe that ſhall enter into this Covenant, and ſhall zealouſly and conſtantly, all the Days of their Lives, continue therein.* But God ſhall ſoon blaſt this abominable Swearing, to the Deſtruction of theſe Covenanters.

The Oath of the Covenant was purely promiſſory, wherein they ſwear what wondrous Acts they would do in preſervation of their Kirk, &c. and for the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, &c. and for the mutual Defence of one another. But the firſt Part of the Convocation Oath is aſſertory, wherein they ſwear, approve the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, as containing all things neceſſary to Salvation; ſo as there is no further need of ſearching the Scriptures; and no Man needs further to ſeek his Salvation with Fear and Trembling, if he be converſable in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*. The next Part of it is negatively Promiſſory, that they will not bring in any *Popiſh* Doctrine contrary to it. The third Part of it is Promiſſory, and partly Aſſertory; Promiſſory, not to give Conſent to alter the Government of this Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. Aſſertory, as it now ſtands, and ought to ſtand. The fourth Part is Promiſſory, not to ſubject it to the Uſurpations and Superſtitions of *Rome* (without declaring what theſe were.) The laſt part of this Oath is Aſſertory, That this they do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, and do it heartily, willingly and truly.

Now let's ſee the ſucceſs of this jumbled Oath, and Grant of theſe Subſidies; firſt, the King never got one Groat of them. Secondly, The very next Year after, *viz. March* 10*th*, the Commons voted that no Biſhop ſhould have any Vote in Parliament; nor any judicial Power in the *Star-Chamber*, nor Authority in Temporal Matters; and that no Clergyman ſhall be in Commiſſion of the Peace: and upon the 22*d.* of *June* the High Commiſſion Court, and *Star-Chamber* (wherein *Laud* and the Prerogative Clergy

A.D. 1652. plaid their Pranks) were aboliſhed by Act of Parliament: and ſoon after, *viz. January* 12*th*, Twelve of the Biſhops were committed to the Tower for High-Treaſon, for proteſting againſt all Votes and Orders of the Lords during their Abſence; and ſoon after the King paſſed a Bill for taking away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament; ſo little Succeſs had the Clergy in their Convocation-Oath.

As the Clergy, without Conſent in Parliament, impoſed the Convocation Oath upon the reſt of the Clergy: So the Parliament (I mean the Lords and Commons) without the Conſent of the King, impoſed upon the Subjects a Vow and Proteſtation to maintain and defend, ſo far as lawful may be, the true reformed *Proteſtant* Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and according to the Duty of the Allegiance to his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, Honour and Eſtate, to defend the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject; and by all juſt and honourable Ways, endeavour to preſerve the Union and Peace of the Three Kingdoms; and neither for fear, nor other reſpect, relinquiſh the Promiſe, Vow and Proteſtation.

But the Lords and Commons were not conſtant to their Vow; for within leſs than two Years after, they impoſe their Solemn League and Covenant (being baſely impoſed upon them by the *Scots*) upon the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects, with all the *Scotiſh Cant*, *&c.* too; and this is ſo obſervable, that the *Presbyterians*, who ſo bitterly inveighed againſt the *&c.* in the Convocation-Oath, without any ſcruple ſwallowed the *&c.* in their Solemn League and Covenant. It's ſcarce credible, by what Severity this Covenant was, after the *Scots* Temper, impoſed upon all other ſorts of Men, as well Diſſenters from the Church of *England*, as thoſe of the Church.

This Temper was too hot to laſt long; for about three Years after, the *Independents* outed the *Presbyterians*, and ſet up the Engagement to be true to the *Rump*, without King or Houſe of Lords; nor did this Engagement laſt five Years, but was outed when *Cromwel* ſet up himſelf, and impoſed the Recognition for eſtabliſhing himſelf. Now let any ſhew, how in any

any Nation ſince the Creation, in leſs than thirteen Years time, Men ſo often ſwear and forſwear Governments, which were ſo often changed, and he ſhall be my *Apollo.* A.D. 1653.

The Secluded Members, and the *Rump*, if you'll take their Words, were the Repreſentatives of the People, (but without a Head) and could not be diſſolved by the King without their Conſent; yet O. *Cromwel*, and his *Mermydons*, without their Conſent, diſſolv'd them both. And as theſe were Bodies without a Head, ſo *Cromwel*, and his Army (like that of the *Egyptian Mamalukes*) were a monſtrous Head, without any Body of the Nation; yet with this difference, the *Mamalukes* choſe their Sultan, but *Cromwel* exalted himſelf without the Army's Choice.

The firſt *Manifeſto* that *Cromwel* made known to the Nation was this: *I* Oliver Cromwel, *Captain General, and Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Forces, raiſed and to be raiſed within this Commonwealth*, &c. So here *Cromwel*, by his own Authority, makes the Army perpetual, having depoſed the Parliament, which were made perpetual, by Act of Parliament.

I have often admired upon what bottom *Cromwel* ſtood when he preſumed to do theſe things; for the *Sectaries* and *Fifth Monarchy* Men, who were the Creatures whom he at firſt moſt relied upon, when they perceived his Ambition, then became his utter Enemies; the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* hated him for the Violences he put upon them; and the *Royaliſts* both dreaded and hated him.

All Kings of *England*, in their Coronation Oath before, ſware to govern by the received Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation; but *Cromwel* having ſubverted theſe, neither ſwears by what Laws or Rules he'll govern: And though both in the *Saxon* and *Norman Dynaſties*, the Hereditary Succeſſion of the Kings was often changed, yet none ſucceeded which was not of the Royal Blood, (which cannot be ſaid of the *Caroline* and *Capuſian* Lines of *France*, nor in the Succeſſion of the Race of the Kings of *Spain*) yet *Cromwel*, without Law, or being of the Royal Blood, made himſelf more abſolute than any of our Kings before him.

*A.D.*1653. Now *Terras* (I am ſure *Britannicas*) *Aſtræa reliquit*; Juſtice, Truth and Plain-dealing is fled the Land, and Diſſimulation, Hypocriſy, Intriguing and Deſigns, rove all *England* over; and *Cromwel*, to ſupport his ill eſtabliſh'd Greatneſs, ſets all his Agents and Sycophants on work to congratulate and approve his Actions, and to ſtand by and aſſiſt him. One of the firſt of theſe Addreſſes was from the Officers of the *Engliſh* Army in *Scotland* (no doubt excited by *Monk* in the ſtate he ſtood then with *Cromwel*.) So that as from *Scotland* our Civil Wars firſt began, and from thence their ſolemn League and Covenant was ſo rigidly impoſed in *England*; ſo from thence now come congratulatory Addreſſes to *Cromwel* for overturning all they had done: And a time ſhall come when a Storm ſhall come from *Scotland*, which ſhall diſperſe and unravel all that the *Covenanters*, *Rump*, and *Cromwel* had done: Thus you'll ſee how lame-footed Vengeance ſhall overtake them all. Having ſeen how *Cromwel* eſtabliſhed himſelf, we'll proceed to ſee the Succeſs.

The *Dutch*, above all things dreading the *Rump*, animated *Cromwel* to diſſolve them, promiſing greater things to him than they had done to the *Rump*, in caſe he would do it; which being done, the *Dutch* (not unreaſonably) hoped, by the Diſorders which would ariſe in *England* by it, they ſhould be better able to deal with *Cromwel*, than the *Rump*; and, notwithſtanding their calling God to witneſs of their ſincere Love and Affection to the *Engliſh* Nation, and deſire of propagating the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, with all imaginable Diligence, ſet out a greater Fleet to Sea than they had done before, and *Trump* gave out he would fire the *Engliſh* Ships in their Harbours, and the *Downs*, before the *Engliſh* Fleet could get out.

But the *Rump*, who well underſtood what Faith or Credit was to be given to the *Dutch* Proteſtations, were not behind hand with the *Dutch* in their Naval Preparations, which *Cromwel* found ready to fight with the *Dutch*; and, ſooner than the *Dutch* look'd for, the *Engliſh* Fleet, commanded by *Monk* and *Dean*, upon the ſecond of *June*, engaged the *Dutch*, and at the begin-

Dutch worſted in a great fight.

beginning of the Action *Dean* was kill'd by a Cannon Ball; but the *Dutch*, ſore preſſed upon by the *Engliſh*, bore away, and made a running Fight, having a Ship of 42 Guns ſunk by *Lawſon*, and 140 Men in her; but the Winds blowing croſs, the *Engliſh* could not that day do much more Execution. *A.D.* 1653.

Next day *Monk* engaged the *Dutch* Fleet again, and ſunk ſix of their beſt Ships, two were blown up, and eleven taken, one Vice-Admiral, and two Rear-Admirals, with two of their Hoys, and thirteen hundred and fifty Priſoners; and of the *Engliſh* not one Ship was loſt or diſabled, and beſides Admiral *Dean*, but one Captain killed.

The *Dutch* thus baulk'd of their Expectation, of firing the *Engliſh* Ships in their Harbours, and in the *Downs*, ſend *Beverning*, *Newport*, *Vande Parro*, and *Jonſtal*, to *Cromwel*, and the new Council of State (for *Cromwel* had diſcharged the old one:) And *Beverning* repeats the former Cant, of calling God, the Searcher of all Hearts, to witneſs, *the ſincere Affection of the States towards the Commonwealth of* England; *and prayed that God, with his Holy Spirit, might preſide at all their Conſultations, and bleſs their Government, and the Nation, with all Proſperity and Happineſs, and deſired that the Memory of the paſt Actions might be obliterated, and a perfect Amity, and indiſſoluble Union, and more entire Correſpondence, than ever, might be eſtabliſhed between the two Nations*; and concluded, *That the Great, moſt Good, and moſt Merciful God, would preſide in their Councils with his Spirit of Peace.*

To this Cant the Council return'd a peremptory Anſwer, *That without Satisfaction for what had been acted againſt* England, *and befitting Security that no ſuch ſhould be attempted again, they could not proceed to any League or Alliance.*

But rather than ſubmit to this Introduction of a Treaty, the *Dutch* reſolve to try once again their Fortune by War, and fit out the greateſt Fleet they could, to be again commanded by *Van Trump*. Theſe were encountred by *Monk*, who fought them on the 29th and 30th of *July*, and took and ſunk 30 of their Men of War, whereof eight were Flag-ſhips, and retook the *Garland*, formerly taken by the *Dutch* from

A.D. 1653. the *Engliſh*, kill'd *Van Trump*, and took above 1000 Priſoners, whereof Vice-Admiral *Emertſon* was one; and 'twas conjectur'd 6000 of the *Dutch* were kill'd and drown'd, no Quarter being given during the Fight.

In this Engagement the *Engliſh* had but two Ships fired, whereof the *Oak* was one, but moſt of her Men were ſaved, but had 250 Men ſlain, and 700 wounded; of the ſlain were Capt. *Cox*, *Graves*, *Chapman*, and *Peacock*; of the wounded were Capt. *Stokes*, *Seaman*, *Rous*, *Holland* and *Cubi*.

Barebone's Parliament. Between theſe Fights, *Cromwel*, by the Title of, *I* Oliver Cromwel, *&c.* ſummons 144 of his own Nomination, to take upon them the ſupreme Government of the Nation. Theſe were *Anabaptiſts* and *Fifth Monarchy* Men, *Cromwel* believing them to be the propereſt Inſtruments to do his Journey-work, but was miſtaken.

Upon the 4th of *July*, 120 of theſe appeared at *Whitehall*, and being ſet round a Table in the Council-Chamber, *Cromwel*, and the Officers of the Army, ſtanding about the middle of the Table; (This was ſuch a *Raree Show*, as ne'er before was ſeen in fair *Albion*'s Iſle;) *Cromwel* made a Speech to them, ſhewing the Cauſe of their Summons; and that they had a clear Call to take upon them the ſupreme Authority of the Commonwealth, and urged divers places of Scripture to admoniſh them to their Duties. Then *Cromwel*, to manifeſt the Clearneſs of their Call, produced an Inſtrument under his own Hand and Seal, whereby he did, with the Advice of his Officers, devolve and intruſt the ſupreme Authority and Government of this Commonwealth into the Hands of the Perſons then met. *It ſeems then the 24, which were not yet come up, had no part of the ſupreme Authority and Government of the Commonwealth*; but a leſs number may do the work.

For *Cromwel* then tells them, that any forty of them are to be held and acknowledged the ſupreme Authority of the Nation, and all Perſons within the ſame are to yield them Obedience and Subjection. Yet this clear Call binds them to ſit no longer than the 3d of *November*; and that 3 Months before their Diſſolution they

they make Choice of other Perſons to ſucceed them, *A.D.*1653
who are not to ſit longer than a Year, and to be *left* to them to take care for the Succeſſion of the Government; and ſo *Cromwel* and his Officers left them. But he had as good ſaid nothing, for his ſupreme Authority ſat longer than the third of *November*, yet never made choice of other Perſons to ſucceed them, nor took any care for the Succeſſion of the Government.

However, this Thing, or Creature of *Cromwel*'s, calls itſelf a Parliament; and becauſe one *Praiſe God Barebone*, a *Leatherſeller*, was a famous Member in it, 'twas called *Barebone*'s *Parliament*, and they choſe one *Rouſe* their Speaker. But how Godly ſoever *Cromwel* ſeem'd to appear by his divers Texts of Scripture, in devolving the ſupreme Authority of the Nation upon theſe Men, yet he retained the Wiſdom of the Serpent, and by his own Authority impoſed ſix Months Aſſeſſment upon the Nation.

Barebone's Parliament was ſo highly pleaſed with *Monk*'s Victory over the *Dutch*, that they order'd a Day of Thankſgiving for it, with a Narrative to be publickly read, and alſo ſeveral Chains of Gold to be given to *Blake* (tho' he was in neither of theſe Fights) *Monk*, *Penn* and *Lawſon* for their good Service, and a Gratuity to all the other Officers and Seamen, according to their Quality, over and above their Pay. This is obſervable, that *Cromwel* himſelf put the Chain of Gold, and the Medal with the Repreſentation of a Sea-fight, which *Barebone*'s Parliament had given *Monk*, about his Neck, and having invited *Monk* to Dinner, made him wear it all the while. See the *Hiſtory of Monk*'s *Life*, p. 77.

Whilſt *Cromwel*, and his Supreme Authority were thus jolly in *England*, all was in Confuſion and Diſtraction in *Holland*, the common People obey'd no longer their Government: The Placarts of the *States General* were deſpiſed, and they in danger to be ruined and plunder'd by the ignorant and impetuous Rabble. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors here could obtain no other Terms of Peace than by a Coalition, Satisfaction for Damages received by the *Engliſh*, and Security for the future, that the *Dutch* ſhould not do

A.D. 1653. the like again; and that the *Dutch* take a Leaſe for 21 Years for fiſhing, and to pay an annual Rent.

The Council thus reſolute, the Plenipotentiaries tried what Terms of Peace might be had from *Barebone's* Parliament: *But theſe took the* Dutch *to be the Outworks of* Babylon, *which muſt be taken down before there could be any coming at the main Fort: They looked upon the* Dutch *as Carnal and Worldly Politicians, Enemies to the Kingdom of Chriſt, and ſuch as would upon all occaſions retard the Progreſs of the Saints and People of God, in overturning the Powers of this World: That Antichriſt, the Man of Sin, could never be deſtroyed in* Italy, *whilſt the* Dutch *retained any conſiderable Strength in the* United Netherlands.

Would impoſe hard Terms upon the Dutch.

They did not inſiſt upon the Flag, nor Dominion of the Seas, but held it neceſſary, in order to the Coming of Chriſt, and his Perſonal Reign, that the Seas ſhould be ſcoured and preſerved as peaceably as the Land, that both ought jointly to ſubmit to the Power of King Jeſus, *whoſe Ways they, and not the* Hollanders, *were to prepare. They allowed the Procedure of the* Dutch *by Petition, ſince the Power of the Council of State was all one with that of the Saints, and theirs derived from him to whom all Power is given: And upon that account the* Dutch *ought to continue their Addreſſes of* Meſeignours, & Treſilluſtres Seignours, *to the Council of State, not in the ſenſe they are forbidden in the Goſpel, but that whereby our* Lord Chriſt *aſſumes ſuch Titles, and confers them on the Saints: That the Saints therefore might tolerate them, and the* Dutch *ought not to refuſe them, leſt it ſhould be a Rejection of the Kingdom of Chriſt, which was now approaching: That the* Dutch *ought to kiſs the Son, leſt he be angry, and ſhould have a care how they contemn his Holy Ones, leſt they were chaſtiſed with the Rod of Iron.* See *Stubbe*, p. 91, 92.

The *Dutch* were now more confounded and perplexed than ever, it was difficult to treat with, and impoſſible to prevail upon theſe Men: They were now in danger to be ruin'd as Enemies to Chriſt, rather than *England*; and a Coalition with *England* would not ſatisfy, except they likewiſe annexed their Provinces unto the *Fifth Monarchy*.

In *Holland* the Provinces met to conſult what to do; the Opinion of *Holland* was never to enter into

a Coa-

a Coalition with *England*, but that a ſtrict League defenſive ſhould be proffered; that they ought to contract Foreign Amities, eſpecially with *France*, and to ecquip out a Fleet with all poſſible Expedition: Yet they had little Reaſon to expect much help from *France*, being then embroiled in Civil Wars. The other Provinces were for entring into a League with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and other *German* Princes, and giving Aſſiſtance to the *Scots*; for at this time Major-General *Middleton* was raiſing ſome Tumults there; but their Neceſſities were preſent, and theſe Treaties remote and dangerous, they could not get any great Benefit by a Treaty with the *German* Princes, they having no Power at Sea. Beſides, theſe Alliances would coſt dear, and the *Dutch* pretended they were poor, and alſo ſuch an Alliance would prove dangerous; for the Elector of *Cologn* might demand the Reſtitution of *Rhineberg*, *Orſoy*, *Rees*, and other Places which the *Dutch* had filch'd from that Electorate; ſo might the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, of *Weſel*, and other Places wherein the *Dutch* kept Garriſons above 40 Years; beſides, they feared the Emperor might claim them in right of the Empire; and little good could be expected from aſſiſting the *Scots*, without being ſuperior at Sea, and ſending a Land Army, which the *Dutch* could not ſpare. A.D. 1653.

They therefore gave Orders to their Plenipotentiaries, to protract time according as they ſaw Diſorders to encreaſe between *Cromwel*, and his Supreme Authority; to be ample in the Generals concerning the Defence of the Reformed Religion, and of the Houſhold of Faith, to reject the Coalition, to offer to enter into a ſtrict and intimate League, but deal as tenderly as they could in point of Reparation, Satisfaction or Security.

All theſe things were known to *Cromwel*'s Council of State, and they reſolved to handle them accordingly; and when theſe were communicated to *Barebone*'s Parliament, they ſaid, it was no more than was propheſied in Scripture, and in courſe to be expected, that *the Gentiles ſhould rage, and the Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves againſt the Kingdom of Chriſt; but they ſhould fall before him, and be broken in pieces.*

That

A.D. 1653. That they were fierce to encounter *Gog* and *Magog*, and by a Series of Victories inflam'd to encounter this *Antichriſtian Hoſt.*

The Council of State, ſince the *Dutch* refuſed a Coalition, and thereby become our Equals, reſolve to make them humble without it, and therefore impoſe 27 Articles upon the *Dutch.* But Mr. *Stubbe* mentions but five, *viz.* the third, twelfth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſeventeenth; beſides Satisfaction and Reparation made for ſeveral Wrongs, Injuries and Depredations, done and committed upon the *Engliſh*, as well in the *Eaſt-Indies* as elſewhere, by the People of the *United Provinces*, with Power nevertheleſs of the Council, to add, alter, and enlarge the ſaid Articles, or any of them, before the Concluſion of Treaty, as they ſhall find occaſion for the ſame in the future Management thereof.

The third was, " That the Ships, Guns, and Furniture, and the Goods and Merchandizes, and " other things, which had been taken in Harbour, or at Land, from the *Dutch* by the *Engliſh*, " during the War, ſhould be accounted as part of " Satisfaction and Reparation for the Charges and " Damages which the *Engliſh* had been put to during " the War: And the *States General* ſhould pay to " the *Engliſh* ſuch further Sum for Reparation as " aforeſaid, and in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed " upon by this Treaty: And thereupon all Offences, " *&c.* to be forgotten.

The 12th Article obliges them, " Not to permit " the Prince of *Orange*, or the Princeſs *Mary*, to relieve with Counſel, or Victuals, any Rebels or " Enemies of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c. " and to ſeclude the Prince's Lineage from being " Stadtholders, Admiral, General, or Governor of " any of their Towns." I am perſuaded *Cromwel* was the Contriver of this Article; the Reaſon you'll ſee hereafter.

The 14th Article: " That they (the *Dutch*) were " not to enter or paſs the *Britiſh* Seas, but with a " certain Number of Men of War, to be agreed upon " in this Treaty: But in caſe the *States General* " ſhould have occaſion to paſs the Seas with a " greater

" greater number of Ships of War, that they ſhould A.D.1653.
" give Notice of their Intentions to the *Engliſh*, and
" obtain their Conſent before they put to Sea.

The 15th Article, wherein *Stubbe* follows the *Engliſh* Manuſcript, and not *Leo ab Aitzma*, which much differs from it is. " As the Commonwealth of *Eng-*
" *land* have declared their Reſolutions, that they will
" from time to time take care to put forth upon their
" Seas a convenient Number of armed Ships for the
" Defence and Safeguard thereof, and to maintain
" and preſerve all lawful Navigation, Trade, and
" Commerce therein, againſt Pirates and Sea-Rovers,
" and all others that ſhall act or do any thing to the
" Diſturbance thereof; ſo for the greater freedom of
" Commerce and Navigation, that neither Common-
" wealth ſhall give Reception to any Pirates, &c.

The 17th Article obliges the *Dutch to take a Leaſe for 21 Years for the Fiſhing, and to pay an Annual Rent.* Here note, That tho' the *Dutch* pleaded the Grants of the Kings of *England* to the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and Kings of *Spain*, for Licence to fiſh upon the Coaſts of *England*, which they could no ways pretend to after they had rent themſelves from their Subjection to the Kings of *Spain*, and their immemorial Preſcription to fiſh in theſe Seas, though thouſands were then alive who were born before they became *States*; yet they were not ſo impudent to plead *Grotius's Mare Liberum*, that they had as much Right to fiſh in theſe Seas, as the *Engliſh*.

Thus far *Cromwel's* Council, and the *Rump*, went in equal Paces, and the *Dutch* now were in no better ſtate than when *Cromwel* depoſed the *Rump*: But two Accidents, which were not in the *Dutch* Power, contributed to their Deliverance from the deſperate ſtate they were reduced to; one was *Oliver's* Ambition; the other, the Frenzy of *Barebone's Parliament*: for *Cromwel*, however he accuſed the *Rump* of Selfiſhneſs, was himſelf much more ſelfiſh; for without any regard to the Honour or Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, he now makes it his Buſineſs to join in a Defenſive League with the *Dutch*, againſt the King and Royal Family, to ſet up himſelf and his Poſterity. *Barebone's Parliament* was contrary to *Cromwel's* Deſigns,

and

A.D. 1653. and he knew 'twas impoſſible to alter them; and therefore reſolv'd one way or other to be rid of them: and the *Dutch* dreaded them; and therefore the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries told *Cromwel*, that in caſe he would depoſe them, and aſſume the Government to himſelf, they would be ready to accord with him upon more moderate Terms, and enter into ſuch a Defenſive Alliance, as ſhould ſecure him againſt his foreign and domeſtick Enemies: This was the 7th of *December*.

The Frenzy of *Barebone's Parliament* was as intolerable to the Nation as to *Cromwel*; ſo that no Man could judge of their Deſigns, or where they would end. Their Prate was, to make way for Chriſt's Monarchy upon Earth, which they were ſure was at hand, now they were got together; therefore they pronounced Prieſthood to be *Popery*; paying of Tithes, *Judaiſm*; the Laws of *England*, *the Remains of the* Roman *Yoke*; Schools and Colleges, *Heatheniſh Seminaries of curious and vain Learning*; and Nobility and Honour, *contrary to the Law of Nature and Chriſtianity*.

Their Laws. Though theſe had ſat above five Months, yet they made but four Laws; one, *for puniſhing ſeditious Seamen*, cauſed by their tumultuous demanding their Tun and Gun-Money taken from the *Dutch*, and granted by the *Rump*: Another, *for Marrying by Juſtices of Peace*; the third, *for Regiſtring Births, and not Chriſtnings*; and the fourth was, an Act brought in by *Praiſe-God Barebone, againſt Building, unleſs upon old Foundations, within ten Miles of London*; though his Son deſign'd to build *London* all the Country over upon new Foundations.

But though *Cromwel* was reſolved to be rid of *Barebone's Parliament*, yet he would not proceed in that rude and Ruffian manner, as he did againſt the *Rump*, but wheedled with *Rouſe* the Speaker, and ſome of his Creatures, that it ſhould be moved in the Houſe, *That their ſitting longer would not be for the Good of the Commonwealth, and that it would be fit for them to reſign up their Powers to the Lord-General again*. Whereupon the *Speaker*, with ſuch Members as would follow him, went to *Whitehall*, and under their Hands reſigned up their Power to *Cromwel*. Dr. *Bates*, in his *Elenchus*, ſays,

ſays, *Cromwel* made a ſhew of wonder at it, denying utterly and rejecting it; but at length, with much ado, was prevail'd upon. This was *December* 12. *A.D.*1653.

The Copy of *Cromwel*'s Countenance was quite contrary to his Actions; for though he ſeemingly refuſed to accept of the Reſignation made by *Rouſe* and his Followers, yet he ſent a Party of Soldiers to purge the Houſe of thoſe who ſtay'd behind; whereof Major-General *Harriſon* was one, who would have taken *Lenthal* out of the Chair, when *Cromwel* outed the *Rump*. *They are diſſolved.*

Before we proceed to ſee how *Cromwel* behaved himſelf after his reſuming the Government again, it's fit to ſee how the Caſe ſtood between the *Engliſh* and *French* at this time; as alſo the *Dutch* and *French*, in reference to this War. Tho' there was no declared War between the *Engliſh* and *French*, yet there often happen'd Acts of Hoſtility between them, the *French* making Prize of the *Engliſh* Ships at Sea, and the *Engliſh* much more of the *French*. The Action in the *Downs* againſt the *French*, in *September* 1652, has been mention'd already. The next Year, *viz.* in *October* 1653, Captain *Hayton*, in the *Saphire*, came up to eight *French* Men of War, and ſhot twice at their Admiral, who returned him a Broad-ſide, and *Hayton* endeavoured to have boarded her, but ſhe got away. *Hayton*, with his ſingle Ship, engaged the reſt, and took the *French* Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral, and another of their Men of War, and many rich Prizes, with the Loſs but of four Men, and ſome wounded.

However, the *Dutch* held conſtant Intelligence with the *French* in all their Negotiations with the *Engliſh* during this War. And when the *Dutch* were in their diſtreſſed ſtate, in the Time both of the *Rump*, and *Barebone's Parliament*; the *French*, fearing the *Dutch*'s Ruin, or ſuch a Peace as the *Engliſh* ſhould impoſe upon them, proffer'd to be at half Charges with the *Dutch*, in caſe they would continue their War with *England*; otherwiſe the *French* were not able to contribute but little to help them at Sea. Now let's ſee if *Oliver*'s Government was as arrogant, impolitick, ſelfiſh,

*A.D.*1653. ſelfiſh, and dangerous to the Safety of the Nation, as his firſt aſſuming it was rude and barbarous.

After the Supreme Power of the Nation had been thus tumbled from Poſt to Pillar, from *Cromwel* to *Barebone's Parliament*, and from it to *Cromwel* again; upon the 16th of *December*, *Cromwel* and his Officers, after ſeveral Days ſeeking of God, *tho' it was reſolved on before, reſolved, That a Council of Godly, Able and Diſcreet Perſons ſhould be named, conſiſting of* 21, *and that the* Lord General *ſhould be choſen* Lord Protector (for *King*, good Man, he would not be :) but leſt he ſhould go too far aſtray, tied himſelf up to an Inſtrument of Government, which he ſwore to in theſe Words: *I have accepted thereof, and do declare my Acceptance thereof accordingly; and do promiſe, in the Preſence of God, That I will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things therein contained, but to my Power obſerve the ſame, and cauſe them to be obſerved; and ſhall in all other things, to the beſt of my Underſtanding, govern theſe Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms, ſeeking their Peace, and cauſing Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſtred,*

Cromwel *choſen Protector.*

Cromwel's Council was *Philip* Lord Viſcount *Liſle* (ſince E. of *Leiceſter*) *Charles Fleetwood* his Son-in-Law, *John Lambert*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Charles Wooliley*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cowper*, (after Earl of *Shaftsbury*) *Edward Montague* (after Earl of *Sandwich*) *John Desborow* (his Brother-in-Law) *Walter Strickland*, *Henry Lawrence*, *William Sydenham*, *Philip Jones*, *Richard Major*, *Francis Rouſe*, and *Philip Skipton* Eſquires.

The 5th Article is, *That the Protector, with the Conſent of the major part of the Council, have Power of War and Peace.* How well he obſerved this in his Peace with the *Dutch* and *French*, and War with *Spain*, will appear afterward.

The 6th Article is, *That the Laws ſhall not be altered, ſuſpended or repealed, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax, Charge, or Impoſition laid upon the People, but by common Aſſent in Parliament, ſave only as it is expreſſed in the* 30*th Article.* How does this Article agree with the 27th, *That a conſtant Revenue ſhall be raiſed for the maintaining* 10000 *Horſe, and* 20000 *Foot in* England, Scotland,

land, *and* Ireland; 200000 l. per Annum *to himſelf, beſide the Crown-Lands:* or with the 38th Article, *To repeal all Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, contrary to the Liberty* Cromwel *grants to all tender Conſciences* (as he calls them) *in the next preceding Articles, where he excludes Popery and Prelacy*? Or how did *Cromwel* obſerve this Article when he impriſoned the *Royaliſts* who would not give Security for their Good Behaviour to him? And whether they did or not, took from them the tenth part of their Eſtates, and put them to Death by his High Court of Juſtice, as he call'd it. A.D. 1652.

The 8th Article is, *That Parliaments, after the firſt Day of their Meeting, ſhall ſit five Months, and not in that time be Adjourned, Prorogued, or Diſſolved, without their Conſent.* Yet he diſſolved the next Parliament (as he called them) within five Months after their firſt ſitting, without their Conſent; and if they refus'd, had his Janizaries in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and in *the Court of Requeſts*, to have forced them, as he did by the *Rump* (this is true of my own Knowledge) and declared what ſhould be Treaſon. See *Whitlock's Memoirs*, fol. 563. *b.*

The 34th Article is, *That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Treaſurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of* Scotland *and* Ireland, *and the Chief Juſtices of both the Benches, ſhall be choſen by the Approbation of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Approbation of the major part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by Parliament.* I deny any of theſe Officers were ever choſen or approved by Parliament: if any were, it lies upon another to prove them to be ſo choſen or approved by Parliament.

Thus by manifold Perjuries, deepeſt Diſſimulation, Hypocriſy, and foul Ingratitude, *Cromwel* waded through a Sea of Blood in *England, Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and then depoſed them who had raiſed him, for which he had murdered Thouſands for but attempting to do what he had done. He aſpired to the Dominion of *Britain* and *Ireland*, which the *Rump* had conquered to his Hand; and by *Monk's* Victories over the *Dutch*, *Holland* lies at his Mercy: ſo that as *Cromwel* was the moſt abſolute Tyrant that ever raged in *England*, ſo was he not leſs terrible to his neighbouring

*A.D.*1653. bouring Nations. And now he had it in his Power to do what he will, let's ſee how like a Beaſt he did what he did,

Of all our neighbouring Nations, the *Dutch* and *French* were the moſt formidable to the *Engliſh*; the *Dutch* being not only Competitors with the *Engliſh* in Trade, but Contenders with them in the Dominion of the Seas; and the *French* the moſt formidable and faithleſs by Land; and of all Nations, the *Engliſh* Trade to *France* was the worſt, being as much to the enriching *France*, as the impoveriſhing *England*: *Spain* neither a neighbouring Nation to *England*, except ſome part of *Flanders*, nor any ways formidable to *England* by Sea or Land; yet of all others, the *Engliſh* Trade with *Spain* was the moſt beneficial and enriching to the *Engliſh*. Now let's ſee how diametrically contrary to the *Engliſh* Intereſt *Cromwel* acted in every one of theſe.

His State. After *Cromwel* had aſſumed the Protectorate, *Whitlock* ſays, he obſerved new and great State, and all Ceremonies and Reſpects were paid to him by all ſorts of Men, as to their Prince; and *Stubbe* ſays, Notice was given to the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, by *Cromwel*'s Maſter of the Ceremonies, of his being Protector, and how ready he was to treat with them, and how kind he would be to them; but they muſt pay him the ſame Honour and Reſpect which was heretofore exhibited to the *Engliſh* Kings, and in their Writings and Diſcourſes give him the Title of *Highneſs*, which was in Uſe before that of *Majeſty*; that they not being in the Quality of Ambaſſadors, but Lords Deputies Plenipotentiaries, muſt be uncovered in his Preſence.

In this State *Cromwel* takes the Treaty of Peace out of the Council's Hands, and upon the 26th of *December* (but ten Days after his aſſuming the Protectorate) by his Secretary *Thurloe*, brought the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries a Writing, wherein the Satisfaction of the 3d Article, demanded by the Council, was wholly omitted; but the Claims of the *Eaſt-India* Merchants and others were to be compounded. The 15th Article was changed ſo, as that neither the Dominion of the Seas was mentioned, nor their Ships

to

to be ſearched; but they were to ſtrike the Flag, and lower their Top-ſail to any *Engliſh* Man of War within the *Britiſh* Seas: with ſeveral other Conceſſions. A.D. 1653.

Now the *Dutch* Artifice, after having made ſo many Proteſtations of agreeing with *Cromwel* upon better Terms than they would, if he would diſſolve the *Rump* and *Barebone's Parliament*, appeared: for notwithſtanding *Cromwel* had omitted the Satisfaction demanded by the third Article, and qualified the fifteenth; yet looking upon *Cromwel's* State uncertain, and that he ſtood in as much need of them as they of him; without giving any Anſwer, upon the 28th of *December* deſired a Paſſport to depart. Now *Cromwel* perceiving how the Plenipotentiaries had deluded him, declared, *That if they departed without concluding and ſigning the Treaty, and mutually engaging to ratify it in a certain time, he would not be obliged to it, or any part thereof.* Hereupon the Plenipotentiaries ſtaid; and *Cromwel* in plain Terms told them, *Without the Seclusion of the Prince of* Orange *from being Stadtholder and General, no Peace was to be expected.* But if *Cromwel* thus juggled with his Council, the *States of Holland* and *Weſt-Friezland* did not leſs with the *States* of the reſt of the Provinces.

For by the 9th Article of the Union at *Utretcht*, 1579, *No Truce, Peace, or War, ſhould be made without common Conſent of all the Provinces, and not by the States General.* Yet this Treaty was broken by the *States of Holland*, when they made a Truce with the King of *Spain* 1609, for twelve Years, without the Conſent of the other Provinces, or *States General*: So did they at *Munſter*, 1648, make a ſeparate Peace with *Spain*, notwithſtanding ſeveral Treaties with *France* to the contrary; the reſt of the Provinces deteſting and declaiming againſt it, as perfidious, treacherous, *&c.*

Cromwel knew this, and the Potency of *Holland* above the reſt of all the other Provinces, as alſo their Averſion to the Houſe of *Orange*, and Inſtructions of the Provinces not to exclude the Prince of *Orange*: Hereupon *Cromwel* entred into a ſecret Conference with *Beverning*, *That if the Province of* Holland *would ſign a ſecret Article to exclude the Houſe of* Orange, *he would be content to proceed in the Treaty of Peace.* But *Makes a Peace with the Dutch.*

A.D. 1654. *Beverning* pretending he had no Inſtructions therein from the *States*, they had a Paſſport to return to *Holland*, *January* 6.

Theſe ſtay'd longer before their Return than *Cromwel* expected, which put him in a great Wrath and Confuſion, and ſeem'd to make great Preparations for carrying on the War. The *Dutch*, to amuſe him, ſend over the ſame Men in a ſplendid and formal Embaſſy, with Conſent to all the other Articles, except the Secluſion of the Prince of *Orange*; which *Cromwel* ſigned upon the 5th of *April* 1654, and Peace was thereupon proclaimed at *London*: But *Cromwel* would not exchange the Ratifications, unleſs the *States of Holland* and *Weſt-Friezland* would make a Decree for excluding the Houſe of *Orange* from being Stadtholders and Generals; which they did upon the 4th of *May* 1654, the reſt of the Provinces proteſting and declaiming againſt this, as much as they did againſt the *States of Holland* and *Weſt-Friezland* for making a ſeparate Peace at *Munſter*, without the Conſent of the *French* King.

Here you ſee how ſelfiſh *Cromwel* was, and how little he regarded the Honour and Intereſt of *England* in this Peace; for he not only remitted the 300000 *l.* which the *Dutch* proffered the *Rump* for the Damages the *Engliſh* had ſuſtained by the War, but left out the Coalition; the Revenue to be Annually paid to the *Engliſh* for Liberty to fiſh in the *Britiſh* Seas; the Sovereignty of the Seas, except the Flag; Security from the *Dutch* not to moleſt the *Engliſh* in time to come; and to have their Ships ſearcht in paſſing through the *Britiſh* Seas; and not to ſet out any greater than ſuch a Number of Ships of War, without giving an Account to the *Engliſh State* of the Reaſon; and alſo, that the *Engliſh* ſhould have a Free Trade up the *Scheld*; and becauſe both the *Rump*, Council, and *Oliver* himſelf had demanded Juſtice againſt thoſe that were alive, who had any Hand in the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* in *Amboyna*; *Cromwel* ſuffered himſelf to be deluded by the *Dutch* in referring it to Eight Commiſſioners; and if they agreed not in Six Months time, Umpires were to be choſen. But no Agreement was made, and *Cromwel* never further,

ther minded it. And this is obſervable, that notwithſtanding both the *Dutch* and *Cromwel's* Proteſtations of calling God the Searcher of all Hearts to witneſs, how much by this Peace they deſigned the Glory of God, and the Promotion of the true Reformed Religion abroad; yet there is not one Article concerning the ſame, nor any *Proteſtant* Prince named in it, except the King of *Denmark*, who was to pay the *Engliſh* Merchants their Damages for the Embargo he had laid upon their Ships in the *Sound*. A.D. 1654.

Mazarine endeavoured to have had the *French* included in this Treaty, but the *States of Holland* regarded him not more than in that of *Munſter*. So that he ſent Monſieur *Bourdeaux* Extraordinary Ambaſſadour to *Cromwel* to obtain a Peace with him; and was not ſo ſqueamy in excluding the King and Royal Family out of *France*, as the *Dutch* were in excluding the Prince of *Orange*.

After *Monk's* Triumphant Victories over the *Dutch*, *Cromwel* having no further Uſe of him at Sea, ſent him back to govern *Scotland*; but when he ſhall come there, *Cromwel* ſhall never get him out again; nor ſhall he come out of *Scotland*, but utterly to exclude *Cromwel's* Poſterity from ever mounting to his ill gotten Greatneſs; and to unravel all that the *Preſbyterian* Parliament, the *Rump* and *Cromwel*, had been near twenty Years in Weaving. But in regard General *Monk* hath born ſo great a Figure in this Treatiſe, and ſhall much more hereafter, it will not be amiſs to ſee how the Caſe ſtood with him, before he entred into the Parliament Service.

He was the Second of Three Sons to Sir *Thomas Monk* of *Potheridge* in *Devonſhire*, and born in the Year 1608. And being a younger Brother, and having a Mind above his Fortunes, he endeavoured to advance them by a Military Profeſſion. His Birth ſorted with his Deſires, his Family being of great Antiquity, and he no ſtranger to the Royal Blood, one of his Maternal Anceſtors being a Grand-daughter, by his natural Son *Arthur*, of *Edward* the Fourth. Monk's *Original and Actions.*

At the Age of Seventeen Years he ſerved King *Charles* the Firſt in the unfortunate Expedition to *Cadiz*: And at the Age of Eighteen, he ſerved in the

*A.D.*1654. more unfortunate Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee*; yet was not his Courage daunted by theſe Misfortunes, but he followed the Earl of *Oxford* (General of the *Engliſh*) in the *Low-Country* Wars againſt the *Spaniard*, until the Civil Wars began to break out in *England* between the King and Parliament: And the *Iriſh* Rebellion firſt breaking out, he took a Commiſſion from the Earl of *Leiceſter* (agreed to be Lieutenant in *Ireland* by the King and Parliament) againſt the *Iriſh*: But the King and Parliament after falling out, the King ſent the Earl of *Ormond*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and *Monk* took a Commiſſion from him to ſerve againſt the *Iriſh*.

When the *Scots* came with an Army into *England*, to aſſiſt the Parliament, the King made a Ceſſation of Arms with the *Iriſh*, and recalled the *Engliſh* ſent to ſubdue the *Iriſh*, to aſſiſt him againſt the *Engliſh* and *Scots*; theſe, in which *Monk*'s Regiment was included, were utterly defeated by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, joined with Sir *William Brereton*, *Gell*, *Middleton* and *Mitton*, and *Monk* taken Priſoner, and ſent to the *Tower*; where he continued near Four Years. In this time he fell into great Poverty and Want, but was relieved by a near Kinſman of mine, Sir *R. C.* then a Priſoner in the *Tower* with him, and whilſt he was a Priſoner, did conform to the Prayers and Liturgy of the Church.

When the Parliament made the ſelf-denying Ordinance, thereby to depoſe the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Manchester* from their Commands, as being more inclined to a Pacification with the King, than the Parliament were willing they ſhould be; *Cromwel* (knowing the Worth of *Monk*) ſent to him to take Command in the Army, to be new modelled under *Fairfax* and him, which *Monk* accepted.

The Biſhop of *Ely* (who was Priſoner in the *Tower* with *Monk*) told me, that after he had accepted a Commiſſion, and was releaſed from his Impriſonment, *Monk*, before he went out, went to viſit the Biſhop, and beg his Bleſſing, which after the Biſhop had given him, he ſaid, *Now Colonel you have changed Sides, we expect neither to ſee, nor hear from you more*: The Colonel then proteſted, *He would never wear a Sword againſt*

againſt the King. It ſeems he did not think Fighting againſt the *Iriſh* and *Scots*, was wearing a Sword againſt the King; for he did not only wear, but draw his Sword againſt them. And though he changed ſides, he did not his good nature to Sir *Robert Coke*: For on the firſt opportunity, after he came out of the *Tower*, he took a Journey into the Country to viſit him, and to thank him for his Favours when they were Priſoners. A.D. 1654.

But, leſt *Cromwel*'s aſſuming the Supreme Authority of the Nation, ſhould too much ſavour of Selfiſhneſs, he ſummons a Company of Men, ſo many to be choſen by each County, but not of like Number; and others to be choſen by ſuch Towns as he named, to meet the third of *September* 1654, at *Weſtminſter*. He, upon their Meeting, and before he permitted them to enter the Houſe, told them; "That ſome "Years ago, none would have thought of ſuch a "Door of Hope: That he knew there were yet "many Humours and Intereſts, and that Humours "were above Intereſts: That the Condition of the "*Engliſh* was like *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſs: That this "was an Healing-day: There was neither Noble-"man, Gentleman, nor Yeoman before, known by any "Diſtinctions: We had not any that bore Rule or "Authority, but a great Contempt of Magiſtracy "and Chriſt's Ordinance: That the *Fifth Monarchy* "was highly cry'd up by Perſons who would aſſume "the Government; but that deſired thing wanted "greater Manifeſtation than appeared, for ſuch Men "to change the Authority by. He deſired this Aſſembly to remedy all theſe Diſorders; ſhewed, "That "the Wars with *Portugal* and *France* (*for yet he had* "*not made Peace with it*) do, and did eat up all the "Aſſeſſments: That Swarms of *Jeſuits* are crept in "to make Diviſions, which were grown ſo wide, "that nothing but Government could remedy them: "And let Men ſpeak what they would, he could "ſpeak it with Comfort before a greater than any "of them. Then he ſhewed what he had done during his Government. "Firſt, his endeavours to "reform the Laws; next, his filling the Benches "with the ableſt Lawyers; then his Regulation of

Cromwel calls a Parliament.

His Speech to them.

A.D. 1654. " the *Chancery*, and his darling Ordinance for the Ap-
" probation of Miniſters by Men of both Perſua-
" ſions, *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, &c. And laſt-
" ly, his being inſtrumental in calling a *Free Parlia-*
" *ment* ; which he valued, and would keep it ſo
" above his Life."

But this Cant did little edify the greater part of the Members, who again chuſe *Lenthal* Speaker, and fall upon a ſtrict Enquiry into *Cromwel's* Inſtrument of Government, which the Officer-Members oppoſe, alledging, That the Inſtrument was the Foundation of the Government by which they met; and therefore could not be brought into Debate: And *Lambert* ſaid, *If the Parliament would not confirm them, they would call another, a Third and Fourth, till 'twas done.*

Yet this frighted not the Republican Party, who boldly ſaid, *That the Government was uſurped by Fraud and Force, not procured by Right, nor confirmed by the free Votes of the People: That it laid Snares for the Liberty of the Commonwealth, and made way for a moſt grievous Tyranny.* Nay, one ſaid, *Since we were ſo near approaching to Monarchy, it were better to call one of the Royal Family to the Government, than that* Cromwel *ſhould uſurp both Scepter and Crown.*

Theſe Debates nettled *Cromwel* to the quick, ſo that in an unuſual Heat he tells them theſe Debates would turn all things into Confuſion, and make them to return to their former Chaos: And that they were to build upon the Foundation of the Inſtrument, not to overturn it; with a great deal more of ſuch Stuff. But if Admonition would not prevail, he'll try what may be done by Force; ſo next Day he ſet a Guard upon the Houſe, who would let no Member enter, but he who ſubſcribed a Recognition, *To be faithful to the* Protector, *and not to endeavour to change the Government of a ſingle Perſon:* When many of the *Republican* Party refuſing, the *Cromwellian* Faction within Doors, became near equal to the *Republican.*

He diſſolves them in diſpleaſure.

The Secluded *Republicans*, rather exaſperated than ſubdued, join with a *Republican* Party of the Army, who conſult how they might apprehend *Cromwel*, and bring him to a Trial before the Parliament for his Treaſons againſt the Commonwealth: But *Cromwel*, being

being quick-ſcented, ſmelt out this Conſpiracy, and prevented it; and upon the 22d of *January* 1654, diſſolved the Parliament, though they ſat not five Months, which he ſware to by his Inſtrument of Government. A.D. 1654.

As the *Republicans* were impatient under *Cromwel's* Government, ſo were the *Royaliſts*: For in *March*, after *Cromwel* had diſſolved his Parliament, the *Cavaliers* deſigned to riſe, but could not get together; yet Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*, with a Body of *Wiltſhire* Men, when the Aſſizes were held at *Salisbury*, ſeized upon the Judges in the Circuit, and proclaim'd the King; but were ſoon diſperſed by Captain *Crook*, who granted Colonel *Penruddock*, and thoſe with him, Articles of War, upon his ſurrendring himſelf, to be indemnified in their Lives and Eſtates. But *Cromwel* ſent other Judges, who condemned *Penruddock* and *Groves* for High-Treaſon, for which they loſt their Heads; and ſeveral others were hanged and quartered.

Cromwel, being thus at odds with his Parliament, and his Standing Army in ſuch inteſtine Feuds, and Supernumeraries of the caſhier'd Armies commanded by *Eſſex*, *Mancheſter*, *Waller*, *Maſſey*, *&c.* diſcontented, now contrives how to get freed from the Dangers he apprehended from them; and therefore with as much Selfiſhneſs, and Diſhonour and Loſs to the Nation, as by his Peace with the *Dutch*, he, without Cauſe ſhewn, makes War upon *Spain*.

By *Cromwel's* War with *Spain*, the *Dutch*, who ſince the Peace of *Munſter* 1648, became Competitors with the *Engliſh* in the *Spaniſh* Trade, are now ſole Proprietors of it, as much to their inriching as our impoveriſhing; whereby they not only redeemed the Loſſes they ſuſtained in the War with us, but were enabled to build more, and much greater Men of War than they had before.

Makes War againſt Spain; the ill Conſequences of it.

But theſe were not all the Loſſes which the *Engliſh* ſuſtained by this War; for *Cromwel* did not begin it as juſt Princes do, by complaining of Injuries done, and demanding Redreſs, and in caſe of Denial to proclaim War; but ſneakingly, and like a Pirate, fits up a Fleet under *William Penn*, (own Father to the now *William Penn*) and puts on board a Land-Army,

A.D.1655. commanded by Colonel *Venables*: Thus ſhip'd, away they ſail for *Hiſpaniola*; the Deſign was to take *Santo Domingo*, and after *Carthagena*, where they were ſure was Gold enough; but care was taken the Soldiers and Seamen ſhould have little enough.

When the *Engliſh* arrived at *Hiſpaniola*, ſome Soldiers were landed in ſight of *Santto Domingo*, whilſt they were to fetch a Compaſs, and land to attack the Town on the other ſide; but theſe miſtaking their Place of landing, landed ten Miles beyond. The Sun was ſcorching, the Country uncouth, ſandy and woody; and the *Engliſh*, ignorant of the way, were ſo overcome with Heat and Thirſt, that many of them died outright; others ſo ſpent, as they could not march, ſo were killed by the *Spaniard* without fighting: Yet ſome few feebly arrived to join their Companions, when, to the breaking of all their Hearts, they opened their Commiſſion, and found, that, upon pain of Death, *All the Gold, Silver and rich Goods, ſhould be brought into the Treaſury.*

This was cold Comfort to theſe wretched Men, in this ſcorching Climate, where they could no longer ſtay; ſo away they ſail to *Jamaica*, where a Plague overtook them; ſo that unleſs than ſix Months time not two Hundred of this whole Army outlived it. Thus you ſee how Divine Vengeance overtook this part of the Army abroad, after their Perfidiouſneſs Treachery and Hypocriſy at Home: And this Calamity was brought upon them by him whom they had ſet up to enable him to do it. And *Cromwel*, who expected Mountains of Gold, (like *Raleigh*, in King *James* the Firſt's Reign, by his Expedition to *Guiana*) contracted ſuch a Debt by this Expedition, that by all his Tricks he could never after overcome: And, as Sir *Walter* loſt his Head by his Expedition ſo did *Cromwel* his Reputation.

But if *Cromwel* loſt by this War, the Nation and *Spaniſh* Merchants loſt much more; for the *Spaniards* ſeize and confiſcate all the *Engliſh* Effects in *Spain*; which were ſo much more, by how much the Merchants were ſurprized in it, they having no Notice of it, by which they might have withdrawn their Effects; and the Privateers from *Dunkirk*, *Oſtend*, and

and the Ports of *Biſcay* and *Galicia*, did the *Engliſh* Merchants in all their Trades more Damage than they ſuſtained in the *Dutch* War; with this Difference, that the *Engliſh* took above ſeventeen Hundred Prizes from the *Dutch*, which eaſed the *Engliſh* Charge; whereas in this the *Engliſh* took none, or but very few from the *Spaniard*. A.D.1655.

Nor had the *Engliſh* Nation any Benefit of the two Ships taken by *Blake* in *September* 1656 off the Coaſt of *Spain*; where one was ſunk, another burnt, and two broke to pieces on the ſhore; ſo that of eight Plate Ships, but two got into *Cadiz*: On the contrary, both *England* and *Europe* ſuffered by *Blake*'s burning the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet in *Sancta Cruz*, in *April* 1657; whereby, though it were the immediate Loſs of the *Spaniard*, yet in conſequence this was a Loſs to *Europe* in all their Trades to *Spain*, which became ſo much leſſen'd by this Loſs, as the *Spaniard* had thereby leſs means to hold Trade and Commerce with the Nations who traded to *Spain*, or any of its Dominions.

Thus we have ſeen *Cromwel* make War with *Spain*, to the enriching the *Dutch*, and to the impoveriſhing the *Engliſh*; next you'll ſee him make Peace with *France*, not only to the impoveriſhing the *Engliſh*, but to the endangering the Safety, not of *England* only, but of all *Chriſtendom*. Nay, he actually join'd with the *French* in an offenſive War againſt the *Spaniard*, whereby he firſt made the *French* ſo formidable, that it's a Queſtion, whether it be in the Power of *Chriſtendom* to reſtrain his boundleſs Ambition by Land; for beſides the routing of the *Spaniſh* Army near *Dunkirk* by the *Engliſh* and *French*, or rather by the *Engliſh* without the *French*, they took from the *Spaniard*, *Winoxburgh*, *Furnes*, *Bourbock*, *Dunkirk*, *Mardike*, *Graveling*, *Montmeily*, *Ipre*, and other Places.

But the Land could put no Bounds to the *French* Ambition, and therefore *Mazarine* made uſe of this Conjuncture to enlarge the *French* Dominion by Sea, without which all the *French* Grandeur by Land could not protect *France* from the Inſults and Invaſions which the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* might make upon it by Sea; And herein *Mazarine* wiſely conſidered, that

the

*A.D.*1655. the Dominion of the Sea could not be attained but by Navigation, nor could Navigation be had but by Trade to ſupport it.

Digreſſion about the Newfound-land *Fiſhery*, &c.

Of all Trades the Fiſhing-Trade moſt increaſes Navigation both by Mariners and Ships. For in other Trades by Navigation, as to *Turkey*, *Muſcovy*, the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, it may be we employ a thouſand Men in making Cloths, &c. to ten Mariners in the foreign Vent of them; whereas in the Fiſhing Trade every Man becomes a Mariner: Add hereunto, in the Fiſhing Trade the Mariners are always at hand for the publick Service of their Country, and luſty, active and ſtrong; whereas in the long Sea Voyages, eſpecially to the *Eaſt-Indies*, the Mariners are long abſent, and in the Diverſities of Climates, and by ſalt Meats, and ſower Drinks, become ſubject to infinite Diſtempers: So that it may be a Queſtion, whether in thoſe Voyages, we do not loſe more Men than make Mariners? And of thoſe which ſurvive, one Fiſherman ſhall by his Health and Strength beat three of them.

Beſides, in our Foreign Trades by Navigation, we employ only Men in them; whereas in the Fiſhing Trade, we employ all ſorts of People, Men, Women and Children, in curing and drying Fiſh, and in making Cordage, Nets, and Sails for the Fiſhing Trade. The Fiſhing Trade upon the Coaſt of *England* and *Scotland*, the *French* could not hope to drive the *Dutch* from; but the *Newfoundland* Fiſhery was too remote from the *Dutch*, and the *French* ſhould only have the *Engliſh* to conteſt with in it.

Here let's ſee how the Caſe ſtood between the *Engliſh* and *French* in this Conteſt. The *Newfoundland* Fiſhery was carried on by the Inhabitants of the Port-Towns of *Cornwal*, *Devon*, and *Dorſetſhire*: Theſe Ports were all Corporations, which excluded all other Men from carrying on this Trade; and theſe Corporation-Men being few and Beggars, could not enlarge their Fiſhing Trade beyond their Men and Stock.

Whereas *Havre de Grace*, *St. Malo's*, *Morlaix*, *Breſt*, *Blavet*, *Rochford*, *Bayon*, and other *Weſtern* Ports of *France*, are not only manifoldly bigger and better peopled

peopled than the Ports of the Weſtern and Southern Parts of *England*, but the *French* King contributed three hundred thouſand Piſtoles for carrying on the *Newfoundland* Fiſhery; and for further Encouragement, gave half Pay to luſty young Men above their Wages for two or three Voyages, for the increaſe of Mariners; and in all the Ports of *France* erected Schools for inſtructing Youth in Mathematical Learning *gratis*. A.D. 1655.

The Fiſh caught in the *Newfoundland* Fiſhery coſt nothing but the catching and curing, ſo that they who can catch and cure them cheapeſt, are ſure of a Foreign Market in their vending: And this creates another Navigation and Employment of Mariners. And here let's ſee if the Act of Navigation be not as much a Cauſe of enabling the *French* in carrying on this Fiſhery, as it is eternally of fixing the Fiſhing Trade upon the Coaſt of *England* and *Scotland*, and the *Greenland* Trade, upon the *Dutch* and *Hamburghers*.

The *French* have upon the Coaſt of *France* (I dare ſay) near twenty-fold more good Timber to build Veſſels for the *Newfoundland* Fiſhery, than can be had at like diſtance from the Ports of *Cornwal*, *Devon*, *Dorſet*, *&c.* and, I believe, as cheap as the *Engliſh* pay for the Carriage of theirs to the Ports; and when it comes there, the *French* Timber is wrought much eaſier than the *Engliſh*; and Veſſels made of *French* Timber draw leſs Water, and are ſailed with fewer Hands: Beſides, the *French* encourage all Foreigners to build their Veſſels more conveniently for this Trade than the *Engliſh* underſtand.

And as the *French* have much more manifoldly the Advantage above the *Engliſh* in building Ships, ſo have they more plenty of Hemp and Flax for fitting up Ships for this Trade (wherein, I ſuppoſe, they do not reſtrain the *French* from curing Flax and Hemp in ſtanding Waters) and in proportion as much cheaper than the *Engliſh* can fetch Foreign Hemp and Flax in *Engliſh* built Ships, and ſailed by *three fourths Engliſh*: So that to the Poverty of theſe beggarly Corporations, this wiſe Law of Navigation obliges the *Engliſh* to encounter the *French* in the *Newfoundland* Fiſhery, in

Ships

A.D. 1655. Ships doubly as dear built, and ſailed by near double the Charge, and ſo as the *Engliſh* are like to come to a ſorry Market abroad, if they can find none at home, for their Fiſh caught in this Trade.

Add hereunto, that the *Engliſh*, who cannot cure a white Herring, Pilchard, or Cod-fiſh, are too wiſe to be inſtructed in this Trade, but keep the Fiſh on board till it becomes ſtale, and ſo cannot be ſo well cured as when new caught; whereas the *French* cure them on board; ſo, as they take them cheaper, ſo they cure them better: The Succeſs hereof you will hear more hereafter. So that from the Act of Navigation made by the *Rump*, and this War by *Cromwel*, we may date the Fall or Decay of the beneficial Trades of *England*, and alſo of the value of the Lands of *England*, being a neceſſary Conſequence.

Having ſeen *Cromwel* lay a Foundation for the Ruin not of *England* only, but of the Weſtern Dominions of *Europe* abroad, by exalting the *French* Grandeur by Sea and Land; we'll ſee how he behav'd himſelf at home, and how he eſtabliſh'd his ill acquired Dominion in himſelf and Poſterity.

He ſets up Major-Generals.

He ſet up fourteen Major-Generals over *England* and *Wales*, with an abſolute Power to enquire after all thoſe who had bore Arms, or been ſequeſtred for being Malignants, and to make them pay the tenth part of their Eſtates, and to be impriſoned till they gave Security for their good Behaviour to *Cromwel*. Theſe Major-Generals acted their Parts to the Life; and being an obſcure Company of mean Fellows (except *Fleetwood*) lorded it over the Nobility as well as Gentry and Clergy, with an unheard-of Inſolence. Here I take liberty to tell, it may be, a not unpleaſing Story.

My Father was a Member of the Long Parliament, and one of the firſt Rate which was expell'd the Houſe, ſequeſter'd and impriſoned for Malignancy, firſt at *Yarmouth*, after at *London*: And whilſt he was Priſoner there, the Committee at *Haberdaſhers-Hall* ſent a Meſſenger to him, to pay 300*l.* for the five and twentieth part of his Eſtate, for being reſident in *London*.

My

My Father was not forward to return an Anſwer, *A.D.1655.*
till the Meſſenger told him he muſt have an Anſwer: Then my Father told him, that ſuch Reſidence as he had in *London*, he wiſhed to thoſe who ſent him. Afterward Sir *Anthony Weldon* (Chairman to the Committee in *Kent*) ſent to him, that if he would ſend the Committee his Court-Rolls, they would keep his Courts for him; to which my Father anſwered, the Parliament had kept him Priſoner near three Years to make him a Knave, but Sir *Anthony* ſhould not beg him for a Fool.

My Father would never own the Parliament's Power, by petitioning them, or paying any Taxes aſſeſſed by them; yet by the Sollicitation of my Mother, he was diſcharged of his Sequeſtration and Impriſonment.

Of all the Provinces of theſe Major-Generals, *Fleetwood*'s was the greateſt, being the aſſociated Counties, which were *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, *Cambridgeſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, and (I think) *Hertfordſhire*.

I do not remember *Fleetwood* ever acted of himſelf, but one *Haynes* was his Deputy: But becauſe theſe Major-Generals were Men of Action, and ſo could not always attend this Buſineſs, they appointed Committees of their own Gang, mean and profligate Fellows, who ſhould not vary one Tittle from their Inſtructions. One *Day* an Attorney was Chairman to that in *Suffolk*.

In the Year 1656, one Major *Rolſton* (who ſerved *A.D.1656.*
under Sir *Richard Willis*, when he was Governor of *Newark* for the King, and who betrayed the Cavaliers Deſigns to *Cromwel*) came to me, and told me, the King was making great Preparations to land in *England*, and that the Cavaliers were intending to riſe all over *England* to aſſiſt him: This he aſſured me he had from Sir *Richard Willis*, and told me I could not do the King greater Service, than to provide ſome Horſe-Arms, Back, Breaſt, Pot and Piſtols.

Hereupon I went to *London*, and bought a Dozen of either, and had them put up in two Hampers, and ſee them put on Ship-board, and then returned into the Country, and took care of the firſt Arrival of the Ship to have notice of it: And when the Ship arrived,

I ordered

*A.D.*1656. I ordered the Buſineſs ſo, that in the Night I got them to my Father's Houſe: This was upon a *Friday*; and that Night my youngeſt Brother and I ſo diſpoſed of them, that I believe none but we two knew where.

An Account of the Troubles the Author's Family underwent.

Upon *Sunday*, about Midnight, my Father's Houſe was broke into, by a Party of Horſe-men from *Yarmouth*, and the Cellars, and all ſuſpected Places of the Houſe were ſearched for Arms, but none found, but the Swords of me and my Brother, which hung up in the Hall; which they carried away, as well as my Father and Brother. My Father was old, very fat and unweildy; my Brother young, (about nineteen Years old) raw, and of little Experience in Martial, or any other Affairs; but whither they were carried we could not tell.

The News of this Exploit was ſoon blazed all the Country over, and this brought me a Ticket to meet *Roſſton*, and a Couſin-German of mine at a certain Place; for we had our Meeting-places.

We met with heavy Countenances, not one of us but expected to be hanged, tho' I had more reaſon to fear it than either of them: The danger was, my Brother would diſcover all; they both wiſhed I had been taken, ſo my Brother had not. I thanked them for their good Wiſhes, but this availed nothing; what was to be done, now my Brother was a Priſoner, was to be adviſed of, they both could not tell what to do, but hanging was the beſt we could expect.

At laſt I told them, that theſe Fellows were of *Sancho Pancho*'s Stamp, *Proud to the Humble, and Humble to the Proud*; and therefore nothing was to be done with them but by Hectoring; they both agreed, but neither of them would undertake it, but left it to me.

The next Day News came from my Father from *Yarmouth*, for Drink and Diet; for he ſaid this Devil could be caſt out no other way than by Faſting; and therefore would neither pay for any Meat or Drink which was ſold there, nor give the Soldiers one Penny which guarded him. And by this time I got ſome inkling, that my Brother had diſcovered our Deſign of riſing to a mean Fellow, whoſe Mother

Hopkins,

Hopkins, the Witch-finder hanged for a Witch, who had informed one of the *Breſters*, of which there were three Brothers, *Robert*, *Francis*, and *Humphrey*, (all ſtiff *Cromwelians*) of it. *A.D.*1656.

The next Day I went to *Yarmouth*, where I found my Father and Brother at Variance, for they were not at good Terms one with the other, and Soldiers guarding them. At firſt I expoſtulated with the Soldiers for taking away my Sword, which they had nothing to do with; which they denied, or ſhifted from one another; which was all I cared for. Then I complained that my Brother ſhould be hurried into Priſon upon the Story of a Rogue, whoſe Mother was hanged for a Witch. This, my Father ſaid, was too late now, for my Brother had confeſt all to the Governor; it ſeems they had put burning Matches between his Fingers to do it.

So I went to the Governor, and told him how unhappy my poor Brother was, to be ſo hardly uſed upon the ſole Teſtimony of ſo a vile a Fellow. To which he anſwered, *That it was paſt now; and by that time his Examination was before the Protector.* But, ſaid I, if you have any thing againſt my Brother, it does not appear you have any thing againſt my Father; and his Caſe was not as heretofore, an aged, unweildy Man to have his Houſe invaded at Midnight, and his Perſon hurried into Priſon at that ſeaſon.

To which the Governor anſwered, That what the *Protector* demanded, that my Father ſhould give Security to the *Protector* for his Good Behaviour (which I was ſure he would never do) could do my Father no hurt.

To which I replied, That no Man who is bound to his Good Behaviour is taken for a Man of Good Behaviour; and that now, as the *Protector* will have the tenth part of his Eſtate for having been ſequeſtred, ſo he might take half, or all his Eſtate, for having been bound to his Good Behaviour. To which the Governor not anſwering, told me, *He would not have taken the Language my Father gave the Protector from any Body elſe.* I told him, *My Father always led a free Life, and the Governor could not expect he ſhould be metamorphos'd upon his Appearance before him.* So I left him, and

A.D. 1654. and went to my Father, and asked him what he had ſaid which gave the Governor ſuch Offence? He ſaid he knew nothing, unleſs it were that the Governor ask'd him if he knew the *Protector*? He ſaid, Yes, and his Father too, when he kept his Brew-houſe at *Huntington*.

Next Day the Soldiers carried my Brother for *London*: I went part of the way with him; and, when I could get an Opportunity, inſtructed him what to do: And about three Days after, my Father returned to his Houſe in Sir *Nicholas Bacon's* Coach; for after my Brother was gone, the Governor ordered my Father to be releaſed; who, to get out of Town, not ſtaying to ſend for his own Coach or Horſes, took one of the Carts (peculiar to the Town of *Yarmouth*, which have two Wheels behind, and over them a place to carry Goods from Shipboard to the Merchants Warehouſes) and in it went to Sir *Nicholas Bacon's*. It's ſtrange how ſuch an odd thing ſhould be remembred; for, above twenty Years after, I being at the South End of *Yarmouth*, and my Horſe ſtanding at the North (about three quarters of a Mile) and ſeeing one of theſe Carts, I asked the Owner if he would carry me to my Inn, and I would give him Six Pence; we agreed, and the Fellow told me how before he had carried my L—— to Sir *Nicholas Bacon's* in it.

My Father had not been long returned, but he received a Summons from *Haynes* to appear at *Bury*, to give the *Protector* Security for his Good Behaviour, and ſhew Cauſe why he ſhould not be decimated. My Mother was now dead, and Security I was ſure my Father would not give, nor any that I knew would appear for him: So I took up his Caſe, and appeared for him; I excuſed his not coming for his Age and Unweildineſs, which was allow'd. But I told the Committee, my Father was not in their Inſtructions, for tho' he had been ſequeſtred, yet no Charge was alledged againſt him; and ſo, upon hearing his Caſe, diſcharged his Sequeſtration. But 'twas to no purpoſe to talk Reaſon to theſe Fellows, for they ſaid, he was in their Inſtructions, and ſo order'd him to be decimated. I told them I would not ſubmit

mit to it, but proteſted againſt it, and appeal'd from them to the *Protector.* A.D. 1656.

I was content to take this Occaſion to go to *London*, more to take Care of my Brother than in hopes to get off my Father's Decimation: And when I came to *London*, I knew not how to get a Petition to be delivered to *Cromwel*. Major-General *Skippon*'s Father was Servant to my Grand-father, and eldeſt Uncle, to whom I went; but when I named my Father, and his Caſe, he went out of the Room. I then applied my ſelf to Mr. *Nathaniel Bacon*, who was one of *Cromwel*'s Maſters of Requeſts; who promiſed to deliver my Father's Caſe to *Cromwel*, and that I ſhould have an Anſwer.

So I appear'd before *Cromwel*, (which was the only Time I ever ſaw him) in *Henry* the Eighth's Chamber in *White-Hall*; but Mr. *Bacon* ſtood at the further Door, and *Cromwel* and I at the Door next the Cloſet: *Cromwel* ſeem'd to read the Petition, tho' to my Apprehenſion he read not one Line of it, but ſometimes look'd upon me, then upon the Paper; and after ſome Pauſe told me, Mr. *Bacon* ſhould give me a ſatisfactory Anſwer: Then *Cromwel* told me, *He knew my Father very well, and that I had a very fair Siſter*; and I believe would have gone on at this rate, when I humbly thank'd his Highneſs for his Favour to my Father, and ſo went off.

I had heard enough of *Cromwel*, not to believe any thing he ſaid; and therefore I told Mr. *Bacon*, that unleſs I ſaw the Order of the *Protector* to the Major-General upon my Father's Appeal, I would not take it out. Mr. *Bacon* told me, that it was not uſual, yet I ſhould have it; which was as much as I could deſire. Yet upon ſome private Queries between *Cromwel* and his Paraſites, it ſignified nothing as to my Father's Decimation; but whether the conteſting his not being in the Major-General's Inſtruction, or the Humour of giving Security being abated, my Father was not further proſecuted for giving Security, which was all I cared for; and I believe my Father was the only Man who was ſequeſtred in *England*, who eſcaped it without Impriſonment.

*A.D.*1656. My Brother proved ſtanch, and would not make any further Diſcovery, tho' *Cromwel* proffer'd to prefer him in the Army; and the Major-General's Power declining, *Cromwel*'s third Parliament coming on, at laſt, by my own proper Charges, I got him releaſed.

About this Time *Cromwel* ſent Colonel *Overton* a Commiſſion to command in the North of *Scotland*, as Major-General. *Overton* being a *Fifth-Monarchy-Man*, highly ſtomach'd *Cromwel*'s Protectorſhip, anew ſets up Agitators in their ſeveral Regiments, and had ſeveral Meetings with them at *Aberdeen*: They drew up a Declaration againſt *Cromwel*'s Uſurpation; of this *Monk* had Knowledge, but took little Care to diſturb them: but when they agreed upon their Declaration againſt *Cromwel*, they conſult how to aſſaſſinate or ſecure *Monk*; who thereupon changes and encreaſes his Guards, ſeizes upon the Conſpirators, tries ſeveral of them, caſhiers others, and ſends *Overton* Priſoner to *Cromwel*.

New fangled Opinions come up.

In theſe Times a Rapſody of *Socinianiſm*, *Pelagianiſm*, and *Arianiſm*, as ſprung from the Seeds of *Arminianiſm*, was vented all over the Nation, eſpecially in the Army: the Ringleaders of theſe were *Bidle*, *Cops*, *Fry*, *Erbury*, *Saltmarſh*, &c. But more blaſphemous than theſe was one *James Naylor*, (I ſaw him when he ſtood in the Pillory before *Weſtminſter-Hall*) who perſonated our Saviour (and was like his Picture) in his Words and Geſtures; and ſo mad was he, and many of his Crew, that getting upon a Horſe-Colt (an Aſs would have becom'd him better) he came riding to *Briſtol*, his Sect ſtrewing his Way with Leaves and Boughs of Trees, crying, *Hoſanna*, *Bleſſed is he who cometh in the Name of the Lord.* Nor did he ſtay here, but imitated our Saviour in affecting his Divinity; as, that he could Raiſe the Dead, Heal the Sick, and Faſt Forty Days.

In theſe Diſtractions without (to prevent which *Cromwel* took little Care) he had little Peace within: He was bey'd by none for Love; had no Title to his Greatneſs but by *Barebone's Parliament*, of his own making, his own Will, and the Flattery of ſome of the Officers of his Army; yet the Body of the Army, and a greater part of the Officers, look'd upon him as a Tyrant and Uſurper; and

and with theſe the Generality of the *Commonwealth Party* agreed: The *Presbyterian Party* hated him, and he knew the *Royaliſts* would never obey him, if ever they could find an Opportunity to get rid of him. A.D. 1656.

The Crown-Lands, and the eſtabliſhed Revenues, he reſerved by his Inſtrument of Government, would not near maintain the Charges of his Intelligence and Army, which in a manner lived upon Free Quarter; and the *Decimation* of the *Royaliſts* bore no proportion to ſupport them. His Expedition to *Hiſpaniola*, from which he expected Mountains of Gold, proved not only diſhonourable, but thereby he contracted ſo great a Debt, as he could never overgrow.

In theſe Diſquietudes of Mind, his Looks were intent upon new and unuſual Spectacles: He took particular notice of the Carriage, Manners, Habit, and Language of all Strangers, eſpecially if they ſeemed joyful; He never ſtir'd abroad without ſtrong Guards, wearing Armour under his Cloaths, and offenſive Arms too; never came back the common Road, or the ſame way he went, and always paſſing with great ſpeed; had many Locks and Keys for the Doors of his Houſe; ſeldom ſlept above three Nights in one Chamber, nor in any which had not two or three Back-doors, and Guards at all of them.

To theſe, Dr. *Bates*, in his ſecond Part of his *Elenchus*, adds this, That *Cromwel*, being much troubled with the Stone, uſed to ſwill down ſometimes ſeveral ſorts of Liquors, and then ſtir his Body by ſome violent kind of Motion, as riding hard on Horſe-back, jolting in a Coach, *&c.* that by ſuch Agitation he might diſburden his Bladder. Wherefore, one Day he took with him his Secretary *Thurlow*, that they two might privately uſe this Exerciſe in a Coach in *Hide-Park*.

When they came thither, *Cromwel* got into the Coach-box, drawn by ſix brave Horſes, lately preſented to him by the Count of *Oldenburg*; and ſo ſoon as *Cromwel* began to ſnap his Whip, the Horſes ran away, and the Poſtilion was thrown off the Fore-horſe; the Horſes fretting and growing unruly, toſt *Cromwel* from his Seat upon the Pole, and falling from thence upon the Ground, was intangled in his Coat,

Cromwel in great Danger in Hyde Park.

*A.D.*1657. and dragged up and down till he received many Bruiſes; a Pocket-Piſtol in the mean time going off, and his Coat rent: But a Guard of Horſe, which waited at the Gate, ſeeing the Diſaſter, haſting toward his Aſſiſtance, diſintangled him out of the Danger.

However *Cromwel*, to eſtabliſh his ill-acquired Greatneſs in his Family, makes his Son *Henry* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and fain would have made his Son *Richard* Governor of *Scotland*; but *Monk* would not budge thence, which it may be was as great an Affliction to *Cromwel*, as all thoſe he laboured under before.

Now was *Cromwel* driven to a Forc'd-put; if a Parliament could not help him, he had loſt his Game: So he in *September* 1656, ſets up a new Bawble, call'd a Parliament. *Cromwel* ſet his Wits upon Tenter-hooks to have thoſe choſen for his Turn; he cared not ſo much for thoſe ſent from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, being ſure of them.

To this purpoſe, his Major-Generals uſed all their Endeavours equally to hinder the Elections of *Royaliſts* and *Republicans*; for neither would ſuit with *Cromwel*'s Deſigns: However, *Cromwel* would not ſuffer any to enter the Houſe before he ſubſcribed to the Authority of the *Protector*.

New Parliament meets. Theſe Men choſe Sir *Thomas Widdrington* Speaker, who *June* 1657, begirt *Cromwel* in *Protectorean Robes*, for *King* he would not be; and told him, That the *Robe of Purple* is the *Emblem of Magiſtracy*, which imports *Righteouſneſs* and *Juſtice*, the *Robe of mix'd Colour*, *Juſtice* and *Mercy*; and a great deal more of ſuch Stuff; which *Cromwel* regarded no more than he did *Barebone's Parliament*, and his *Inſtrument of Government*.

To eaſe *Cromwel* of the Trouble, this Parliament put down the Major-Generals, who were become troubleſome to *Cromwel* himſelf, as well as the Nation in general; and made it Treaſon to conſpire *Cromwel*'s Death; and that the *Royal Family* ſhould be renounced. Theſe gave *Cromwel* the *Cuſtoms*, and a *Triennial Tax* upon all Houſes built upon new Foundations in *London*, and within ten Miles round, that every one of them ſhould pay *Cromwel* a Years Rent:

And,

And, to endear him the more, this Parliament gave *Cromwel* Leave to name his ſucceeding *Protector*; which he kindly accepted. *A.D.*1657.

By this you may ſee the nature of the Beaſt; for when *Cromwel*'s former Parliament diſputed the Authority of his *Inſtrument of Government*, he told them, *It was the Foundation of Government, upon which they muſt build, and not deſtroy; and therefore it was unalterable by Act of Parliament; and by the Inſtrument his Council was to chuſe a Succeſſor.* But now 'tis for his Turn, the Parliament may alter his Inſtrument, and give him Power to name his Succeſſor.

This Alteration of naming a Succeſſor had another Effect too; for *Lambert*, who expected to ſucceed *Cromwel*, and therefore told *Cromwel*'s former Parliament, That unleſs they would confirm it, they (the Officers of the Army) would call another, and a third and a fourth, till the *Inſtrument of Government* was confirmed; ſeeing his Hopes of Succeſſion balk'd, tack'd about, and ſeem'd to join with the *Republican Party*. Hereupon *Cromwel* took away *Lambert*'s Commiſſion, and made his Son-in-Law *Fleetwood* Lieutenant-General in his place. So that tho' *Cromwel* got a Power after his Death, he diſtracted his Power whilſt he was alive.

And as *Pedlars*, which have not Gold, yet will ſhew ſomething which may glitter like it; ſo *Cromwel*, that his Parliament may ſeem like a Parliament, will have a Houſe of Lords too; but theſe are not Lords with Titles, but *Lords of the Lord knows what.* If you'll take the Meaſures of the reſt, I'll give you a Liſt of ſome of them: There was *Pride* the *Brewer*, *Huſon* the *Shoemaker*, *Barkſtead* the *Thimbleſeller*, *Cooper* an *Habberdaſher of ſmall Wares*, *Whaley* a *broken Clothier*, &c. Yet theſe Lords muſt not be called the *Upper*, but *The Other Houſe of Parliament.* *He ſets up a new Houſe of Lords.*

Nothing could have madded the *Republicans* more than this *Other Houſe of Parliament*. *What*, ſaid they, *have we fought to depoſe the* Prerogative Creatures, *the* Lords, *thoſe* Limbs of Tyranny, *who ſo lorded it over the Free-born People of* England; *and ſhall we ſubmit to theſe Creatures of* Cromwel, *to uſurp the ſame* Tyranny *over us, and the Free-born People of* England?

A.D. 1657. Nor did this end in Words only, but the *Republicans* conſpire to make an Inſurrection againſt *Cromwel*, but were diſcover'd and diſperſed by *Cromwel*; for which *Cromwel* committed *Lawſon* (afterward Sir John) *Harriſon*, *Rich*, *Danvers*, and ſeveral others. And one *Sundercome* more boldly attempred to have killed *Cromwel*, as he ſhould have paſs'd from *Whitehall* to *Hampton-Court*; and to that purpoſe, had prepared a Blunderbuſs loaded with twelve Bullets, to ſhoot him out of an Arbor, as he ſhould paſs in a narrow way to *Hammerſmith*: But one *Toop* diſcover'd this to *Cromwel*, and ſo *Sundercome* was taken, and condemned for High-Treaſon by *Cromwel*'s Law made this Parliament; but *Sundercome* eſcaped the Execution, being found dead in his Bed before.

Nor did *this* and the *Other Houſe* agree better than *Cromwel* and the *Commonwealth-Men*; *this* ſcorn'd the *Other Houſe*, as having no Authority from the People, and were as vain as uſeleſs; ſo that to prevent further Heats, *Cromwel* adjourns them for ſix Months.

Cromwel's *Tyranny*. I'll vie this *Cromwel* againſt *Tarquin*, *Agathocles*, either of the *Dionyſius*'s, or any of the *Roman*, *Athenian*, or *Sicilian Tyrants*, that he was a more arrogant and boundleſs Tyrant, than any or all of them. For if Tyranny be either *Sine Titulo*, *viz.* to arrogate a Power over another, which he hath nothing to do with, or *ab Exercitio*, to be bound by no Laws; then both ways *Cromwel* was a greater Tyrant; for *Tarquin* had a Title, and his Vices were rather perſonal and particular, than tending to ſubvert the *Roman Laws* and *Conſtitutions*: So were the Vices of *Agathocles*, and both the *Dionyſius*'s, *&c.* Whereas *Cromwel*'s Title was only from ſome corrupted Officers of an Army raiſed by his twice depoſed Maſters, and what *Widdrington* begirt him with.

So, though *Ceſar*, and his Succeſſors, did aſſume to themſelves an *Imperial Power*, which did not well ſuit with the *Conſular* and *Tribunitial Dignities*; yet they never made a Pack of Senators to do whatſoever they would have them; nor forced or corrupted the free Voices of the *Romans*, in chuſing ſuch Tribunes as the Emperors pleaſed; and permitted the *Roman Laws* to have their free Courſe. Whereas *Cromwel* made

made a Parliament (as 'twas called) of his own Nomination; and though he called two more, yet they met by Elections utterly unknown to our *Laws* and *Conſtitution*; and when they met, he would ſuffer none to ſit, but ſuch as would own his Authority. A.D.1657.

By our Laws the King cannot tax the Subject but by Conſent in Parliament; whereas *Cromwel* by his *Inſtrument of Government*, of his own Will alone, taxed the Nation to maintain him an Army of twenty thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe; and after taxed the *Cavaliers* a tenth part of their Eſtates.

It's the Birth-right of every *Engliſhman*, not to be puniſhed in his Perſon, Liberty or Fortune, but by Judgment of his Peers, or the Law of the Land, and theſe to be done by Legal Officers; whereas *Cromwel*, without any Law, impriſoned, and took away Men's Lives and Eſtates, by a new thing called *A High Court of Juſtice*, never heard of in this Nation, before the *Rump* and himſelf; the Judges whereof were of his own naming, and his *Janizaries*, the Soldiers, his Military Executioners.

But it may be objected, *Cromwel* had Reaſon for erecting his *High Court of Juſtice*, having been ſo ill uſed by *Jurors*; for he had by them tried *John Lilburn* twice for High Treaſon, and Sir *John Stawell* thrice, who were acquitted by theſe Juries; yet neither of them could be diſcharged from their Impriſonment, which by Law they ought to have been.

But that which madded *Cromwel* moſt, and made him utterly out of love with Juries, was, three Men, *Daviſon*, *Holder*, and *Thorold*, who being apprehended, upon Suſpicion of endeavouring to bring in the King, were committed Priſoners to a Provoſt-Marſhal; and theſe having obtained leave of the Provoſt to walk abroad under the Guard of a Soldier, they would have wheedled the Soldier to have made their Eſcape; which the Soldier refuſing, they killed him.

Cromwel, who before deſigned to have ſacrificed theſe Men by a High Court of Juſtice; having, as he thought, a more plain Proof of Murder againſt them, than he had for endeavouring to bring in the King, would now try them at Common Law by a Jury. They pleaded Not Guilty; and upon their

A.D.1657. Trial the Queſtion was, *Whether they were legally committed*? the Jury found them not legally committed, and ſo acquitted them of Murder. This put *Cromwel* ſo out of conceit with Juries, that he never after made uſe of them in Capital Caſes.

Nor was *Cromwel* a better Governor in Church than State, for he proſtituted all Orders of Chriſtianity; and ſo little regarded things dedicated to Sacred Uſes, that he made St. *Paul*'s Church a Garriſon for his Soldiers, and a Stable for Horſes; and his Want of Money was as great, as the Love of the Nation was little. This being a forc'd Put, he'll try once more what he can get by a Parliament; and that it may be a *Free Parliament*, it ſhould be made up of the other Houſe, and *Republicans* were permitted to ſit in it. Thus qualified, they met upon the Twentieth of *January* 1657. Never was ſuch Brawling heard, the *Republicans* brawling againſt *Cromwel*'s Creatures in this Houſe; and both againſt *Cromwel*'s Lords in the other Houſe: So that it may be truly ſaid of this Parliament,

That this did out-babble that of Barebone's *as far,*
As theſe above thoſe Men in Number are:
- *viz.* Above Three-fold more.

Cromwel therefore, not able to endure their Jangling longer, and having got not a Groat by them, he ſuddenly diſſolved them, and ſhall never call another.

To make this Tragedy a little comical, *Mazarine* was as little a Slave to his Word as *Cromwel*, and endeavoured to enlarge the *French* Dominions by as unworthy Means, as *Cromwel* did to eſtabliſh his. About this time a Party of the Garriſon of *Oſtend*, with the Privity of the Governor, held Intelligence with *Mazarine*, and after with *Cromwel*, to betray the Town to the *French*, wherein *Cromwel* was to have his Share: *Mazarine* was to ſend a Land-Army, commanded by Marſhal *d'Aumont*, and *Cromwel* was to provide a Fleet to tranſport them; and the Articles were agreed upon between the ſuppoſed Conſpirators and the Cardinal in *April* 1658. But here *Cromwel* was at greater Charge for his Fleet, than *Mazarine* for his Army, and *Crom-*

wel

wel had outbid *Mazarine* for the Bargain. Upon the 14*th* of *May* 1658, the Fleet appeared before *Oſtend*, and the Garriſon in the Fort permitted the *French* to paſs and land; but the Governor fearing if the *Engliſh* Fleet ſhould enter, they might endanger the Town, with his own Hands pulled down the white Flag, and ſet up the bloody Flag: But before the *Engliſh* Fleet could tack about, it was ſore galled by the Artillery of the Fort; and the *French* which landed, were killed or taken every Mother's Son, to the number of 1500. A.D. 1658

Protector much hated, and plotted againſt.

By this time *Cromwel* was in ill Plight, hated of all *Factions* as much as of the *Royaliſts*; he had nothing to truſt to but a Mercenary Army, which he could not pay, and above half of theſe would have been content to have his Throat cut: His Means would not pay for the Intelligence he was forced to buy at home and abroad, to diſcover the Practices which were every Day hatching againſt him: So as he had no Security, but in the general Fear, which all the Factions, as well as he, had, that their Diſcords might give an Occaſion of reſtoring the King, to the ruine of them all.

Nor were their Fears without ground, for at this time there was an Inclination of the *Royaliſts* in all parts of *England* to riſe; and the Marqueſs of *Ormond* was ſent by the King to encourage it, having gotten a Company of Men together beyond Sea, under the Command of General *Marſin* to aſſiſt them. But *Cromwel* had his Spies, who betray'd all: The principal of theſe Spies was Sir *Richard Willis*, (who was always upon his Diſcovery of theſe Plots, one of the firſt committed to the *Tower*) and one *Corker* (who had ſerved King *Charles* the Firſt, and was one who aſſiſted in killing *Rainsborough* at *Doncaſter*) ſo as *Cromwel* nipp'd all in the Bud before they moved: Yet notwithſtanding all his Diligence, *Ormond* made his Eſcape, only to give the King an Account of the Diſcovery and Ruine of his Deſign.

Though the *Royaliſts* could draw no Blood from *Cromwel*, yet he reſolved to take ſome from them, by a Court of Juſtice of his own Creatures and Nomination, headed by *Liſle*,

Before

D. A. 1658. Before theſe were haled *Mordant*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Dr. *Hewet*, the two *Staleys*, *Woodcock*, *Mallery*, *Rivers*, *Dike*, and many others. Dr. *Hewet* denied their Juriſdiction, and was condemned for Contumacy; *Slingsby* pleaded, yet was condemned; *Mordant* was acquitted by the Majority of one Vote, when *Pride* came in, who if he had been there, had turned the Scales; and *Woodcock* behaved himſelf ſo well as he was acquitted: The reſt were condemned, yet ſome for Money got their Pardons; *Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewet* were beheaded, others hanged and quartered. This good Succeſs gave little Comfort to *Cromwel*; for to all his former Diſturbances were added the Diſorders of his own Family; his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, and Brother-in-law *Desborough*, caballing with the *Republicans* and *Diſſenting Officers*, ſo as they rarely viſited him; tho' *Cromwel*, to ſweeten *Fleetwood*, promiſed to name him his Succeſſor; and to theſe, *Lambert*, ſince his Diſcarding, joined.

Cromwel having ſo little Dependance on his Army, ſets up another of Voluntiers, to have Eight Pounds a Year apiece to be ready to ſerve him: Theſe were a Company of Fellows, who as their Pay was little, ſo were their Horſes Jades and lean, and a Troop of the Army-Horſe would beat ten of them; yet they ſerved *Cromwel* ſo far, as to ſeize Malignants whenever he ſent them; and were Spies over all ſuſpected Perſons, and to inform him of their Demeanour.

His Death. All the Joy *Cromwel* had in theſe Anxieties and Inquietudes, was in his beloved Daughter *Cleypole*, who even to his Heart-breaking, died the *6th* of *Auguſt* 1658, and upon the Third of *September* following, he himſelf followed her, in a terrible Storm of Wind; a Day upon which at *Dunbar* in *Scotland*, and *Worceſter* in *England*, he had ſent ſo many thouſands before, for which he was then to give an Account. However *Cromwel* lived, yet when he died, all the Flattering Poets ſtrained their Wits to that Pitch, to celebrate his *Encomiums*, ſo as that they could never after arrive to it.

His good Deeds. Thus in ſome meaſure, and in *Epitome*, you have ſeen, if not the Life, yet the Rage of *Cromwel* in his Uſurpation; in which, as I have ſaid nothing of him for

for Spite, having never done me any Wrong, but what was common to all the Nation; ſo I think in Juſtice I ought to do him Right, wherein (as I conceive) he deſerved well of the Nation. 1. By *Blake* he more humbled and ſubdued the *Algerine*, *Tripoli* and *Tunis* Pirates, than ever any before or ſince did. 2. *Weſtminſter-Hall* was never repleniſhed with more learned and upright Judges than by him; nor was Juſtice either in Law or Equity in Civil Caſes, more equally diſtributed, where he was not a Party. 3. When the *Norway* Traders repreſented to him the Miſchief and Inconveniences the *Act of Navigation* brought upon the Nation, *Cromwel*, during his time, diſpenſed with it, and permitted the *Engliſh* to trade to *Norway* for Timber, Maſts, Pitch, Tar and Iron, as before the Act: And by a Law made in *Cromwel*'s Third Parliament, in *June* 1657, which was but five Years after the Rump's *Act of Navigation*, Licence is given to tranſport Fiſh in Foreign Bottoms. 4. Though *Cromwel* play'd the Fool in making War with *Spain*, and Peace with *France*, yet he made a more advantageous Treaty of Commerce for the *Engliſh* to *France*, than before they had. 5. Though *Cromwel* joined Forces with the *French* againſt the *Spaniard*, yet he reſerved the Sea-Towns conquered from the *Spaniard*, to himſelf; ſo had *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* delivered up to him; and would have had *Oſtend*, if the Garriſon had not cheated both *Mazarine* and him; thereby to be Arbitrator over the *French*, as well as *Spaniard*, when he pleaſed. 6. *Cromwel* out-vied the beſt of our Kings, in rendring our Laws to the Subject in the *Engliſh* Tongue; for tho' *Edward* the Firſt permitted Pleading in the *Engliſh* Tongue, yet he went no further; whereas *Cromwel* rendred not only the Pleadings, but Practice, and Laws themſelves into the *Engliſh* Tongue: And herein he imitated our Saviour, common Juſtice, and the Practice of the moſt Learned and Civilized Nations. A.D. 1658.

I ſay, he imitated our Saviour, who after his Aſcenſion wrought his firſt Miracle, by inſpiring his Apoſtles to ſpeak all Languages, to teach the Goſpel to all Nations in their Native Tongue; and by the ſame reaſon, all Nations ought to be inſtructed in their Laws in their own Tongue.

I ſay,

A.D.1658. I ſay, this is conformable to common Juſtice; for all Laws ought to be *a Priori*: for where there is no Law, there is no Tranſgreſſion; and if Laws be rendred in a Tongue not underſtood, it's all one to thoſe who underſtand not the Language, as if there had not been Laws.

The *Romans* and *Grecians*, who were the moſt Learned and Civiliz'd of all Nations, would never endure a Foreign Word in any of their Laws, leſt the Subject through Ignorance of it, might be unjuſtly puniſhed, when 'twas not his fault. When *Cæſar* was murder'd in the Senate, and the Senators were ready to cut one another's Throats, *Cicero* cried out, *Let there be an* Amneſtia, *and for the future the Power to reſide in the Senate*: And you may read in his ſecond *Philippicks*, the long Apology he makes for ſuddenly uſing this Foreign Word in the Senate. And *Tiberius* asked leave of the Senate to uſe *Monopolion*, becauſe 'twas foreign to the *Latin*. And the *Romans*, as well as *Grecians*, not only inſtructed Youth in their Laws, but in all Arts and Sciences in their Mother-Tongue, and thereby became the moſt Learned of all Nations. But theſe good Deeds of *Cromwel* you'll ſoon ſee will not long out-live him.

CHAP. III.

A Continuation of this Treatiſe, from the Death of Cromwel, *to the Reſtoration of King* Charles *the Second.*

AFter the Death of *Cromwel*, there was ſome Grumble between the *Republican* Officers of the Army and *Proteſtorian*, who ſhould ſucceed: Thoſe ſaid, that *Cromwel* when he was well, promiſed his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, that he ſhould ſucceed; but theſe ſaid, That though *Cromwel* was ſick, yet he declared his Son

Rich. Cromwel *proclaimed Protector.*

Son *Richard* his Succeſſor, and that this was his laſt Will: And beſides, *Cromwel*'s Council (which by the *Inſtrument of Government* had the Power) had elected *Richard*; and ſo *Richard* was proclaimed *Protector* in all the publick Places of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. A.D. 1658.

Richard thus ſeated, not only the *Protectorian*, but the Officers of the *Republican Faction* congratulate him, and under their Hand-writing, promiſe to be true to him: And what *Cromwel* ſo induſtriouſly obtained from the Mercenary Officers of the Army in *England* and *Scotland*, to congratulate him in his aſſuming the Protectorian Dignity, and to aſſiſt him in it with their Lives and Fortunes, is now voluntarily done by numerous Companies of Sycophants from all Parts of the Nation, to the number of ninety Congratulatory Addreſſes, which *Richard* had as little good of, as King *James* II. had from thoſe above thirty Years after, *When they flatter'd that Prince in thoſe things which tended to the Subverſion of the* Engliſh *Conſtitution, both in Church and State.*

But *Richard*'s wandring Joys faded in the Bud: For after his Father's Funeral, the Pomp whereof undid him, the Republican Officers cabal and conſpire to depoſe *Richard*, and exalt *Fleetwood*; and in two reſpects they ſay *Fleetwood* ought to be Protector: One, that he was truly Godly, and an expert Leader, and had been tried to be ſo in many Difficulties: The other, *Cromwel* had by his laſt Will, when he was *Compos Mentis*, deſign'd him his Succeſſor; whereas *Richard* was ſubſtituted in a ſurreptitious manner, by the Craft of ſome of the Council, when *Cromwel* had loſt his Senſes.

Lambert, after he had been diſcarded by *Cromwel*, betook himſelf to *Wimbleton-Houſe*, where he turned Floriſt, and had the faireſt Tulips and Gilliflowers that could be got for Love or Money; yet in theſe outward Pleaſures he nouriſhed the Ambition he entertain'd before he was caſhier'd by *Cromwel*: And in theſe Diſſenſions, as Tortoiſes do upon the approach of the Spring, he comes abroad, and becomes a prime Ring-leader in the Cabal, and in due time ſhall be the Ruin of them all.

The

*A.D.*1659. The firſt thing they agree upon, was to reſtore the common Soldiers to their former Pay, which *Cromwel* had retrench'd two Pence a Day: And herein they ſhew their good Will, as *Diego* did; but how to pay the Soldiers, they could no more tell than how *Diego*'s Executors ſhould pay his Legacies.

In this Kindneſs to the common Soldiers, the Officers did not forget themſelves, and charge the Memory of *Cromwel*, that he ruled over them with a Tyrannical and Deſpotical Power, turning out and putting in Officers by his own Will; therefore they petition *Richard*, *That for the future, no Soldier be turned out of his Place without a Council of War, nor any Action brought but by Martial Law: That no Soldier be tried in any criminal Caſe, but in a Court-Martial; and that the Soldiers have power to chuſe their own General.*

Richard was Head of no Faction as his Brother *Fleetwood* was, nor was his gentle and eaſy Nature a fit Match to encounter the intriguing Deſigns of *Lambert*, or reſiſt the rude Attacks of his Clowniſh Uncle *Desborough*, and ſo foreſees no Help to be had for his Security, but from a Parliament.

Summons a Parliament. Therefore *Richard* ſummons a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter* upon the 27*th* of *January* 1658, of the Compoſition made by his Father, *of this* and *t'other Houſe*; this to conſiſt of 400 *Engliſh*, 30 *Scots*, and as many *Iriſh*. *This* and *t'other Houſe* met accordingly, when *this Houſe* fell at Variance with *t'other Houſe*, by what Right they ſat there: Nor did *this Houſe* agree better with the *Scots* and *Iriſh* ſitting there, having no Right to ſit and vote with the free-born *Engliſh*, they being conquer'd Slaves, and Creatures of the *Protector*: Nor did the *Republican* and *Protectorian Factions* agree better. However, all agree to recognize *Richard* Protector of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; yet would not agree to *Cromwel's Inſtrument of Government*, but inveighed bitterly againſt it, as being extorted from a lame Parliament that was neither full nor free: But they recalled *Overton*, who was impriſoned in *Jerſey* by the Arbitrary Will of *Cromwel*, and made an Ordinance againſt the meeting of the Officers of the Army to hold Conſultations, till the Parliament ſhould determine Affairs.

This

This Ordinance ſtung the Caballing Officers to the quick, ſo that they reſolved to be rid of *Richard* and his Parliament too; but how to do this, or where to begin, admitted of great Debate: For to begin at *Richard* now the Parliament was ſitting, might be dangerous, ſince the Parliament had ſo lately recognized and ſo many thouſands of the People had congratulated his Aſſumption into the Protectorate. And to begin at the Parliament, might be as dangerous, for this they thought would diſguſt the Nation in general; neither did they know whether the Parliament would be disbanded by them: They therefore reſolve they'll make *Richard* diſſolve them, and take the *Odium* upon himſelf; and when that's done, they'll do well enough with *Richard.* A.D. 1659.

To this end the Officers urge *Richard* to make good their Propoſals: but the *Protectorian* Officers adviſed him to ſeize the Heads of the Republican; which tho' *Richard* durſt not come to, yet he ſpake high, and threatned the Officers to caſhier them.

This had a double effect; for the *Protectorian* Officers, the Lord *Falconberg*, Captain *Charles Howard*, Colonel *Ingoldsby*, *Whaley*, *Goff*, and others, ſeeing the Meanneſs of *Richard*'s Spirit in neglecting their Advice, leave him, and the Republicans were not to be quelled with Words, but exaſperated by them: So that upon the 22*d* of *April* they beſet *Whitehall*, and ſent *Desborough* and *Fleetwood* to beſeech him to diſſolve the Parliament; and if 'twere not ſpeedily done, they would ſet Fire to the Houſe, and kill all who ſhould reſiſt: Which ſo frightned *Richard*, that he forthwith ſigns a Proclamation for diſſolving the Parliament. The Parliament thus diſſolved, *Richard*'s Turn was next to be depoſed; not one of the manifold thouſands of the ninety Congratulatory Addreſſes, who promiſed to ſtand by *Richard* with their Lives and Fortunes, ſpeaking one Word in his behalf; and ſo ſhall ſuch another Turn about thirty Years after be ſerved on King *James* the Second. *Diſſolves them.*

Though *Richard* and his Parliament were out, yet ſomething elſe muſt be in; yet before they would put in any thing elſe, the Republican Officers ſend *Ingoldsby*, *Goff*, *Whaley*, my Lord *Falconberg* and *Howard* (after

*A.D.*1659. ter Earl of *Carliſle*) after *Richard* and his Parliament, and take in *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, *Rich*, *Parker*, *Okey*, and others, whom *Cromwel* turn'd out: But before they would ſet up any thing inſtead of Protector, they make *Fleetwood* General by Sea and Land, and *Lambert* Lieut. General.

To prepare the way for what was to be ſet up, the Officers prepare a Remonſtrance, inveighing bitterly againſt the Malignants, (for ſo they call'd the Royaliſts) that they had printed Liſts, and marked for Deſtruction the Godly (eſpecially the King's Judges); and therefore they would revive the *Good Old Cauſe*, and reſtore the Rump Parliament: But *William Pryn*, according to his rude way of writing, anſwered them, *That their Cauſe was neither Good nor Old*; and bitterly charges them with Treachery and Ingratitude.

Rump, &c. *aſſumes the Government, and* Richard *depoſed.*

But all to no purpoſe; for ſince no better was to be had, theſe Officers awake the *Rump* out of their Lethargy, wherein they had been above five Years aſleep, and now were become ſo miſerably lean, that none but the Officers could abide the ſight of them: They could get but Forty two together; and theſe looked ſo wretchedly, that they had much ado to get *Lenthal* to be Head again to it. But how naſty ſoever the *Rump* was, the firſt ſecluded Members would have ſat with them, but the *Rump* would none of that, but ſet Guards at the Door of the Houſe to keep them out. Thus got together, they again depoſe *Richard*, and ſend *Ludlow* to do the ſame by *Henry* in *Ireland*: And thus you ſee what Security can be had by relying upon a Mercenary Army, one Part of it exalted the Father, and another part of the ſame Army depoſed both the Sons.

But in *Scotland* they let *Monk* alone, who promiſed to be true to them. Yet theſe were not the *Halcyon* Days the Republican Officers expected by reſtoring the *Rump*; for the *Rump*, tho' it had been long aſleep, yet remembred they were before turned out by the Officers of the Army; and that they ſhall do ſo no more, they make *Lenthal* General of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by Sea and Land.

The

The *Rump* being contemptible to all the Nation, and the Officers of the Army being thus divided and ſubdued, and like *Virginal-Jacks*, when one was up the other was down, raiſed the Expectation of the Royaliſts, *That a ſudden Change would be, which could end in nothing but reſtoring the King*: And the *Presbyterians*, exaſperated by the *Rump*'s Repulſe, again reſolve not to ſit quiet under it, and therefore a Correſpondence is held between them and the Royaliſts, to depoſe the *Rump* whatever came of it. *A.D.1659.*

To this end Sir *George Booth* riſes in *Cheſhire*, with whom Sir *Thomas Middleton* joined, but was ill ſeconded by the Royaliſts. This alarm'd the *Rump*, for they expected no better from the *Presbyterians* than the *Royaliſts*: And now the *Rump* not well knowing the Man, had ſo little Wit as to ſend *Lambert* againſt Sir *George*; and you'll ſoon ſee *Lambert* ſhall do that by the *Rump*, which the *Presbyterians* and *Royaliſts* both together could not. *Booth's Inſurrection quelled.*

For *Lambert* having overthrown *Booth*, and taken him Priſoner, though the *Rump* were mightily joy'd at it, and voted *Lambert* a Gratuity of a Thouſand Pounds, yet this no ways alter'd the Deſigns of *Lambert*, which ever ſince the Death of *Cromwel* he had been hatching. For *Lambert*, after the Defeat of the *Cheſhire-men* (in his return for *London*) at *Derby*, the *16th* of *September*, procured a Petition from the Officers to the *Rump*, that *Fleetwood* might be General of the Army, and himſelf Lieutenant General: He was content to give *Fleetwood* the firſt Place, as *Cromwel* had given *Fairfax*; for he knew himſelf to be too hard for him, and a much better Soldier, and ſo would do what he liſt: And the greater part of the Officers in *London* join with *Lambert* in his Petition.

The *Rump* was more alarm'd at this Petition, than at *Booth*'s Inſurrection; ſo as all Perſecution againſt him and the *Cheſhire-men* was at a ſtand; nor were the *Rump* of one piece among themſelves: For Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* (a hot-headed Man) was violently againſt the Army, and ſaid, they made the Parliament a precarious thing; and that *Lambert* trod *Cromwel's* Steps, and his ſeeming Modeſty in preferring *Fleetwood*, was but a Decoy: But young Sir *Henry*, now become old Sir

A.D.1659. *Henry Vane*, with much more Cunning, endeavour'd to carry on the Deſigns of *Lambert* and his Faction.

However, the Majority of the Members, rather than be depoſed, depoſe *Lambert*, *Deſborough*, *Berry*, *Kelſy*, *Aſhfield*, *Cobbet*, *Creed*, *Parker* and *Barrow*, and make a Council of War, without naming a General, of *Fleetwood*, *Monk*, *Haſlerig*, *Ludlow*, *Morley* and *Overton*. And to ſtarve *Lambert* and his Officers, the *Rump* vote, *That no Money ſhall be raiſed without Conſent in Parliament; and he that ſhall do it, ſhall be guilty of High-Treaſon againſt the Commonwealth.* And the Nation, to whom the *Rump* and Army were alike hateful, took this for a very good Law.

Lambert depoſes the Rump.

However, before this Infant Council of War ſhould be warm in their Seats, *Lambert* reſolves to beat up their Quarters, and marches directly to *London*: But the *Rump*, who had Intelligence of *Lambert*'s Motion, would not tamely be turn'd out, but appoint *Moſs* and *Morley*'s Regiments to guard the Houſe; yet *Lambert*, upon the 13*th* of *October*, with a ſtronger Guard, haſtens to the *Old-Palace-Yard*, and before the Members came, ſet Guards upon all the Avenues to the Houſe, not permitting any Member to enter, and ſends the Speaker back into the City. Now is the *Rump*'s Lethargy turned into a Convulſion; and the next Fit you'll ſee will carry it quite off. Inſtead of the *Rump*, the Officers ſet up a new thing, which they call, *The Committee of Safety*, which conſiſted of 22; whereof *Vane*, *Fleetwood*, and *Ludlow*, were prime Directors. In *Scotland* all things (contrary to the *Scotiſh* Temper) were in perfect Peace and Quiet; and to keep the *Scots* ſo, the *Rump* and *Cromwel* had built four Citadels upon the four principal Paſſes, *viz.* at *Leith*, *Aire*, *St. Johnſtons*, and *Inverneſs*; which bridled the *Scots* from holding Communication within Land, and which coſt above 30000 *l.* being three Regular Fortifications on the North-Sea, and one upon the Weſt, to relieve the *Engliſh* in caſe of Land-Siege, or other Accidents.

Monk's Behaviour in Scotland.

After *Monk* had perfectly ſubdued *Scotland*, he took care for conſtant Supplies out of *England* for the Payment of his Soldiers; whereby he kept them in ſuch regular and ſevere Diſcipline, that Diſorders rarely happen'd

happen'd among them; and hereby *Scotland* did never before abound in so much Wealth and Trade: Add to these, *Monk* duly observed all Articles made with the *Scots*, whereby the common sort of *Scots* enjoyed more Land and Wealth than ever before they had under their Lords and Lairds: and no Man durst oppress his poor Tenants and Neighbours. He likewise suppress all those *Scotish* Feuds which before so often raged in *Scotland*; and compelled the Clergy to mind their own Function, without meddling with Temporals. A.D. 1659.

In this State *Monk* hired the Countess of *Bucklough*'s House, above five Miles from *Edinburgh*, which had fine Gardens, Orchards, and a stately Park, walled about, belonging to it; and here he fell into the Acquaintance of the principal Nobility and Gentry, and by his Familiarity and Affability gained their Love and Friendship: And in this State *Cromwel* would have found it a hard Task to remove him.

After *Cromwel*'s Death, and that his Son *Richard* became *Protector*, he caress'd *Monk* by frequent Letters, and great Protestations of Kindness, intreating also his Advice and Assistance, letting him know, that his Father did recommend to him, as an especial Command, to be chiefly ruled by his Prudence. *Monk* in return answered, That he was very remote, and could not well tell what to write at such a distance; but advised him to call a Parliament, which was the Wisdom of the Nation, by whom he might be best instructed: Which *Richard* did; and if he had stood by them, it's thought *Monk* would have stood by him; but *Richard* spoil'd all by dissolving it; and when the *English* Army had deposed his Brother *Henry*, by frequent Messages and Letters he invited *Monk* to appear, to give a Check to the mutinous and seditious *English* Army, which now courted *Monk* as well as he; and so did the *Rump* after they were restored: So that in all the Troubles and Alterations in *England*, both *England* and *Ireland* to[illegible] courted *Monk*, who sat still, and was quiet in *Scotland*.

Lambert's fiery Ambition burnt out that Prudence which *Cromwel* observed, in making sure of *Monk* before he attempted to turn out the *Rump*; which *Lambert* did not, nor so much as made his Design known

A.D. 1659. to him; therefore he reſolved not to ſubmit to it. But herein *Monk* proceeded with as much Caution and Prudence, as *Lambert* did in Haſte and Folly. Here you may ſee how Ambition and Intereſt change Mens Actions; for herein, what *Monk* allow[ed] in *Cromwel*, he diſclaims in *Lambert*.

For upon the 18th of *October*, *Monk* marched with his own Guards from *Dalkeith* to *Edinburgh*, where his own Regiment of Foot quartered, and ſeized all ſuch Officers as he ſuſpected would not be true to him in his Deſign, and ſecur'd them; and drew his Forces into the Field, and gave them an Account of his Reſolution, *To adhere to a Civil Authority, and not to follow the* Engliſh *Army in their mad Counſels and Fanatick Courſes*; which was entertained by the Soldiers, and generally by the *Scots*.

At his Return out of the Field, he received an Expreſs from the Governor of *Berwick*, that he feared he ſhould not be able to ſecure the Town for him, almoſt all the Officers in the Town being *Anabaptiſts*. Whereupon *Monk* gave Order for a Troop of Horſe to march to *Berwick*, to fetch away the ill-affected Officers, and ſent alſo a blank Commiſſion to the Governor to put in what Officers he pleaſed: But it was difficult to get a Troop to march, being about forty Miles from *Edinburgh*; the Days ſhort, and Ways bad; yet Captain *Johnſon* undertook it, and arrived at *Berwick* but the Night before Colonel *Cobbet* entred it, being ſent from *Lambert*; whom *Johnſon* ſeized, and ſent *Cobbet*, and the ſuſpected Officers, Priſoners to *Edinburgh*.

He ſecures Berwick.

'Twas well *Monk* ſucceeded ſo well at *Berwick*, for otherwiſe he had had a hard Game to play; the *Engliſh* Army in *Scotland* being far off, in the more Northern and Weſtern Parts of it, and *Lambert* upon his March from *London*, with (it may be) the braveſt Body of Horſe in *Europe*, againſt him, and could augment his Foot in his March. But if *Monk* was fortunate in reducing *Berwick*, he was not leſs unfortunate in endeavouring to reduce *Carliſle*; for having ſent Captain *Dean* upon that Account, his whole Troop deſerted him, and joined with the Garriſon. Beſides, *Monk* having ſent Letters to many of the Officers

cers in *Ireland*, whom he thought he might confide in, and to the Officers in the *Engliſh* Fleet, then riding in the *Downs*, they all refuſed to join with him. Hereupon the Sectaries in the *Engliſh* Army grew inſolent, and drew off from *Monk* in diſcontent: Whereupon *Monk* kept back their Pay, and bid them ſeek their Arrears of them to whom they were going; which they could not have done in a worſe time, now the *Rump* had voted it Treaſon to raiſe any Money to pay them: Theſe Officers were above 140, and their Arrears *Monk* kept, the better to pay the Officers he could confide in. However, this could not ſecure *Monk* of thoſe Soldiers which he confided in: For *Robinſon*, a Captain of Dragoons, having received his Pay, and the Soldiers Back, Breaſt, and Pot, ran away with his whole Troop to *Newcaſtle*; and moſt of *Twiſleton*'s Regiment refuſed *Monk*'s Service. However, *Monk*, by Dr. *Troutbeck*, received ſecret Aſſurance from my Lord *Fairfax*, to be aſſiſting to him. A.D. 1659

Now with inſincere Affections both ſides agree to a Treaty of Accommodation to be at *London*; and *Monk* named *Wilks*, *Knight*, and *Cloberry*, his Commiſſioners; theſe had publick Inſtructions from the General Council, and private from the General; to which the *Committee of Safety* named three to treat with them. Theſe agreed that a Committee of Nineteen ſhould be appointed; five for *England*, not Members of the Army, *viz. Whitlock*, *Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Salway*, and *Berry*; five for *Scotland*, *viz. St. John*, *Warreſton*, *Harrington*, *Scot*, and *Thompſon*; the reſt for *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to be Members of the Army; they to determine the Qualifications of the Members of Parliament. That two Field-Officers of every Regiment, and one Commiſſion-Officer of every Garriſon, and ten Officers of the Fleet, ſhall meet at a General Council, to adviſe touching the Form of Government. *Treaty between Monk and Committee of Safety.*

Monk, as aſtoniſhed at this Agreement, and contrary to his promiſed Reſervedneſs, told the Meſſenger, *That if the Honeſty of ſome, certainly the Prudence of them all was to be ſuſpected*; and committed *Wilks* to Priſon for tranſgreſſing his Commiſſion; and 'twas obſerved, he never was ſo much out of Humour as upon

*A.D.*1659. upon his Commiſſioners aſſenting to this Agreement: For by this Agreement, the *Committee* would conſiſt of threefold more for *England* and *Ireland* than for *Scotland*; and the General Council fourfold more; ſo that *Monk*, and all the *Scots* Officers would be at their diſpoſing.

While *Monk* was in this melancholy mood, not ſpeaking, or permitting any to ſpeak to him; one of *Monk*'s Acquaintance, who was of a pleaſant and free Converſation, came where *Monk* was, who asked this Gentleman; "What he had to ſay to this Agree-"ment? Truly, Sir, *ſays he*, I am come to make a "little Requeſt to you. What's that, I wonder, *ſays* "Monk? Even that, *ſays he*, you will ſign me a "Paſs to go for *Holland*; yonder is a Ship at *Leith* "that is ready to ſail. What, *ſays* Monk, will you "leave me? *He anſwers*; I know not how you may "ſhift for yourſelf by your Greatneſs; but be con-"fident, they will never be at reſt till they have torn "you from your Command; and what they will do "with you then, it concerns you to conſider: But "for my ſelf, though I am a poor Man, I will never "put myſelf into their Power; for I know it will "not be for my Safety. What, *replies* Monk *haſtily*, "will you lay the Blame upon me? If the Army "will ſtick by me, I will ſtick by them." The Officers gave him Aſſurance they would; for the Danger was common to them all: And ſuch a Joy among them hereupon ſucceeded, that ſome expreſſed it with Tears.

Comes to nothing.

'Twas ſaid, that *Fleetwood* was as fearful of *Lambert* upon this Agreement, as *Lambert* was of *Monk*, in caſe he would not agree to it. *Monk* therefore wrote to *Fleetwood*, *That the News of a Pacification was very agreeable to him, but that he found ſome things doubtful in the Conditions, and other Matters not right tranſacted by his Commiſſioners; that therefore, that the Agreement might be more ſolid, he deſires the number of the Commiſſioners might be encreaſed, and* Newcaſtle *as a more proper place for the Meeting.* *Fleetwood* (tho' diſſuaded from it by *Whitlock*, and others) agrees to this, and ſo does *Lambert*, whereby he did not ſhew himſelf a great Stateſman.

Monk,

Monk, now reſolved not to ſubmit to this preſent *Committee of Safety* in *England*, ſent Circular Letters to every Shire in *Scotland* to ſend to *Edinburgh* two Commiſſioners, and to every Burrough to ſend one; who met at *Edinburgh*, where they granted *Monk* 300000 Sterling above the Aſſeſſments, and proffered to aſſiſt him with 20000 Men, if he pleaſed: *Monk* accepts of the firſt, and demurs upon the ſecond; but only deſired of them to take Care in his Abſence that no Diſturbances ſhould be; and that they abjure King *Charles* and his Intereſt. I know Dr. *Gumble* denies this latter; yet I cannot believe the *Scotiſh* Writers about this time, *viz.* two or three Years after, ſhould ſo poſitively affirm this, which all *Scotland* muſt know to be a Lie, if it were not ſo. *A.D.* 1659.

Monk having obtained this Aid in *Scotland*, which was Treaſon to impoſe in *England*; by this time *Lambert* being come to *Newcaſtle*, ſent three Regiments of Horſe, and one of Dragoons, into *Northumberland*, to ſeize on my Lord *Grey* of *Werk*'s Rents; but *Monk* prevented the Deſign, having before done the Work, and carried the Money into *Scotland*; which Dr. *Gumble* ſays, was after reſtored. Hereupon *Monk* ſeizes Colonel *Zanchy* (who was ſent from *Newcaſtle* with Letters to proceed in an additional Treaty) for Breach of certain Preliminary Articles, one whereof was, *That no Forces on either ſide ſhould advance forward during the Time of the Treaty.* And now *Monk* advances to *Coldſtream*, a poor Place on the *Tweed*, and there pitches his Tents; where he received Intelligence, that the Forces in *Ireland* had declared for *Monk*, and ſuch as oppoſed his Deſigns were all ſecured. This was managed by the Earls of *Orrery* and *Montrath*, Sir *Theophilus Jones*, the *Warrens*, and Captain *Fitz-Patrick* (who after did the King excellent Service in ſecuring *Dublin* for him) and others. And ſure it's obſervable, that as our Civil Wars began firſt from *Scotland*, then from *Ireland*; ſo firſt from *Scotland*, then from *Ireland*, ſhould ariſe that Peace which after ſucceeded in *England*.

Monk *marches for* England.

A. 1659. *Rubicon* thus paſſed, all Terms of Accommodation ceaſed; *Monk*'s Army conſiſted of four Regiments of Horſe (and theſe pitiful ones) commanded by *Morgan*, *Johnſton*, *Knight*, and *Cloberry*; and ſix of Foot, commanded by Major-General *Morgan* (whom *Lambert* had ſent to treat with *Monk*,) *Fairfax*, *Reade*, *Lidcot*, and *Hubblethorn*. *Monk* had this Advantage of *Lambert*, that his Horſes were well fed, and his Soldiers lay in Tents; whereas *Lambert*'s Horſe had nothing but what they plunder'd, and his Foot were diſpers'd into Quarters where they could get them: And at this rate *Lambert* came to *Newcaſtle*.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, all was in a Hurly-burly in *London*: The Apprentices riſe, and are ſuppreſſed by *Hewſon*; however, the Citizens take the *Rump*'s Vote for not paying Taxes without Conſent of Parliament, for good Law; and therefore will pay none; and the Country follow their Example. The Soldiers too, tho' they would be glad of their Pay when they could get it, yet agreed among themſelves, *That the Officers might fight with one another if they pleaſed, but the Soldiers would fight for none of them.* My Lord *Fairfax*, and the *Yorkſhire* Gentry, riſe againſt *Lambert* behind, and *Monk* marches on before. *Portſmouth*, headed by *Haſlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, declares for the *Rump*; and *Lawſon*, Admiral of the Fleet, ſtopt the Mouth of the *Thames*, threatning the *Committee of Safety*, that unleſs they reſtored the *Rump*, not one of them ſhould eſcape.

In this violent Motion, or Commotion, the Lord *Willoughby*, Alderman *Robinſon* (after Sir *John*) Major-General *Brown* (after Sir *Richard*) and ſome others, came to Mr. *Whitlock* (then one of the Commiſſioners of the Broad Seal) and propounded to him to go to *Fleetwood*, to adviſe him to ſend to the King to *Bruſſels*, and to offer to bring him in upon good Terms, and thereby prevent *Monk*'s Deſigns; which *Whitlock* did, as at the Deſire of them, and Sir *William Fleetwood* his elder Brother; and ſhewed *Fleetwood*, unleſs he did it, he and all the *Parliament-Party* would be left at the Mercy of the King, whom *Monk* would bring in without any Terms, as he after did.

Whitlock

Whitlock therefore propounded to *Fleetwood* one of these two things: "Either to give Order to all his "Forces to draw together, and himſelf and Friends "to appear at the Head of them, and ſo get what "ſtrength they could that would ſtand by them; "and accordingly to take further Reſolutions, if "they found their Strength but ſmall (which he "doubted;) then with thoſe few which he had, "to go to the *Tower*, and take Poſſeſſion of it; and "to ſend to the *Mayor* and *Common-Council*; that he "would join with them to declare for a Free Parlia- "ment; which *he thought* the City would willingly "do, and furniſh him with Money for his Soldiers, "which would encreaſe their Numbers." *A.D.*1659. Whitlock's *Conference with* Fleetwood.

Fleetwood asked him, "If he would go into the "Field, and to the *Tower*? *Whitlock ſaid*, He would. Then *Fleetwood* asked him; "What was the other "Way he had to propound to him in this Exi- "gency? He ſaid it was, "That *Fleetwood* ſhould "ſend away ſome Perſon of Truſt immediate- "ly to the King at *Breda* (*Bruſſels*) to offer to him, "his, and his Friends Service, to the reſtoring "the King to his Right, and that upon ſuch Terms "as the King ſhould agree upon; and for this pur- "poſe, to give Inſtructions to the Party whom he "ſhould ſend upon this Affair. *Fleetwood* asked him, "If he would be willing to go himſelf upon this "Imployment? *Who anſwered*, He would, if *Fleet- "wood* thought good to ſend him. *With this, "and ſome other Diſcourſe*, Fleetwood *ſeemed* fully ſa- "tisfied to ſend *Whitlock* to the King, and deſired "him to go and prepare himſelf forthwith for the "Journey; and that he and his Friends would pre- "pare Inſtructions for him, ſo that he might begin "his Journey that Evening, or early next Morning."

Whitlock going away, met *Vane*, *Desborrough*, and *Berry*, coming to ſpeak with *Fleetwood*; and about a quarter of an Hour after, *Fleetwood* returned, and in much Paſſion, told *Whitlock*, *I cannot do it, I cannot do it*; who deſired his Reaſons: *Fleetwood* anſwered, *I am engaged not to do any ſuch thing without my Lord* Lambert's *Conſent*; then *Whitlock* told him, *You will ruin your ſelf and Friends.*

Thus

*A.D.*1659. Thus you ſee how Man propoſes, but God diſpoſes: *Monk*, that made the *Scotiſh* Nobility abjure the King, and his Intereſt, brought him in; and *Fleetwood*, who would have done it, could not do [illegible]

The Rump *re-aſſume the Government.* *Fleetwood*, and his *Committee of Safety*, ſeeing all things now deſperate, ſent a humble Meſſage to *Lenthal* to beſeech him, and the *Rump*, to take upon them the *Supreme Government* again, which they graciouſly accepted, but came ſtaggering into the Houſe, being miſerably ſhaken by their Convulſion, though it laſted not two Months; a ſhrewd Sign they were not long liv'd.

The firſt thing the *Rump* did, now they were out of their Fit, was to recal *Lambert*'s and *Fleetwood*'s Commiſſions, though they needed not have done it; for their Soldiers, which before would not fight for them, now would not keep them Company, but deſerted them; ſo that their Conditions were right lamentable. *Lambert* had no Body to fight for him, nor *Fleetwood* ſcarce any to condole with him in his preſent Solitudes: However, the *Rump* committed *Lambert* to the Tower.

Monk now having broken off the Treaty of Accommodation with the *Committee of Safety*, marches on, and is every Day addreſs'd to, *That the Nation might have a full and free Parliament*; yet every one underſtood what was intended by it: And at *Morpeth* he met with a Letter from the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, by their Sword-bearer, promiſing the Concurrence and Aſſiſtance of the City in it: And that the End for which a *Free Parliament* was to be called, was interpreted by hanging out the King's Picture, which was no leſs gazed at by them, than by the *Welchmen* at King *Taffy*'s Effigies at the *Welch-Gate* at *Shrewsbury*.

When *Monk* came into *Yorkſhire*, at *North-Allerton* he was met by the Sheriff of the County, and at *York* he was magnificently treated by the City, and careſſed by my Lord *Fairfax*, and a numerous Gentry; and here he received into his Service ſome of *Lambert*'s Regiments, and ſent back Major-General *Morgan* into *Scotland*, to keep all quiet there.

The

The *Rump* were ſcarce recover'd out of their Con- *A.D.*1659.
vulſion, when they fell into a terrible *Quotidian Ague*, which ſhaked them grievouſly; and yet could get no Phyſician that could adminiſter any Comfort: They were ſure they were no way concerned in the Nation's and City's Addreſſes to *Monk* for *a full and free Parliament*; they could not truſt the *Engliſh* Army, nor would the Army truſt them; all their Hopes were in *Monk* and his Army, yet were afraid of them; and tho' they were ſo, yet could not tell to whom they ſhould complain.

However, not to be utterly wanting to themſelves, they ſent *Luke Robinſon* and *Scot*, to congratulate *Monk*'s coming, and thank him for the *Rump*'s Recovery; but not to ſpeak one Word of the Ague the *Rump* were fallen into.

Theſe met *Monk* at *Leiceſter*, and did their Errand, but *Monk* underſtood their Meaning, as well as they; and was as cloſe in concealing his Intentions, as they were of their Errand; which was to obſerve, and to be a Spy upon him in all his Motions: And *Monk* ſo far complied, as at *Northampton* he made the Officers of the *Iriſh* Brigade abjure the King and his Intereſt.

When *Monk* came to St. *Albans*, he ſent to the *Rump* to turn all thoſe treacherous Soldiers, who had been ſo unfaithful to them, out of the City and Lines of Communication; which the *Rump* conſented to: and the Day after, the 3d of *February*, in a Military Pomp, led his Army through *London*, and lodg'd in *Whitehall*.

But the *Rump*'s Frights were without end, for now they dreaded the Return of *Charles Stuart* (ſo they call'd the King) more than Sir *G. Booth*'s Inſurrection, or the Officers Rebellion; and ſince they could not fight him unleſs *Monk* help them; they'll try to ſwear him out, and ſee if *Monk* will join with them in it. And therefore the *Council of State*, next Day after *Monk* came to *Whitehall*, tender'd him the Oath of *Abjuring the King and Royal Family*; which *Monk* thought not fit then to do, but ſaid, *He would conſider ſome time of it.*

The

*A.D.*1659. The next Day after, *Monk*, attended by *Robinſon* and *Scot*, went to the Houſe, where the *Speaker* careſs'd him in a florid Speech, congratulating his coming to Town; and in the Name of the Houſe, thank'd him for the great Service he had done them. To which *Monk*, in a plain Soldier-like Anſwer, ſaid,

Monk's *Anſwer to the Speaker's Thanks.*

"That amongſt the many Mercies of God to "theſe poor Nations, their Reſtitution was not the "leaſt; that it was his Work alone, and to him be- "longs the Glory of it; that he eſteemed it an "Effect of God's Goodneſs, that he was ſome ways "inſtrumental in it; wherein he did no more than "his Duty, which did not deſerve the high Mark "of Favour they put upon it: That he would trou- "ble them with no large Narratives, yet deſired "leave to acquaint them, That in his March from "*Scotland* he obſerved the People in moſt Countries "earneſtly deſired a Settlement by a full and free "Parliament; and that they would determine their "Sitting, a Goſpel-Miniſtry, Encouragement for "Learning in the Univerſities; and that the *Secluded* "*Members* before 1648, might be admitted without "previous Oaths.

That he had anſwered, "They were a free Parlia- "ment, and if there were any Force upon them, "he would remove it; that you would fill up your "Houſe, and then would be a full Parliament; and "that you had already determined your Sitting. "And for the Miniſtry, and their Maintenance, the "Laws and Univerſities, you had declared largely "concerning them in your laſt Declaration. That "for the Gentlemen ſecluded before 1648, you had "already given your Judgment, and that they ought "to acquieſce therein: But to admit *Members* to ſit "without a previous Oath, was never done in *Eng-* "*land*; yet beg'd leave to ſay, That the leſs Oaths "and Engagements were impoſed, your Settlement "would be ſooner attained; yet that neither the "*Cavalier*, nor *Fanatick* Party have any ſhare in the "Civil or Military Power." Then he recommended to them the State of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, which you may read at large in the third Part of Dr. *Bates's* *Elenchus*.

The

The *Rump* were as little pleaſed with *Monk*'s Speech, as the *Council of State* with his Refuſal to take the Oath of *Abjuring the King and Royal Family*; therefore, ſeeing he would not ſwear as the *Rump* would have him, they'll try if he will do as they will have him.

A.D. 1659.

The *Common-Council* in *London* had paſſed an Order, *That unleſs they had a full and free Parliament, they would pay no more Taxes.* This ſo ſtartled the *Rump*, that the next Day after *Monk* had been at the Houſe, they ſent to him to ſend twelve of the forwardeſt Citizens to the *Tower*, and to pull up the City Poſts, Chains and Portcullices.

Monk pulls down the City Poſts, &c.

In Obedience to the *Rump*'s Order, *Monk* marches into the *Old Exchange*, and ſecur'd as many of the Citizens as the *Rump* ordered, as he found there; but when he iſſued out his Orders to pull down the Poſts, Chains, Gates, and Portcullices, the Officers withdrew, and conſulted what to do; and reſolved, *They could not obey theſe Orders, and offered to lay down their Commiſſions.* *Monk* endeavoured to pacify them, and told them, *The Orders of the Council were to be obeyed*; but they perſiſted, ſo as he was forced to ſet his leſſer Officers to do the Work, but did not pull down the Gates and Portcullices, thinking he had done enough to ſatisfy the *Rump*, but was miſtaken, for the *Rump* ſent more peremptory Orders, *to pull down the Gates and Portcullices*; which piece of Drudgery *Monk* perform'd.

Coll. *Herb. Morley*, a Non-Abjurer of the King, at this time was Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and took this Occaſion to come to *Monk*, and aſſured him for the *Tower*, himſelf, and Sir *J. Fagg* his Brother-in-Law, whoſe two Regiments were in *London*, and were reſolved to agree with him in any Matters that ſhould be for the publick Peace and Settlement. Next Day, or a Day after, *Praiſe-God Barebone*, with a Multitude of Water-men, and others, preſented a Petition to the *Rump*, *for the excluding the King and Royal Family, and that thoſe who refuſed ſhould not be capable of any Imployment*; for which the *Rump* thank'd them.

This

A.D. 1659. This ſtruck directly at the Authority of *Monk*; whereupon he call'd a private Council of his Confidents, to adviſe what to do: Where it was reſolved to take a general Muſter of his Army in *Finsbury-fields* the 11th of *February*. From whence *Monk* wrote to the *Rump*; *That the Services he had done them were ſlighted, whilſt the late Traitors, no leſs Enemies to them than the Commonwealth, had more eſteem than he: From whence elſe was this Kindneſs to* Lambert *and* Vane, *and new Offences againſt him, and their Reſpect to that leering Heretic* Barebone, *and all his Rabble? And therefore demanded that the filling up their Members be within a Week, and their Sitting determined, and to give place to a new Parliament.*

Soon in favour with the City.

From *Finsbury*, *Monk* ſent to the Mayor, that he would dine with him at the *Bull-head* in *Cheap-ſide*; where he deſired the Mayor in the Evening to call a Court of Aldermen at *Guild-hall*. This was blown about the City, and thouſands came to *Guild-hall* (and I among the reſt) to ſee what the Meaning of it ſhould be.

About ſix *Monk* came, and all the way as he came, and quite through the Hall, the Cry was, *A Free Parliament*. I ſaw him when he lighted out of his Coach, and went leaning on Coll. *Cloberry*'s Shoulder, into the Mayor's Court, but not one Word he ſaid; and when he came into the Mayor's Court, he read a Letter he ſent that Morning to the *Rump*, and then returned: The Cry was the ſame, *A Free Parliament*. *Monk* ſaid nothing; *Cloberry* ſaid, *You ſhall have a Free Parliament*. And it's not to be imagin'd how far this ſpread in ſo little time; for, I believe, in leſs than two Hours all the Bells in *London* were ringing; and in all the Streets (to the number, 'twas ſaid, of above 6000) Bonfires were made, and *Rumps* of all ſorts roaſting. But that Night *Monk* did not return to *Whitehall*, but lay at the *Glaſs-houſe* in *Broad-ſtreet*.

If the *Rump* were nettled at *Monk*'s Speech, they were now ready to die for fear; but ſince they could not ſhew their Teeth, they would ſhew their Backſides, and voted a *Committee of Five*, to order the Affairs of the Army, whereof *Monk* to be one.

But

But *Monk*, who but four Days before was ſo terrible to the City, is now become their Darling; they let him have 30000 *l.* to pay his Army in the City; whereas that without *was like a Herd of Goats upon the Mountains, having no Body to look after them, nor a Penny to help themſelves.* And *Monk* now having his Army entirely at his Devotion, ſcorn'd, for all the *Rump*'s Vote, to ſuffer any other of their Committee to partake with him in any part of his Authority over it. *A.D.*1659.

And now *Monk*, with a better Authority, and more Applauſe than *Cromwel* had, might have ſet up himſelf for *Protector*, or what he pleas'd; but he ſaw the Genius of the Nation lay another way, and that 'twas more ſecure to follow it, than to ſet up himſelf againſt it.

He held therefore private Intelligence with the Heads of the Secluded Members about their Reſtoration on certain Conditions: The Secluded Members were zealouſly diſpoſed to out the *Rump* upon any Terms, whatever came of it; they had more to ſay againſt the *Rump*, than the *Rump* had againſt the Officers of the Army, who had twice depoſed them; and the *Rump* began the Game with the Secluded Members before the Officers began with them. So upon *Feb.* 21. *Monk* gave the Command of the Guard to Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper* (after Earl of *Shaftsbury*) to permit the Secluded Members to enter the Houſe; the firſt whereof was *W. Prynn*, tied to a great Basket-hilted Sword: yet the *Rumpers* were not excluded, nor did the Secluded Members care for it, being four to one. And ſo the *Rumpers* left the Houſe, and fell into a Relapſe of their Convulſion, out of which they never recovered: Nor did *Barebone*'s Rabble afford them any Relief. *The Secluded Members re-admitted.*

Thus you ſee the *Rump* and Secluded Members were like *Virginal-Jacks* too, when one was up, the other was down; for the Secluded Members, who before would not have the Nation or themſelves ſafe, unleſs they were an undiſſolvable Parliament, now, to be revenged on the *Rump*, are content to meet only to do *Monk* ſome Journey-work, and then diſſolve themſelves.

The

*A.D.*1660. The Secluded Members, after they were in, repeal their own Excluſion; then vote *Monk* General of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; *Mountague* Admiral of the Fleet; ſet Sir *George Booth*, and thoſe in Priſon upon that account, at liberty; and ſoon after ſent *Lambert* in his room; and grant a Tax for Payment of the Army, which now no Man diſputed.

But *Monk*'s Cares did not end here; the Army without were more than fivefold to his within the City: He therefore ſent Letters to all the other Regiments of the Armies in *England* and *Ireland*, *To certify the Reaſon of the Re-admiſſion of the Secluded Members, that without it there was no way to ſatisfy the Nation, or raiſe Money to pay the Army; and with large Aſſurances of their Conſtancy in their old Profeſſion and Principles.*

Soldiers in general obey Monk. The Soldiers in general were glad to be out of their ſtarving and wandring ſtate, and therefore in Shoals ſubmitted to *Monk*, who yet would not receive them, unleſs they would ſwear to be true to this Parliament (as 'twas called) which he could but little truſt to, they having ſo often forſwore themſelves before; yet theſe at preſent ſerv'd his turn and thoſe who refuſed he caſhier'd.

Now had horrible Dread overwhelm'd the *Rumpers*, eſpecially *Regicides*; they ſaw themſelves hated by almoſt all the Nation, yet at irreconcileable Variance one with another; the Body of the Army which had raiſed them, turned now againſt them: they knew the Secluded Members had but a limited time to ſit, and then to diſſolve themſelves to make room for another, which would certainly bring in the King, to their utter Deſtruction.

In this Conſternation *Lambert* eſcap'd out of the *Tower*, and Coll. *Rich* refuſed to ſubmit: *Lambert* poſts to *Warwick*, where he met *Axtel*, *Okey*, *Cobbet*, *Creed*, and ſome other disbanded Officers, to whom many disbanded Soldiers joined, which made up a little Army.

Colonel *Streater* (a Confident of *Monk*'s) from *Northampton*, gives *Monk* an Account of this; whereupon

upon the *Council of State*, ſettled by the Secluded Members, proclaim *Lambert*, and all his Adherents, Traitors; and *Monk* ſent Coll. *Rich Ingoldsby* (a Gentleman of more true Courage than twenty of theſe ſniveling Fellows, who was before caſhier'd for adhering to *Rich. Cromwel*, when the Officers depos'd him) with a ſtrong Squadron of Horſe to join *Streater's* Foot againſt them. A.D. 1660.

When theſe were joined, upon *Eaſter-Day*, near *Daventry*, both Armies came within ſight of one another; when *Lambert* made an Overture to *Ingoldsby* to reſtore *Ric. Cromwel*: But *Ingoldsby* knew this Game was loſt, and that *Lambert* did not mean ſincerely; and ſo they fought: *Ingoldsby* charged home, and *Lambert's* Men could not ſuſtain the Shock, but fled; and *Ingoldsby* (it's ſaid) took *Lambert* Priſoner with his own Hands, *Lambert* crying, *Quarter, good my Lord,* (for *Ingoldsby* was one of *Oliver's* Lords of the *Other Houſe*) *ſpare my Life.* With *Lambert*, *Cobbet* and *Creed* were taken Priſoners; *Okey* and *Axtel* eſcaped now, but could not eſcape a greater Puniſhment than befel *Lambert*, *Cobbet*, or *Creed*, for they were hang'd and quarter'd for having been King *Charles's* Judges. Nor was *Rich's* Fate much better than *Lambert's*, for Coll. *Ingoldsby* at *Bury* in *Suffolk* caſhier'd him, it's ſaid, at the Head of his Regiment, and disbanded it. *Lambert taken Priſoner.*

This was the End of that invincible Army, ſubdu'd by not one ſixth part of it ſelf; for *Monk* when he came from *Scotland*, had but four Regiments of Horſe, and ſix of Foot, and (I believe) not ten Men killed in their Defence; and not one *in the Reduction of the invincible Armado.* And now 'tis time to ſee what followed; the Secluded Members, with much ado, having diſſolved themſelves, upon *Mar.* 17. iſſued out Writs for another to meet; yet in the Name of *the Keepers of the Liberties of the Commonwealth of* England, upon *April* 25. the Elections to be as they were before the Year 1640. The gazing World eagerly expected the Succeſs of this wondrous Revolution.

In the mean while the *Pyrenean* Treaty being ſet on Foot, King *Charles* II. about the End of *November* (the Differences between *Monk*, and the Officers of the *Engliſh* Army, being in the higheſt Ferment) came

*A.D.*1660. to it, that his Concerns might be concerted in it? He was received by *Don Lewis de Haro* (the *Spaniſh* Miniſter) with as much Honour and Veneration, as if poſſeſt of all his Kingdoms, but negligently and ſlightly by *Mazarine* and the *French* Miniſters. And ſure the Indignity here offer'd to his Perſon, and the Induſtry of *Bourdeaux* at *London*, in endeavouring to keep him from being reſtor'd, would have made another not to forget theſe about five or ſix Months after. But if the King's Reſtoration came not from ſome other place, he might have waited long enough for it here; for *France* would not, and *Spain* could not aſſiſt him.

A

DETECTION

OF THE

Court and State of ENGLAND,

DURING THE

REIGN

OF

K. *CHARLES* II, *&c.*

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

This Reign detected to the Beginning of the first Dutch *War.*

AS the Nation thought they could not be redeemed from the Arbitrary Government of King *Charles* the First, but by the Long Parliament in 1640, ſo they thought they could not be redeemed from the Confuſions, Rage and Diſtractions they labour'd now under, but by reſtoring King *Charles* the Second.

*A.D.*1660. To gratify this Expectation, the Convention, who met on the 25*th* of *April* 1660, Hand over Head, without any Preliminaries of aſſerting the Rights and Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo manifeſtly violated by his Father and Grandfather, reſtored the King without any Contradiction. Upon his Reſtoration there were but five of the Biſhops living, *viz.* Dr. *Juxton*, Biſhop of *London*; Dr. *Fruen*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*; Dr. *Wren*, Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr. *Warner*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and Dr. *King*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*: Theſe three latter lived to die in their Biſhopricks; and in the Interval between the beginning of the Long Parliament, and the Reſtoration of the King (near twenty Years) upon the matter, all theſe Leaſes of the Church were expired; whereby incredible Sums of Money were raiſed by the new promoted Biſhops to their vacant Sees, without any regard to the reſt of the poor ſequeſtred Clergy, their Wives or Children: But the Jollity of the Convention for having got their King, put ſuch mean Thoughts out of their Conſideration.

K. Charles reſtored without Limitation.

The Hopes of the happy Days to come under this King's Reign, quite blotted out their Remembrance of the Days of his Father's and Grandfather's Reign: On the contrary, to flatter him, they ſtiled his Father, *The Martyr for the* Engliſh *Church and State*. Now they had got him, they would hold him; he might do what he liſt for all them, and ſo he did; which the Nation ſubmitted to, rather than to return to the Confuſions and Diſorders of the Times after his Father's Death: Nay, the Memory of theſe Times was ſo odious, that if even the Parliament took notice of his Actions, his Flatterers charged them with returning to the Parliament in 1640.

The Convention took terrible Vengeance on his Father's Judges; for tho' they did not all ſuffer in their Perſons, ſcarce any of them but forfeited their Eſtates: So as theſe Men, who would have his Father's Life, and Crown-Lands for their Eſtates, loſt their own Lives, and had their Eſtates added to the Revenues of the Crown: Tho' this was but as Water poured into a Sieve, yet it's obſervable, that the Inſtruments who acted in the King's Death, ſhould be thus

thus puniſhed, and *Lenthal* the Speaker, who granted the Commiſſion to act, ſhould eſcape free. *A. Reg.* 12.

The *Presbyterians* were ſcarce wet with the Tail of this Storm, none of them (except thoſe in ſequeſtred Livings) being puniſhed either in their Perſons or Fortunes; and many of them were preferred into high Places both in Church and State.

The poor Cavalier, or Loyal ſuffering Party, who hoped for a Heaven upon Earth in this King's Reign, fell into a worſe State than that they were in before: For as *Meſſeray* ſaid of the Reign of *Henry* III. of *France*, *It was the Reign of Favourites, wherein the Subjects* (it's ſaid) *paid ſo much, yet never was any King ſo poor*: So it may be ſaid of this. And the Cavalier Party having before mortgaged their Eſtates to redeem their Sequeſtration, the Remainder paid the Taxes to the King, and the other Part the Intereſt to the Mortgage; nor were they any ways countenanced by the King.

For his Favourites were a Generation of People who knew not his Father, but who humoured him in his Senſual Pleaſures and Prodigality; and were of the Female as well as Male Sex; who were a ſort of Favourites his Father was not acquainted with, nor do I find he ever regarded the Memory of his Father; but that he induſtriouſly endeavour'd to have it believed, *the Portraiture of his Father's Sufferings*, a Book of late ſo much controverted, was none of his.

However, his Mother had a great Aſcendant over him; ſo that ſhe being a Daughter of *France*, inclin'd him to embrace the *French* Intereſt againſt his own: And ſhe living near ten Years after his Reſtoration, ſo fixed this into a Habit in him, that in all his Life after he could never get rid of it, notwithſtanding all the Provocations of the *French* King to the contrary. But it's time now to take a View of this King's Actions.

The Deſires of the King to be reſtor'd were no leſs than thoſe of the Nation, that he ſhould, tho' upon any Terms; for upon the Diſſolution of the ſecluded Members, the King left *Bruſſels* (as you'll ſoon ſee he left *Spain*, who had harboured and relieved him in the time of his Exile, to join with *France*, who had ex-

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*A.D.*1660. pell'd him to join with *Oliver*, and by its Ambaſſador *Bourdeaux* at this time was uſing all its Endeavours to keep him out) and came to *Breda*; from whence he ſent Letters by Sir *John Greenvile* (after Earl of *Bath*) to *Monk*, *Mountague*, (after Earl of *Sandwich*) and the Mayor of *London*.

The *Presbyterians*, who thought to have had the ſame Power they had when the ſecluded Members diſſolved themſelves, were ſhrewdly miſtaken, for the Body of the Commons were *Royaliſts*, who choſe Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* their Speaker; and upon the opening of the Convention, the *Royaliſt* Lords, double more than the *Presbyterians*, entred into the Lords Houſe, which the *Presbyterians* complain'd of to *Monk*; who anſwer'd, *Now they were in, he had no Power to turn them out*; ſo the *Royaliſts* were double to the Factions in both Houſes of this Convention, ſo as the King need not fear his Reſtoration.

The Manner of the Reſtoration. Now half *England*, of all ſorts (except the *Rumpers*) croſs the Seas to *Breda*, to make their Bargains with the King before he ſhould come into *England*: The King promiſes fair to all, which it may be was impoſſible to perform, which cauſed Murmur afterward: And the Convention, after they had proclaimed him King by inherent Birth-right, ſent him 50000 *l.* 10000 *l.* to the Duke of *York*, and 5000 *l.* to the Duke of *Gloceſter*; and the City of *London* ſent the King and his Brothers 12000 *l.* Upon the 11*th* of *May*, both Houſes ſent Commiſſioners to *Breda*, to invite the King to return; and Admiral *Mountague*, with a Royal Fleet, to convey him over; who upon the 25*th*, landed him at *Dover*, where *Monk* met him upon his Knees, the King embracing him, and kiſſing him; and next Day, at *Canterbury*, created him Knight of the Garter, the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter* putting the *George* about his Neck.

'Twas rather a Madneſs than Jollity, all ſorts of People expreſſed in the King's Paſſage from *Dover* to *Whitehall*. The Nation was never ſo fine in Cloaths, even the poor Cavaliers will be as fine as the beſt, tho' they never live to pay their Taylors; nor ſhall the King take any care of them, his Favourites being of another Stamp than thoſe who ſerved his Father:

Never

Never were ſuch Pageants, Triumphal Arches, and ſumptuous Feaſts ſeen in the City before; for which the poor Orphans Money in the Chamber of *London* muſt pay the greateſt part. *A. Reg.* 13.

When the King was reſtor'd, the Nation was in a Martial Poſture, and the Manners of the People generally more ſevere and ſober, than in his Father's and Grandfather's Reign.

The King congratulated by Foreign Powers.

The firſt that made Court to the King, were the *Dutch*, when he was at *Breda*, to enter into a League with them; but the King, by the Advice of Sir *Edward Hide*, (it's ſaid) wiſely anſwer'd, *That this would look as if 'twere done by Reſtraint, the King being in their Power; beſides, he was not yet poſſeſt of his Kingdoms, nor had eſtabliſhed his Privy-Council:* Yet the *Dutch* were the firſt who preſs'd him with a moſt rich and ſplendid Gilded Yatch, to prepare him for a Treaty after his Acceſſion to his Crowns. Nor were the reſt of the Princes of *Europe* long after the *Dutch*, in congratulating the King's Reſtoration, the *French* King being one of the firſt: The *Spaniard* made not ſo much haſte, yet hoped for a better Reception than the *French*; and that the King of *Spain* might have a better Reception, he ſent the Prince *de Ligny* his Ambaſſador, who in the Splendor of his Train much outvied the *French*. It's true, the Prince got a Peace with the King for his Maſter the King of *Spain*, but he got as little good by it as the King of *Spain* did by that he made with the King's Grandfather, King *James* the Firſt.

With better Succeſs came the *French* Ambaſſador, tho' I do not find he made any League with the *French* againſt the *Spaniard*, as *Oliver* did; nor was there any need of it, the *French* having made a deceitful Peace with the *Spaniard* at the *Pyrenæan Treaty*; yet you ſhall ſoon ſee both Kings dealt as ill with the King of *Spain*, as if he had been an open Enemy: And the more to endear himſelf with his Brother of *France*, the King rejected the advantageous Treaty of Commerce which *Oliver* made with *France*, as done by an Uſurper, and never after (at leaſt that I ever heard of) made any other inſtead of it, but left his Subjects to be uſed even as the *French* King pleaſed in their Trades to *France*.

A. Reg. 13. *Henry* the Seventh was the firſt of our *Engliſh* Kings who uſed Guards, and he ſet up the Yeomen of the Guard, which was followed by the Kings of *England* ſince: But though the Convention had paid off, and disbanded the *Engliſh* Armies, yet the King, beſides his Band of Penſioners, in imitation of the *French*, muſt have Guards of Horſe and Foot, and the Parliament gave him Revenue enough to encreaſe theſe to what Number he pleaſed: But it had been better for him if he had imitated the *French* too, in preferring Men who were qualified, but few of theſe were to be found there: And though he gave near double the Pay to theſe, yet was he much worſe ſerved than if Men of Merit had been there for half the Pay; for ſcarce one of the Officers but bought their Places; and this was ſo common, that the Prices were certain; ſo not he who deſerved, but he which gave moſt was prefered; and when he was in, he owed the King no Service, having paid for what he had; and ſo his Buſineſs was how to improve his Bargain, not ſerve the King. And herein too the poor Cavaliers had the worſt, they not having ſo much Money to buy as others had.

I take it for granted, that the firſt League which the now *French* King made after he came to Majority (I mean after Twenty one Years of Age) was that of the *Pyrenæan Treaty*, the Breach of all the reſt before we will lay to the Charge of Cardinal *Mazarine*: We will therefore ſee if the *French* King was not as little a Slave to his Word in this League, as *Mazarine* was in any before; and you'll ſee that in all the Leagues this King after made, he was as little a Slave to his Word as in this Treaty.

We have in the former Book ſet down particularly the Article whereby the *French* King, upon his Honour, and the Faith and Word of a King, did promiſe neither directly nor indirectly to aſſiſt *Portugal* againſt *Spain*; yet at the beginning of the Treaty they ſecretly conveyed Troops into *Portugal* in ſeveral Bodies: And when upon Complaint of the Marqueſs *de la Fuente*, they ſent publick Orders to the Governors of their Ports, not to ſuffer any Soldiers to embark for *Portugal*, they did not abſtain by Connivance under-hand to

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let them paſs. Nay, when Marſhal *Turene* made pub- *A.D.*1660.
lick Levies to aſſiſt *Portugal*, it being complained of by the Marqueſs *de la Fuente*, they anſwered, it was a particular Act of the Marſhal, and the Court of *France* had no hand in it. They alſo continually ſupplied *Portugal* with Corn, and all ſorts of Ammunition: And *France* likewiſe fomented the Obſtinacy of *Portugal* to continue the War, when *Spain* offered them advantageous Terms of Peace. This, and much more you may read in the ſecond Article of *The Buckler of State and Juſtice*.

Nor did the *French* King ſtay here, but (being become the deareſt Confident with his Brother of *England*) almoſt as ſoon as the King was ſettled, the *French* ſent Monſieur *Courtin* to move the King not to abandon *Portugal*; nor did he yet ſtay here, but *Mazarine* dying much about the latter end of *Summer*, having a Stone in his Heart, (ſo the *French Paſquils* ſaid) in *September*, or beginning of *October*, the Queen-Mother came over, ſeemingly to treat with her Son for a Marriage between Monſieur of *France*, and her fair Daughter *Henrietta Maria*, the King's belov'd Siſter: Yet it ſeems to me the Marriage of the King with the *Infanta* of *Portugal* was not leſs deſigned than that with *Monſieur*: And beſides theſe, you will ſoon hear of ſomething elſe which brought the Queen-Mother into *England*.

As the Deſigns of the Queen's coming over were dark, ſo I acknowledge I have not ſeen any of the Treaties or Tranſactions concerning them, but muſt take Meaſures by what followed, and ſo far as I had Light from what went before; yet in all of them it ſeems evident to me, that the Queen ſhewed herſelf to be more affectionate to her Daughter than Son, and to be more a Daughter of *France*, than Queen of *England*.

But before I proceed, it will be convenient to take notice of the deplorable State of *Spain*, which their Ambition in ſeeking ſo many Foreign Dominions, and a Tyrannical Government, had brought it to: For before the Acceſſion of their *American* Dominions which they acquired by unjuſt War, and unheard of Cruelties, in all the ten Years War between *Ferdinand* and *Ill State of Spain.*

*A.D.*1661. and *Iſabella* with the *Moors*, (who had Seven hundred Years been poſſeſſed of the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and a great part of *Andaluſia*) every Year the *Moors* and *Chriſtians* brought near a Hundred thouſand Men into the Field to fight one with another; yet the Kingdoms of *Arragon*, *Navarre* and *Portugal*, were Neutral in all the War: Whereas now all the Kingdoms of *Spain* (except that of *Portugal*) were united under this K. *Philip* the Fourth, yet out of them all he could not raiſe an Army to fight the *Portugueze*; but truſting to the *French* Faith in the *Pyrenæan* Treaty, ſent the Army in *Flanders* under the Command of the Marqueſs *Caracene* to do it.

The King embraced the Overtures of both Marriages; and now the *French* King doubly, if not trebly, aſſured of his Brother of *England*, as well by the Treaties of theſe Marriages, as by his Meſſage by *Courtin*, no longer acts covertly in aſſiſting the Prince Regent of *Portugal* againſt *Spain*, but bare-fac'd ſent Marſhal *Schomberg* with an Army and Fleet to their Aſſiſtance; yet this Army was not ſufficient to make an Offenſive War againſt *Spain*; but *Portugal* ſtood only upon the Defenſive.

The Want of Money a little retarded the Marriage of the Princeſs with *Monſieur*; but this might be eaſily help'd, if the King would give up *Dunkirk* to the *French*, whereby he might pay 200000 *l.* for his Siſter's Portion (which was more than his Father had with his Mother) and alſo receive 200000 *l.* more for himſelf. Nor was this all, he might ſave the Charges of maintaining a Garriſon there; yet the Parliament in the Hereditary Exciſe, allowed him 60000 *l. per Annum* for the Support of it. I do not find this mentioned in the Body of the Act, yet ſeveral Members aſſured me, it was ſo intended in the paſſing the Act. All this the King agreed to, and ſo *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* Fort, were given up to the *French*, againſt all the Laws of *Humanity*, *Juſtice* and *Prudence*. I ſay it was againſt all the Laws of *Humanity*; for the *Spaniard* entertained and relieved the King, when the *French* had expelled him, and joined with *Oliver* the Uſurper of all his Dominions. It was againſt *Juſtice*; for the Sovereignty of *Dunkirk* was of Right and Juſtice the *Spaniards*. And againſt

King ſells Dunkirk to the French.

againſt the Rules of *Policy* and *Prudence*; the *French* *A. Reg.* 13.
Nation being the Natural Enemies of the *Engliſh*, and the next Neighbour to it, and of all Nations the moſt formidable.

It had been happier for the poor *Spaniard*, and the *Engliſh* Nation, if the Unkindneſs of the King to the *Spaniard* had ended in his giving up *Dunkirk* to the *French*: But it ended not here; for the King employed the Army which ſhould have kept *Dunkirk*, againſt the *Spaniard* in *Portugal*; and with theſe, and another Band of the diſbanded *Engliſh* Army joined to them; the *French*, *Portugueze* and *Engliſh*, or rather the *Engliſh* without them, routed the whole united Army of the *Spaniard* at the Fight of *Elvas*: So as now the *French* had a new Inlet into *Flanders*, and the *Spaniard* no Army to defend it. This was a foul Blot in the *Spaniſh* Politicks, by their King's truſting to the Faith of his Brethren of *England* and *France*. But this will not ſtay here, as hereafter you will ſee.

Here I take leave, ſo well as I can, to vindicate the Memory of my Lord Chancellor *Hide*, from two Aſperſions (as I conceive) caſt upon him; one, That he was the Adviſer of the giving up *Dunkirk* to the *French*: The other, That he was the Procurer of the King's Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*. For the firſt, I was aſſured by a credible Perſon (though a Confident of my Lord Chancellor's) that he was ſo far from adviſing the King to give up *Dunkirk* to the *French*, that only he and my Lord Treaſurer *Southampton* (upon whoſe Honour my Lord Chancellor relied more than any other) of all the Council, entred their Proteſtations againſt it. The Truth of this may be reſolved, by inſpecting the Privy-Council's Books. [*This I have done, and find it is not true.*]

It's true, I cannot prove negatively, that my Lord Chancellor did not firſt propound the King's Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*; yet it ſeems to me reaſonable he did not, for theſe Reaſons.

I never heard of any Diſcourſe of this Match, before the Arrival of the Queen-Mother in *England*; or if any were, it's probable that Monſieur *Courtin* had this in his Inſtructions, as well as that of moving the King not to abandon *Portugal*, for both theſe tend to *The Portugueze Match.*

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A.D. 1661. the ſame end; and the *French* King, all his Reign after, ſought to attain his Ends by Women, as well as other Ways: Nor can it be believed that the Prince of *Portugal*, now engaged in War againſt *Spain*, ſhould pay the Queen's Portion 400000 *l.* I believe he did what he could, give up *Tangier* and *Bombay* to the King, which laſt Place he leaſed to the *Eaſt-India Company* for 15 *l. per Annum*, but the Money was paid by the *French* King.

Though the Factions had ſuch ill Succeſs with previous Swearing, which every one impoſed upon the Nation when it was uppermoſt, and which no Man regarded when another ſucceeded; yet upon the Reſtoration of the King, the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy (which latter was only impoſed upon certain ſorts of Men; and, as my Lord *Verulam* ſays, ſinks deep into the Conſcience, and was therefore interpreted by Queen *Elizabeth* in her Injunctions, which were after confirmed by Act of Parliament) were impoſed upon all ſorts of People, and the Refuſers looked upon as Enemies to the King, and Favourers of the late Times.

And though the Convention ſate but from the 25*th* of *April*, 1660, to the 29*th* of *December* following, yet by this time the outward face of almoſt all the Nation was quite changed: The *Cavalier Party*, under the Perſecution of the late Times, lived quietly upon that part of their Eſtates which was permitted them after their Compoſitions, and the Governing Factions put on a Countenance of Godlineſs and Sobriety: Whereas in the Jollity of the King's Reſtoration, all ſorts of Men (even the Factions) endeavoured to imitate the profuſe Prodigality and Luxury of the Court; which ſcarce entertained any but upon thoſe Terms. To humour the King, the Publick Theatres were ſtuffed with moſt obſcene Actions and Interludes, and the more Obſcene pleaſed the King the better, who graced the opening of them with his Preſence, at the firſt Notice of a new Play.

A regular Parliament called. In this State the Convention was diſſolved, and a Parliament met on the 8*th* of *May*, 1661. where that they might outvy the Convention in Loyalty, in the firſt Chapter they make Words to compaſs or imagine any

any bodily Harm or Impriſonment, or Reſtraint upon the Body of the King, or to depoſe him, or levy War againſt him, to be High-Treaſon: And if any ſhall any ways affirm the King to be a *Heretick* or *Papiſt*, he ſhall be incapacitated to hold any Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military Imployment: And that it ſhall be a *Premunire* in any to ſay, The Long Parliament begun in *November* 1640, is not diſſolved; or that there lies any Obligation upon any one from any Oath to endeavour a Change of Government either in Church or State; or that one or both Houſes of Parliament have a Legiſlative Power; and declare the Oath, commonly called *The Solemn League and Covenant*, to be an unlawful Oath, and impoſed upon the Subject againſt the Fundamental Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation: And Chap. 5. declare againſt tumultuary petitioning the King or Parliament. And Chap. 6. declare the ſole Right of the Militia to be in the King. This Parliament, upon the 30th of *July*, was adjourned to the 20th of *November*. *A. Reg.* 13.

This being but an Adjournment, and ſo the Act of the Houſes, (for as yet the King did not exerciſe his Prerogative of proroguing them, which hereafter you will ſee him very prodigal of) I do not find that this Adjournment was made, that the King might better proceed in his Bargain and Sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French*. Yet I do ſay that before the Parliament met, it was (as I remember in *September*) that the Bargain and Sale was perfected, and *Dunkirk* put into the Power of the *French*.

But neither the Sale of *Dunkirk* without, nor the keeping up a Standing Army within (called the King's Guards) after it was disbanded and paid off by the Convention, nor the King's Manner of Life, could any ways abate the Loyalty of this Parliament to the King; and keep him they would whatever came of it: And to all the Proviſions for Security of his Perſon and Power, they will add that to keep him in, which the *Rump* in its laſt Breath did to keep him out, *viz.* To ſwear to keep him out. And therefore the Parliament, Chap. 2. made the Corporation-Oath to be taken by all the Members of Corporations, *viz.* I A. B. *do declare and believe, that it is not lawful, upon any* *The Corporation Oath made.*

A.D. 1661. *any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King: And that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe who are commiſſioned by him: So help me God.* This, I think, is one of the firſt Laws that ever was made, to ſwear to Opinions and Belief: And ſure if Swearing would determine Controverſies and Beliefs, all Learning, Reaſoning and Inſtruction would be at an end; and he that ſwears moſt is the beſt Logician, and the Godlieſt Man. We will therefore conſider the Nature of an Oath, and thoſe who are to take the Oath.

If we conſider Man, and other Senſitive Creatures in their Creation and Generation, they were all paſſive, and they were created and generated without any Act of their own Will, or the Counſel or Concurrence of any Creature, but of a Divine and Omnipotent Power; and by a Providence and Preſcience not leſs wiſe and good, than the Power was Omnipotent, they had Food, and other Means for their Continuance in this World provided before they were created or generated.

But though God, without the Act of the Will of any Creature, did make Man, and other Senſitive Creatures, by an inimitable Power, which he communicated to no Creature; and by an unſcrutable Wiſdom and Goodneſs did provide for them before they were made or generated; yet did he not in vain make them Organical Bodies, endued with Life, Senſe and Motion; ſo that after they were made, they might ſeek Food which God had before provided for them, and preſerve themſelves from other Creatures which might be hurtful to them.

As Senſation is naturally common to Man, and other Senſitive Creatures, ſo are the Paſſions of Love, Fear, Hatred and Deſire; *viz.* Love of thoſe things which conduce to their Welfare and Preſervation; Fear of thoſe things which are hurtful to them, accompanied with an Hatred of them; and a deſire of generating their Like on other Bodies.

Beſides theſe Attributes common to other Creatures, God endued Man with an Intellectual and reaſonable Soul, which is proper to Man, exclusive

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to other Creatures; and made all things in this our Habitable World for the uſe of Man, and therefore created Man for a nobler End than can be found in this World, *viz.* capable of Eternal Happineſs in a better. *A. Reg.* 14.

But though God made all things in this World for the uſe of Man, yet few things are uſeful to Man, but as they are made ſo by Humane Labour, Induſtry and Art; yet no Art nor Science in Man is innate or connatural, or comes to paſs by Inſpiration, Fate or Chance, but by Education, Learning and Experience. We do not read that God ever made a Houſe, a Piece of Cloth, a Ship, *&c.* without Man; whereas Nature of her own accord has provided Food, and all things neceſſary for other Creatures, without any Act or Care of theirs. Thus Nature clothed Sheep and Beaſts with Wool and Hair; Fowls with Feathers, and Fiſh with Scales: And though Fowls make their Neſts, and Conies and Badgers Berries, yet they do theſe by an inſite connatural Power, not learned or taught by any Creature.

Other Creatures live free and independent upon one another, except the young ones of ſome Creatures, while they can ſeek their Food and Preſervation; and are either Solivagous and Hurtful, as Foxes, Wolves and Tigers, *&c.* or live promiſcuouſly in Herds and Flocks, and are innocent Creatures, as Sheep, Goats, *&c.* whereas Men live in Dependency one upon another, ſo as no Man can ſubſiſt of himſelf; but depends upon another for things which conduce to their Welfare and Preſervation; and are neither Solivagous, nor live promiſcuouſly in Flocks and Herds, but in Society and Converſation; and keep Company by Election or Choice, as they ſtand in need of other Men, either for their Neceſſity, Convenience or Pleaſure; and Men are diſtinguiſhed from other Men by their Manners and Converſation, ſo as it becomes ſcandalous to keep Company with debauched and vicious Men.

As other Creatures live free and independent upon one another, ſo have they all things which Nature had provided for them in common; whereas Man lives upon thoſe things wherein he has Property exclusive

A. Reg. 14. excluſive to other Men: So that it is wicked and unjuſt for any Man, who has no Property in a thing, without the Conſent of him who has Property in it, to take it from him.

In this State of Society, out of which no Man lives, God did not endue Man with Underſtanding and Reaſon in vain; for whereas other Creatures purſue their Actions, being excited by the Paſſions of Love, Fear, Hatred and Deſire; yet Man depreſſes theſe, and governs his Actions by Underſtanding and Reaſon, ſo that Humane Society may be preſerved.

Speech and Letters are neceſſary in Humane Society and Converſation; which wiſe Nature (that never acts in vain) hath denied other Senſitive Creatures, which govern their Actions by Senſe, and their Paſſions, theſe having no need of them. Speech is the Mean or Inſtrument by which Men converſe to the Hearing of one another; and Letters to the Sight: Other Creatures can hear the Sound of Speech, and can ſee Letters, but do not underſtand the Power of the Words, or Conſtruction of them.

Man is born the moſt impotent of all other Creatures, being naked and unarmed, yet can neither cloath nor defend himſelf without the Help of another; he has nothing to feed himſelf with but what he has from another; yet if he takes any thing from another, without the Conſent of that other, it will be Wickedneſs and Theft. He is obliged to live uprightly and juſtly with other Men; yet underſtands not how to live uprightly and juſtly, but as he is inſtructed by Education, Learning and Experience; he is obliged to ſpeak and write in Truth, but neither Speech nor Letters are Inſite or Connatural, but acquired by Inſtruction and Learning from others.

All Humane Learning, Reaſoning and Inſtruction in Religion, Morality, or every Art and Science, is begotten from the Powers which God had before implanted in the Learner, and from the Principles which were before underſtood by him: So that if a Man be born blind, it will be in vain to inſtruct him how to be a Painter; or if dumb, to be a Muſician or Orator; or if he be not *Compos Mentis*, ſo as to underſtand

derſtand the Principles from which he is to be in- A.D. 1661.
ſtructed, Inſtruction will be as vain to him, as to teach a dumb Man to be an Orator, or a blind Man a Painter: So that it is from thoſe Powers which God has implanted in Man, without the Will of Man, that Man becomes capable of being inſtructed by Man; and therefore Man is obliged to give God all Honour and Praiſe before any other, that he endued him, without the Help of any other, with an Intellectual and Reaſonable Soul, capable of Inſtruction.

The End of all Learning, Reaſoning and Inſtruction, is how from Premiſes or Principles, which a Man before underſtood as an Intellectual Creature, to govern his Intentions, Speech and Actions from them in time to come rationally: So that as the Underſtanding is of the Cauſes of Things and Actions which were before; ſo Reaſon is of the Conſequences of Speech and Actions in time to come: The Underſtanding is from the Act and Power of God, but Reaſon is from the Act and Power of Man: So that though a Man may inſtruct another, who has a competent Underſtanding, how to act rationally in Conſequence, yet no Man can inſtruct another who is a Fool or Madman, how to underſtand Principles from which he is to be inſtructed, ſo as to judge and act rationally.

As every Learner is preſumed to underſtand the Principles from which he is to be inſtructed, ſo the Principles are aſſumed, not proved, and are to be without Queſtion or Diſpute: For if the Queſtion of any rational Propoſition be but probable or uncertain, the Concluſion or Conſequence, will be leſs probable or more uncertain.

For the better underſtanding an Oath, it will be very requiſite to diſtinguiſh between Underſtanding and Knowledge; for Man underſtands intelligible Beings, as God, the Soul, a Law, Religion, Juſtice, &c. which can never be the Objects of Senſe, but may be ſaid to know what he underſtands, ſenſibly, *viz.* of Things and Actions which are perceived by Senſe: As a Man, a Horſe, a Tree, may be perceived by other Senſitive Creatures: But that theſe do exiſt, *The Nature of Oaths.*

A. Reg. 14. is intelligible. So it is that Man is an intellectual and reaſonable Creature; and that God has made all ſenſible things in the World for the uſe of Man, &c. and theſe can never be the Objects of Senſe.

As Man excels all other Creatures as he is an intellectual and reaſonable Creature, whereby he honours God, is helpful to other Men, and preſerves Peace in Society; ſo on the contrary, Man above all other Creatures abounds in Pride, Ambition, Arrogance, Malice, Revenge, Covetouſneſs, and unlawful Luſt, whereby God becomes diſhonoured, and the Peace of humane Society diſturbed; ſo as it is neceſſary in all Kingdoms and Countries, that theſe be reſtrained and puniſhed by Civil and Coercive Laws.

Laws are twofold, Divine and Humane; Divine Laws are twofold, *viz.* Natural, and Supernatural revealed in the ſacred Scriptures: Natural, which are preſumed to be alike engraven on the Mind of Man: Supernatural are thoſe which Man obeys by God's ſpecial Favour and Grace. Natural Laws are Affirmative and Negative; Affirmative, That Man honour God above all Creatures, and that he converſe truly and uprightly with Man: Negative, That he do not blaſpheme or diſhonour God, nor wrong, or deal falſly or deceitfully with another, neither in his Intentions, Speech, nor Actions: So that Civil Laws do not forbid Blaſphemy, or immoral Speech and Actions, but indifferently in divers Countries and Places puniſh them.

I ſay, the Law of Nature is alike implanted in all intelligible Creatures; for where there is no Law, there is no Tranſgreſſion nor Omiſſion: And therefore, if all Men did not underſtand that Blaſphemy, and immoral Speech and Actions, were wicked, it would be Tyranny to puniſh them: So as humane Judgment and Juſtice are neceſſary for Preſervation of humane Society; and the End of humane Judgment and Juſtice, is, as well to reſtore them to Right who ſuffer wrongfully, as to puniſh Wrong-doers.

It's fit here to diſtinguiſh between Knowledge and Belief; Knowledge is immediate of thoſe Things, and Actions which fall under the Senſe of Man, and therefore not learn'd or taught, but alike underſtood by

by all Men: And Verity and true Speech is what a Man knows; whereas Belief is a Reliance upon what another ſays to be true. A.D. 1661.

In all legal Judgment upon which Juſtice is executed, Judges in Civil Affairs aſſume two Premiſes, which are to be without Queſtion or Diſpute, *viz.* ſome foreknown Law, and ſome Speech or Act done; ſo that if the Law and Fact be but probable or uncertain, the Judgment will be leſs probable, or more uncertain: But in giving Judgment, Judges do not ſwear to their Opinions, but make ſome Laws to be their Reaſons of them.

A Promiſe is twofold, Affirmative and Negative, and is of time to come, and is a Reſpecter of Perſons. An Affirmative Promiſe, is a Speech or Writing, wherein one or more aſſure another or more, upon their Truth or Faith to do ſuch an Act, in his or their Power, in ſome certain Time and Place; or to be ſerviceable to another or more, for ſome time, or during Life, as they ſhall be able: A Negative Promiſe is when one or more, upon their Truth or Faith, aſſure another, not to do ſuch an Act; and if the Parties mutually promiſe, this is a Contract.

A Promiſſory Oath, is when one or more affix God's Name (which implies an Imprecation of God's Judgment upon them) that they will do or not do, what they Promiſe: But ſure Men who give Promiſſory Oaths, ought to be well aſſured they can do what they promiſe; and ought (conſidering the Frailty of humane Nature, and the intervening Accidents which they cannot foreſee, or if they could, could not prevent) to implore God's Aſſiſtance to enable them to perform their Promiſe. And I do ſay, and verily believe, that of all Men, thoſe who ſooneſt make Promiſſory Oaths, do moſt break them; and that Men who are ſo forward to make theſe Promiſſory Oaths, by them cover their Deſigns of deceiving the other, more than of performing their Promiſe.

An Oath is ſo ſacred, that as God will not have Divine Adoration, or Worſhip, to be given to any other but himſelf, ſo neither will he have an Oath to be taken by any other Name; not by the Sun,

A. Reg. 14. Moon, Earth, or all the Hoſt of Heaven. And if he will not hold him guiltleſs who takes his Name in vain, how will he hold him guiltleſs who ſwears in vain? Thereby not only leſſening the Veneration due to his Name, but deſigning by it to deceive another.

In all my Obſervations, I never knew any Man, who made no Conſcience of Swearing, or taking God's Name in vain, but made leſs in taking care to perform his Promiſes: And when I hear a Man begin with Swearing (not duly called unto it) I ſuſpect he has either ſome Deſign in it, or that thereby he would create a Belief to that which is not true.

But how legally or illegally ſoever theſe Promiſſory Oaths are impoſed, I never heard of any who was proſecuted for Perjury upon them, except Mr. *Long*, Sheriff of *Wilts*, proſecuted in the *Star-Chamber*, for that he had ſworn (as all Sheriffs do) not to go out of the County without leave from the King; yet being choſen a Parliament-Man, 3 *Car.* 1. came to ſerve in Parliament, for which he pleaded the King's Writ, which was Leave from the King; and the Earl of *Argyle*, about the Interpretation of the unintelligible *Scotiſh Teſt*. And I dare ſay, That if the *Oath of Allegiance* to the King were but once taken, it would be held in greater Veneration than by often taking it upon theſe Promiſes. Let's ſee whether the Corporation-Oath be an Aſſertory, or Promiſſory Oath, or neither: And in regard it is of two Parts, I conſider both. The firſt is,

> I A. B. *do declare and believe, That it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King.*

Deſcants upon the Corporation-Oath. This Part of the Oath is not Promiſſory, and ſo an Aſſertory Negative Oath: Here I will not diſpute whether there can be a Negative Aſſertory Oath; yet I do ſay ſuch an Oath can never extend farther than to him who ſwears he does not know what he is required to ſwear: But he can never ſwear that another does not know it. *So though a Man may believe*

lieve it's not lawful for a Man to take Arms againſt the King upon any Pretence whatſoever, yet he can never extend it further than himſelf. A.D. 1661.

But I ſay this ſort of Swearing deſtroys the Religion and End of an Aſſertory Oath, which is only to what a Man knows certainly to be true; but no Man certainly knows that an Opinion or Belief is certainly true: But though by ſome apparent Reaſon, or the Authority of another, I may be of an Opinion, or Belief, yet upon clearer Reaſon and better Authority, I may alter my Opinion and Belief, which a previous Aſſertory Oath can never oblige me to. In Juſtice therefore an Aſſertory Oath, That I believe, or am of Opinion, is not admitted, unleſs he that teſtifies, ſwears the Ground or Cauſe of his Belief, or Opinion, to be certain and true of his own Knowledge.

I deſire to know what were the Grounds or Reaſons of this Corporation-Oath, which every one ought to ſwear to be true of his own certain Knowledge, before he *believe it not to be lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King*. Or, admit there might be Reaſon for this Belief, yet if the Cauſes of this Belief were not before known to the Taker of this Oath, ſo as the Taker knows them to be true of his certain Knowledge, this Oath, if any, is Perjury.

The other Part of this Oath is;

> *And I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his* (the King's) *Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe who are commiſſionated by him. So help me God.*

So that from ſwearing Negatively to Belief in the firſt Part of this Oath, we come to ſwear Affirmatively in this Part of it: But this Part not being Promiſſory of time to come, is an Aſſertory Oath too, if any, beſides the taking God's Name in vain, or worſe.

An Aſſertory Oath is of what a Man knows to be certainly true, and what was immediately the Object of Senſe. Here a Man ſwears not that he knows, but

A. Reg. 14. but abhors: And what does he abhor? *That Traiterous Poſition of taking up Arms by the King's Authority againſt his Perſon, or thoſe commiſſionated by him.* Is this traiterous Poſition the Object of Senſe, and immediate, ſo as the Swearer knows what the meaning of Traiterous Poſition is? Which I believe not one of twenty does: Or is not ſome Inference deduced from ſome Law or Uſage, which cannot be the Object of Senſe, and ſo not to be ſworn to?

The End of an Aſſertory Oath, is to inform the Judge and Jury, ſo that Juſtice may be determined by it: but here is neither Judge nor Jury to inform: What can be the end of this Swearing? Why 'tis becauſe otherwiſe the Swearer cannot be a Member of the Corporation; but if I cannot take his Word, I'll not take his Oath: And he that ſwears moſt to get Places, is the leaſt worthy of them. And I dare ſay he ſo much leſs underſtands his Duty in any Place, by how much the more he is ready to ſwear to get into it: And you will ſee that thoſe Men who are ſo ready to ſwear by this Oath which they did not underſtand, to get to be Members of Corporations, ſhall be more ready to forſwear themſelves in giving up their Charters, which they had ſworn to maintain and keep, and which they underſtood they ought to do.

Religion, Piety, Judgment, Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, are the ways by which God is honoured, and Peace and Happineſs eſtabliſhed in Nations and Kingdoms: And will God, inſtead of theſe, ſuffer his Sacred Name to be proſtituted by vain Swearing, ſo as to paſs unpuniſhed? Did not the Prophet *Hoſea, Ch.* iv. *v.* 3. of old complain, That *the Land mourned becauſe of Oaths*? And hath not our Land mourned ever ſince the Convocation, after the Diſſolution of the Short Parliament 1640, did enjoin the Oath, *I* A. B. *ſwear that I approve the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of* England, *as containing all things neceſſary to Salvation, and will not conſent to alter the Government in the Church by Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Arch-deacons, &c.* to be taken by all the Clergy? Was God well pleaſed that his Sacred Name ſhould be affixed to ſuch Stuff? Or did this

eſtabliſh

eſtabliſh this Hierarchy? Did not the Parliament about a Year after expel the Biſhops out of the Lords Houſe, and impriſoned their Perſons, and made them, and all Deans and Arch-deacons uncapable of Temporal Juriſdiction? And did not *England* and *Scotland*, about two Years after, join in a Covenant, and ſwear to extirpate Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Arch-deacons? Did not the Engagement expel the Covenant, and the Recognition to *Oliver* out the Engagement, till Men neither regarded what they had ſworn, nor cared what they ſwore to? *Monk*, before he came out of *Scotland*, cauſed the *Scots* to abjure the King and his Intereſt: So in his coming to *London*, he did by the Officers of the *Iriſh Brigade*, and the *Rump* died abjuring the King and Royal Family; yet in leſs than four Months after the King was reſtor'd. A.D. 1651.

Before the *Scots* would admit the King to land in *Scotland*, the 23d of *June* 1650, they made him, with his Hands lifted up, ſwear in the Preſence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, his Allowance and Approbation of the *National Covenant*, and *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, and Directories of Worſhip; and not only to give his Royal Aſſent to Acts of Parliament enjoining the ſame in all his Dominions, but to obſerve them in his private Family: And upon his Coronation, on the 11th of *January* 1651, repeated the ſame Oath. Yet how little did this avail him, or the Covenanters? for in leſs than eight Months *Cromwel* drove him, and his Covenanters, quite out of *Scotland*. And I dare ſay, the King never after made uſe of them in his private Family, nor ever after gave his Aſſent to any Act of Parliament enjoining the Covenants, tho' he were reſtored to all his Dominions.

From ſwearing the Corporation-Oath, the Parliament proceeds, That all Members of Corporations declare againſt the *Solemn League* and *Covenant* in theſe Words, *I A. B. do declare, That I hold there lies no Obligation upon me, or any other Perſon, from the Oath commonly called the* Solemn League *and* Covenant, *and that the ſame was in itſelf an unlawful Oath, and impoſed upon the Subjects of this Realm againſt the known Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.*

A. Reg. 14. This Declaration is as vain, and more wild than the Corporation-Oath: for 'tis but matter of Belief or Opinion, and ſo no Iſſue can be taken upon it: but if there could in him who declares, yet none can be taken upon that part which declares there lies no Obligation upon another; and I'll put it upon this Iſſue, that ſuch a Declaration was never before enjoin'd by any Law.

And if the Covenant be an unlawful Oath in it ſelf, becauſe impoſed by no lawful Authority; yet, I ſay, that no Authority under Heaven can make the taking God's Name in vain lawful, much leſs to take a vain or ſuperfluous Oath.

From new invented ſwearing, and declaring to keep the King in the Kingdom, the Church makes many new invented Prayers for him, eſpecially that for the Parliament, wherein they tell God that the King is their moſt Religious and Gracious King; as if he were ſo, and God did not know it; and if he were not ſo, to perſuade God he was ſo.

De Jove quid ſentis? Will God be mock'd? Is not he Omniſcient, and knows the Secrets of every Man's Heart? Has he any need to be informed what Man is? Or did this King's manner of Life induce the Church to inform God that he was moſt Gracious, or full of Grace? Or his devout Behaviour at his ſeldom Preſence in Divine Service, declare him to be moſt Religious? This King's Father and Grandfather's Flatterers went no higher than to flatter them, that they were bound by no Laws, and accountable to none but God for all their Actions; and that their Subjects were bound to obey them in all things, under Penalty of Damnation: They never went about to perſuade God they were moſt Religious and Gracious in ſo doing.

The Act of Uniformity. The Parliament chimed in with the Church, and by the *Act of Uniformity*, enjoin, That every one who holds any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, ſhall publickly declare before his Congregation his unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to every thing contained and preſcribed in the Book, entituled, *The Book of Common-Prayer*, &c. Put theſe together: *I* A. B. *do declare my unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent, That the King* (Charles II.)

is my moſt Religious and Gracious King. If he be ſo, how came you to know it? And if you do not know it, how came you ſo unfeignedly to aſſent and conſent that he is ſo? But though to get your Living you tell the Congregation ſo, when you do not know it; I think it's dreadful for you to tell God Almighty he is ſo. But you'll ſoon ſee what Care this King took of the Church of *England*, which took ſuch Care for him. *A.D.* 1661.

Was God well pleaſed with theſe things? You ſhall ſoon ſee unjuſt Wars and diſhonourable Peace: Such Judgments of Plague, Fire and Invaſion into our Ports, as never before were heard of. And tho' God's Judgments were in the Land, the People did not learn Righteouſneſs, but continued a divided and factious Nation, and a People laden with Iniquity: The Honour of the Nation not only loſt abroad, but a joining with a neighbouring, faithleſs, boundleſs and ambitious Prince, to the endangering the Subverſion of the Religion, Conſtitutions and Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation. Now let's ſee what is doing in *Scotland*.

If any Man reads *Buchanan*'s and *Drummond*'s Hiſtory of *Scotland*, they will better judge of General *Monk*'s prudent Government and Conduct in it for eight Years together: For from the Conteſt between *Bruce* and *Baliol*, for the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Scotland*, about the Year 1280, till *James* VI. came to the Crown of *England*, I ſcarce find five Years Peace together in any of the Reigns between. And if for ſome time the *Scots* were freed from open War, yet ſcarce at any time were they freed from Feuds among the Nobility, or the Nobility at Diſcord and Variance with their Kings. *An Account of the Scotch Reformation &c.*

After the Reformation of Religion in *Scotland*, which began in the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, by her aſſiſting the Nobility with an Army by Land, and a Fleet by Sea, whereby the *French*, ſent by *Henry* the Second of *France*, (Father of *Francis* the Dauphin, who had married *Mary* the *Scottiſh* Queen) to ſubdue *Scotland* to a Conformity to the *Romiſh* Church, were puted, the Kirk of *Scotland* ſet up a Juriſdiction as independent from the Civil as the *Romiſh* was, and held

A. Reg. 14. held it up during the Reign of *Mary*; and after they had expelled her, and choſen her Son *James* King (about 14 Months old) in the Regency of *Murrey*, they got their Church-Diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament: This was in the Year 1567.

The Kirk being poſſeſt of this Power during the Minority of King *James*, and ſeveral of the Nobility having got a great ſhare of the Crown-Lands of *Scotland*, the King upon his Majority was ſo poor, that he was not in a Condition to keep up the State of a King, much leſs to curb the Inſolence of the Kirk, the Nobility who had got the Crown-Lands joining with them.

Though Queen *Elizabeth* did not love the Kirk-Party, yet was ſhe content to have *Scotland* in this State; for thereby ſhe preſerv'd the *Engliſh* Borders free from the Depredations which the *Scots* uſually made upon them, and therefore ſecretly countenanced both the Kirk and Nobility, who had got the Crown-Lands: However ſhe allowed the King a Penſion yearly, whereby ſhe kept the King, as well as Kirk and Nobility, depending upon her.

In this State *England* and *Scotland* ſtood till the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*; but it was ill timed of King *Charles* I. to grant Commiſſions to enquire into the Crown-Lands uſurped in his Father's Minority, and ſoon after to endeavour to ſet up *Laud*'s Injunctions, and High-Commiſſion in *Scotland*, which made the Nobility as well as Kirk ſo fierce in oppoſing them.

King *Charles*, offended at the Proceedings of the Parliament of *England* in 1641, goes into *Scotland*, and eſtabliſhes the Kirk in all their Pretenſions, and diſclaims all Title to the Crown-Lands uſurped in his Father's Minority, which no ways mollified either: But next Year the *Scots* ſent an Army under *Leſley* (made an Earl by the King) againſt him in Aid of the *Engliſh* Parliament: But though the Kirk and Nobility were thus inſolent againſt their Kings, they patiently ſubmitted to *Monk* during his Government in *Scotland*, except ſome few Diſturbances made by General *Middleton*.

For neither *Cromwel* nor the *Rump* before him, truſted to the *Scotiſh* Oaths, or *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, but after they had ſubdued them, bridled them with Forts built upon the principal Paſſages of *Scotland*, and diſarm'd all the Nobility and Gentry, and thereby kept them in Peace, which King *Charles*, by all the Condeſcenſions he ſubmitted to, could not procure. Add hereto, that the common ſort of *Scots* lived in more Freedom under *Monk*, than under their Lords and Lairds; ſo that neither the Kirk nor Nobility could form the Body of an Army againſt the *Engliſh*. D. A. 1661.

Before the King was reſtor'd, the Army which would have kept him out was diſſipated the Year preceding by *Monk*, and after his Reſtoration was disbanded, and ſo the *Engliſh* Nation was reſtored to its former Government: But it was not ſo in *Scotland*, for not only the Forts which bridled them, but the Army which conquer'd them, was ſtill kept up. Nor had the *Scots* any hopes of being freed from theſe Fetters, but by an entire Submiſſion to the King.

Upon the King's Reſtoration, many Debates were in the Council in *England*, about the calling a Parliament in *Scotland*, and the demoliſhing the Forts for keeping the *Scots* in Subjection; but neither were ſo eaſily determined, for in all *Scotland* after *Montroſs* was butcher'd, I do not find there was one of the Nobility, except his Son, which were not *Popiſh* or *Presbyterian*; and the *Presbyterian Party* had been ſo rigid againſt the King when he was in *Scotland*, and intolerable to his Father, that above a Year paſt before any Reſolution was taken in either.

Lauderdale, as before ſaid, was taken Priſoner after the Fight at *Worceſter*, and from that time kept Priſoner in *Windſor-Caſtle*; from whence he was ſet free upon the King's Reſtoration, but became ſo poor, that it's ſaid he could not meet the King for want of Money to pay for a Pair of Boots. *Conditions of the L. Lauderdale.*

This Impriſonment was doubly happy to him: For during the Reſtraint of his Body, he enlarged the Faculties of his Mind; and being a Man of Parts, improved them by Contemplation and Study, wherein he met with more Helps than it may be he could have found

A. Reg. 14. found in *Scotland*; whereby he became of greater Abilities to ſerve the King, than could be found in any other of his Countrymen; and being in *England*, found better Opportunities to have them known to the King, than any of his abſent Countrymen could.

In the late Wars between the King and Parliament, he, with Sir *John Cheeſley*, were ordered Commiſſioners by the Kirk-Faction to the Parliament of *England*, for propagating the *Presbyterian* Government: But this being moſt deteſtable at Court, *Lauderdale*, to raiſe himſelf, ſet himſelf with all his Skill to oppoſe it; and by it, at firſt, got to be made Principal Secretary of State of *Scotland*: And as Runagadoes from Chriſtianity, become the greateſt Perſecutors of Chriſtians, ſo was *Lauderdale* of the Kirk and *Presbyterian* Government. However, *Lauderdale* ſeemed zealous for calling a Parliament in *Scotland*, and demoliſhing the Forts that bridled the *Scots*, which *Monk* oppoſed: And hereby *Lauderdale* became popular in *Scotland*; ſo that all Applications to the King from thence was by *Lauderdale*.

In this ſtate it was not eaſily determin'd who ſhould be Commiſſioner in *Scotland*, in caſe a Parliament ſhould be called; for Affairs were not yet ripe enough to make a Popiſh one, nor would the Court truſt a *Preſbyterian* one; and *Lauderdale* would not forſake his Poſt at Court, where he govern'd all, but continue in it, that all the Motions in Parliament might receive their life from him. At laſt it was agreed, That *Middleton* (who firſt ſerved the Kirk againſt King *Charles* I. and after changing Sides, made ſome Buſtle in *Scotland*, after the King left it) ſhould be created an Earl, and made Commiſſioner, and a Parliament ſhould be called in *Scotland*.

The Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* clearly ſaw there was no other way to redeem *Scotland* from being a conquered Nation, and a Province to *England*, but by an entire Submiſſion to the King. *Lauderdale* knew this as well as they, and therefore reſolved to make them pay dear for their Deliverance; and now you ſhall ſee the Nobility and Gentry, which with the Kirk united againſt King *Charles* I. divide under his Son, and ſacrifice the Kirk and all their Diſcipline,

to

to make an Atonement for themſelves. The firſt Act which was ſhewed herein, was upon this Occaſion. A.D. 1661.

The fiery Zeal of the Kirk-men burnt up all Rules of Prudence, or the Conſideration of the preſent State of *Scotland*; ſo that even in this ſtate, Crowns and Scepters muſt ſubmit to the Kirk. And that the King might know his Duty, a Company of them met together, and drew up a Supplication (as they ſaid) but in nature of a Remonſtrance to the King, ſetting forth the Calamities they groaned under in the Time of the Uſurpers, by their impious Incroachments upon the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Liberties thereof; which of themſelves they were not able to ſuppreſs and overcome: And the Danger of the Popiſh and Prelatical Party now beginning again to lift up their Head, they preſs him to mind his Oaths and Covenant with God, *&c.*

The *Committee of Eſtates* well knowing how ungrateful this would be to the King, upon the 23*d* of *Auguſt* 1660. ſent a Party and apprehended theſe Men, whereof one Mr. *James Guthry* was the chief, and committed them Priſoners to *Edinburgh Caſtle*, and from thence *Guthry* was ſent Priſoner to *Dundee*, for treaſonable and ſeditious Words reflecting on His Majeſty, and on the Government of *England*, and the Conſtitution of the *Committee of State*, and tending to raiſe new Tumults, and kindling a new Civil War among His Majeſty's good Subjects.

This was the firſt Spark, which ſoon burnt into ſuch a Flame, as totally conſumed the whole Kirk-Party in *Scotland*, and left them in a much worſe plight than before, when they ſuffered under the Uſurpation (as they called it) of the *Engliſh*.

For during the late Uſurpations, the Kirk enjoyed a Liberty of Conſcience: But it's the Nature of ſome Men, that unleſs they may perſecute other Men, they'll exclaim they are perſecuted themſelves; and therefore (ſince they were not able to do it themſelves) they minded the King of his Covenant with God, to extirpate Hereſy, Schiſm, and Profaneneſs, and to remove the ſtumbling which the King had given them, in admitting Prelacy, Ceremonies, and Service-Book in the

A. Reg. 15. the King's Chappel, and other Places of his Dominions.

But theſe Men were miſtaken in their Meaſures; for after the King was expelled from *Scotland* by *Cromwel*, he little (I may ſay never) obſerved the Directory of Worſhip, Confeſſion of Faith, and Catechiſms in his Family, according to the *National* and *Solemn League and Covenant*, as he repeated in his Coronation-Oath, and leſs the eſtabliſhing *Presbyterian Government* in *England* and *Ireland*, and leaſt of all in *Scotland*.

Parliament held in Scotland, *and their Proceedings.*

For one of the firſt Acts of the firſt Seſſions, was an Anniverſary Thankſgiving, to be obſerved on every *May* 29, with this Proem.

The States of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, *taking into their Conſideration the ſad Condition, Slavery, and Bondage this antient Kingdom has groaned under theſe twenty three Years*, (the time when the Troubles aroſe in K. *Charles* the Firſt's Reign) *in which, under very ſpecious Pretences of Reformation, a publick Rebellion has been, by the Treachery of ſome, and Miſperſwaſion of others, violently carried on againſt ſacred Authority, to the Ruin and Deſtruction, ſo far as was poſſible, of Religion, the King's Majeſty, and his Royal Government, the Laws, Liberties, and Property of the People, and all the publick and private Intereſts of the Kingdom; ſo that Religion itſelf hath been proſtituted for the Warrant of all theſe treaſonable Invaſions made upon the Royal Authority, and diſloyal Limitations upon the Allegiance of the Subjects: Therefore upon the 29th of* May *be ſet apart for an Holy Day*, &c. Yet ſoon after the King's Reſtoration, he wrote to the *Preſbytery of Edinburgh*, promiſing to countenance the Church as by Law eſtabliſhed: But *Lauderdale* knew his Min better.

Here it's obſervable, That in 1638, when the Kirk were ſo zealous, with lifted up Hands in the Preſence of the Eternal God, to ſwear to eſtabliſh their *National Covenant*, there was not one of the Nobility (but the *Popiſh*) except the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Traquair*, but joined with the Kirk, expreſly againſt the King's Command: *Traquair*, the Kirk-Party proceeded againſt as an Incendiary; and after, *Hamilton* ſecretly joined with the Covenanters, for which King

Charles

Charles I. made him Priſoner in *Pendennis-Caſtle*; from whence he was diſcharged when *Fairfax* had it ſurrender'd: And not one of the Nobility (except *Argile* and *Caſſels*) but declare this, and all the Kirk-Proceedings ſince, Treaſonable Rebellion againſt the Laws, Liberties, and Property of the People, and Proſtitution of Religion; and this Declaration was celebrated with a double Sacrifice, the Marqueſs of *Argile* being executed as a Traitor, for holding Correſpondence with *Cromwel*, and his Head ſet where *Montroſs*'s ſtood on the *Monday* before; and Mr. *Guthry*, on *Saturday* after, for refuſing to own the Juriſdiction of the Judges in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, had his Head ſet upon one of the Ports of *Edinburgh*. A.D. 1662.

This was a ſad Preſage to the Kirk of what followed: For as they, without the King, would impoſe their *Solemn League* and *Covenant* upon *England*; now, by the King and Parliament, an *Oath of Allegiance* (in the very Nature, if not the Words, of the *Oath of Supremacy* in *England*) is impoſed upon them; wherein they are to ſwear, *That the King is the ſupreme Governor over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes*, &c. and, *That they will maintain, defend, and aſſiſt His Majeſty's Juriſdiction aforeſaid, againſt all deadly Enemies; and ſhall never decline His Majeſty's Power and Juriſdiction, as they ſhall anſwer it to God.* And all Perſons who refuſe to take this Oath, to be uncapable of any publick Truſt, and to be look'd upon as Perſons diſaffected to His Majeſty's Authority and Government.

And the 11*th* Act of the firſt Seſſion ſays, That it is the inherent Privilege of the Crown, and undoubted Prerogative of the Kings of *Scotland*, to have the ſole Power of chuſing Officers of State, &c. and of holding and diſſolving Parliaments, &c. and, That it is High Treaſon in any of the Subjects, to make Leagues with Foreigners, or among themſelves, without His Majeſty's Authority firſt had, &c. And therefore the League and Covenant, and all Treaties thereon, are not obligatory; and that none preſume to enquire, or renew the ſwearing the ſaid League and Covenant.

The

A. Reg. 14. The next Act (I cannot ſay of Parliament, for it was purely arbitrary) was the total rooting out the *Presbyterian* Government in *Scotland*, and upon this Occaſion.

Mr. *James Sharp*, Mr. *Hamilton*, Mr. *Farwel*, Mr. *Leighton*, (but whether ſent for by the King, or ſent by the Kirk-Party, I do not find) came in 1661 to *London*, and were ordained Deacons and Presbyters, and after conſecrated Biſhops by the Biſhop of *Winchester*, and two other Biſhops: The Acceptance of which was a Renunciation of their *Presbyterian* Ordination; nay, it was a Declaration of the Invalidity of their former Ordination: And thereupon the King, on the 6th of *September* 1661, iſſued out a Proclamation, declaring His Royal Pleaſure to be for the reſtoring the Government of the Church of *Scotland* to be by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, as it was exerciſed in the Year 1637; and that he had nominated and preſented Archbiſhops and Biſhops to their ſeveral Biſhopricks, and to have the ſame Authority they had in the Reign of his Grandfather. Thus you ſee the *Presbyterian* Government, which was ſet up by ſuch odd ſwearing, without the King, is by his ſole Authority utterly ſubverted.

In Obedience to this Proclamation, the Privy-Council, the 9th of *January* following, did diſcharge all Eccleſiaſtical Meetings in Synods, Presbyteries, and Seſſions, until they be authorized by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, upon their Entry into the Government of their reſpective Sees; which was to be done ſpeedily.

Though this Proclamation, and Intimation of the Privy-Council, had prevented the Parliament, yet, to make ſure Work of both, the Parliament, in their ſecond Seſſions, *Redintegrated the Biſhops to the Exerciſe of their Epiſcopal Function, and to all their Privileges, Dignities, Juriſdictions and Poſſeſſions, due, and formerly belonging thereunto.*

And another Act did ordain *all Miniſters to repair unto their Dioceſan Aſſembly, and concur in all Acts of Church-Diſcipline, as they ſhould be thereunto required by the Archbiſhops, or Biſhops of the Dioceſs, under pain of being ſuſpended from their Office and Benefice till the next Dioceſan Meeting.*

ing for their first Fault; and if they amended not, to be de- A.D. 1662.
prived, and the Church to be declared vacant.

In the Year 1649, (when there was no King in *Israel*) the Parliament, at the Instance of the Kirk, by the 39th Act, *Discharge all Patrons, and the King not excepted, from Presentations to Church-Benefices, for that the Estates of Parliament were sensible of the great Obligations that lie upon them by the* National Covenant, *and the* Solemn League and Covenant, *and by many Deliverances and Mercies from God, and by the late solemn Engagement unto Duties, to preserve the Doctrine, and vindicate the Liberties of the Kirk of* Scotland, *and advance the Work of Reformation therein to the utmost of their Power: And considering that Patronage and Presentation of Kirks is an Evil and Bondage, under which the Lord's People, and Ministers of the Land, have long groaned; and that it hath no Warrant in God's Word, but founded on the Common Law, and is a Custom Popish, and brought into the Kirk in time of Ignorance and Superstition; and that the same is contrary to the* 2d *Book of Discipline, in which, upon solid and good Grounds, it is reckoned among the Abuses that are to be reformed, and unto several Acts of the General Assembly; and that it's prejudicial to the Liberties of the People, and planting of Kirks, and unto the free calling and entring of Ministers unto their Charge.*

This Act did not hold long, for next Year *Cromwel* enter'd *Scotland*, and overturn'd all the Tables of *Presbytery*: Nor was this much mended after the King's Restoration; for in the second Session of the first Parliament, 1662, the Parliament did ordain, *All Ministers who had enter'd to the Cure of any Parish, within Burgh or Land, in, or since the Year of God 1649, to have no Right unto, or up-lift the Rents of their respective Benefices, modified Stipends, Manse or Glebe, for this instant Year 1662, nor for the Year following, unless they should obtain a Presentation from the lawful Patron, and have collation from the Bishop of the Diocess where he liveth, before the* 20th *of* September *next.*

Ecclesiastical Commission up in Scotland.

Though the High Commission which *Laud* so zealously endeavour'd to erect in *Scotland*, was put down by Act of Parliament 1640 in *England*; yet the King, by the inherent Right of his Crown, and by the Vertue of his Prerogative Royal, and Supreme Authority

A. Reg. 14. in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, erected one in *Scotland*: The Commiſſioners were partly Eccleſiaſticks, and partly Lay-men; who, or any five of them, whereof one to be a Biſhop, had a more arbitrary Power over the Clergy, than was practiſed in *England* under *Laud*, and more than *Laud* could have expected from a High Commiſſion from *Scotland* in the King's Father's Reign.

Thus you ſee the Kirk, which would be a diſtinct Table, and independant upon the Crown of *Scotland*, are by the Prerogative of it committed to the arbitrary Mercy of the Prelates, whom, for above 24 Years, they had been railing againſt, and by many Oaths ſwearing to extirpate.

But the Tribulations of the Kirk, for the time to come, do not end here; for the Parliament reſolve to ſtigmatize them for their Actions paſt, and therefore upon the 5*th* of *September* 1662, they form a Declaration to be ſubſcribed by all who ſhall have any publick Charge, Office, and Truſt within the Kingdom, in theſe Words:

"I——do ſincerely affirm and declare, That I judge "it unlawful for Subjects, upon Pretence of Reformation, or any other Pretence whatſoever, to enter "into Leagues and Covenants, or to take up Arms "againſt the King, or thoſe Commiſſionated by "him; and that all theſe Gatherings, Convocations, Petitions, Proteſtations, and erecting and "keeping Counſel-Tables, that were uſed in the beginning, and for carrying on the late Troubles, were "unlawful and ſeditious: and particularly, That thoſe "Oaths, whereof the one is called the *National Covenant* (*as it was ſworn and explained in the Year* 1638, *and thereafter*) and the other entitled, *A Solemn League and Covenant*, were, and are in themſelves, unlawful Oaths; and were taken by, and impoſed upon "the Subjects of this Kingdom, againſt the Laws and "Liberties of the ſame; and that there lieth no Obligation upon me, or any of the Subjects, from the ſaid "Oaths, or either of them, to endeavour any Change "or Alteration of the Government, either in Church "or State, as it is now eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the "Kingdom.

Thus

Thus you ſee the Parliament throw this upon the Son, which his Father ſo zealouſly contended for, even to the Loſs of his Life: and when they had done all they could, the Son little cared for what they had done. *A.D.1663.*

For the Year after, *viz.* 1663, the King granted a Toleration, and Indulgence to Diſſenters from the Church. Thinking Men thought this ſtrange, that the King ſhould the Year before paſs the Act of *Uniformity*, as the beſt Means to ſecure the Church againſt *Popery* and *Fanaticiſm*, and in this grant a Toleration. It could not be in Favour of them termed *Fanaticks*, who kept him from his Crown; and laſt Year *Venner*, with his Party, would have expell'd him again: And this Year, Swarms of Pamphlets were ſpread abroad to defame his Perſon and Government: For printing ſome of which, *Twyn* the Printer was hanged. *Indulgence in* England *granted.*

Thinking Men conſidered too the time when this Indulgence was granted; for as the King in the Sale of *Dunkirk*, choſe to do it in the Interval of the Sitting of the Parliament, ſo he did grant this Indulgence (I think) in *November*, when the Parliament was prorogued to *February*.

But though the Parliament would take no notice of the Sale of *Dunkirk*, they did of this; and therefore the Commons upon their Meeting, entred into a ſerious Debate about it, and made an Addreſs to the King, humbly repreſenting, *How it would reflect upon the Wiſdom of the Parliament, to have ſuch an Alteration made ſo ſoon, and that for ought they could foreſee, would end in Popery*: And ſure the Commons were true Prophets herein.

However, whether the King fearing the Continuance of the Indulgence might retard the Commons in giving him Money, or that time was not yet ripe enough to inſiſt upon it at preſent, he recalled his Declaration: So that though the King did eſtabliſh a High Commiſſion in *Scotland*, by his Prerogative Inherent in his Crown, which the Parliament agreed to in *Scotland*; yet this Indulgence had not the like Effect in *England*. *Recalled.*

This Indulgence may ſeem more ſtrange, if we look into *Ireland*, where the *Iriſh* this very Year were contriving a Maſſacre of the Proteſtants, and holding In-

A. Reg. 15. telligence with the *French* King, which you may read at large in *Plunket*'s Trial, and this proved by Popiſh Witneſſes. I do not find the *Iriſh* had any Countenance herein by the King; nor do I believe the *French* King acquainted his Brother of *England* with it: Yet the Inſincerity of the King's Intentions of any Benefit the Proteſtant Diſſenters ſhould have by this Indulgence, will appear by this, that when the Parliament, ſeeing the Danger which the Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters might bring upon the Nation, had prepared Bills for the Eaſe of Proteſtant Diſſenters, the King would not paſs them.

New Laws made againſt Diſſenters.

However, the Memory of the Rage and Tyranny of the late Times, took deeper Impreſſion in the Parliament, than the Fear of *Popery*, intended by the King's Toleration and Indulgence; and therefore the Parliament, from new invented Swearing, and new invented Declaring, proceeded to new invented Laws againſt Diſſenters and Conventicles; and the Act of the 16 *Car.* 2. *c.* 4. does declare the 35 of *Eliz. c.* 1. to ſtand in full Force, and ought to be put in Execution: And did alſo enact, That if any Number of above 5 more than the Family, ſhall meet in any Aſſembly or Conventicle, upon Colour or Pretence of Religion, in any other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of *England*, he ſhall be committed Priſoner for the firſt Offence, there to remain for a Term not exceeding three Months, unleſs ſuch Offender ſhall pay a Sum of Money, not exceeding Five Pounds; for the ſecond Offence, to be committed to Priſon for a Term, not exceeding Six Months, or pay a Sum not exceeding Ten Pounds; and for the third Offence to be tranſported beyond the Seas for the Space of Seven Years, unleſs he pay One hundred Pounds.

The Errors of Education in England.

I will not diſpute the Juſtice of theſe Laws; but I ſay, no Human Laws can diveſt Men of Human Nature, but that Man as well as all other Creatures, will endeavour by ſuch Means as they are endued with, to preſerve their Being and Subſiſtence in the World. And herein I again obſerve the unhappy State of this Nation in the Education of Youth in the *Grammar-Schools*, and our *Academical Learning*, (as 'tis called:) For though a great Part of the Youth of *England* have

Means

Means to maintain them, after they have loſt their time of Youth, under this unprofitable Breeding, whereby they are no way inſtructed how to live and converſe in this World; yet double, if not treble Numbers of Youth, are thus bred, who have little or no Means to maintain them after they become Men, and more than can be maintained by the Revenues of the Church, as they are eſtabliſhed. *A.D.*1664.

I ſay therefore, this kind of Breeding Youth, ſhall eternally create Feuds, and a kind of Civil War, between thoſe who are in Church-Preferments, and thoſe excluded from them; and theſe for their neceſſary ſubſiſtence, ſhall become Patrons of Factions oppoſite to the Church, within the Kingdom, and to the promoting the Popiſh Intereſt without. In the late Times, when the *Presbyterians* bare the Sway, were here not enow of that Party to ſupply the Vacancies of the Sequeſtred Clergy? beſides ſuch Swarms of the Patrons of Independency, as were more numerous than they, and who turned them out: Yet was there a large Relick to promote the Popiſh Faction. Upon the Reſtoration of the King, when the Sequeſtred Clergy were reſtored, were there not Multitudes of ſuch Clergy as would have conformed, yet could not get any Preferment in the Church? Thus excluded, what other means had they to ſubſiſt, but to become Nurſeries of Factions, which were oppoſite to the Church? and though theſe Laws were intended againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters, who had no other Means of living but by diſſenting, yet you ſhall ſoon hear of another Sort of Diſſenters; and theſe ſecretly countenanced by this moſt Religious and Gracious King, which ſhall be much more dangerous to his Church and State, than thoſe againſt whom theſe Laws were made.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

A further Account of this Reign to the End of the Second Dutch *War.*

A. Reg. 16. THE King being thus eſtabliſhed in *England* and *Scotland*, though he was not ſo in *Ireland*, this Year ſhews the Effects of his Power by making War upon the *Dutch*; and even this War 'twas believed, was carried on by *French Counſels*: For ſo long as the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſtood united, it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, for the *French* King to encreaſe his Grandeur, either by Sea or Land, if the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhould oppoſe it. However, the outward Appearance ſeemed otherwiſe on the *French* part: for in Favour of the *Dutch*, he made War upon the *Engliſh*, though to no Benefit of the *Dutch*, other than by the Influence of his Party upon the *Engliſh Counſels*. But to return his Courteſy, the *Dutch*, during this War, built him ſix great Men of War; and the *Dane* joining with the *Dutch* and *French* againſt the *Engliſh*, built the *French* as many more; ſo that whilſt the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* were fighting with one another to deſtroy their Men of War, the *French* King looked on, and without fighting encreaſed his.

King makes War upon the Dutch.

The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had been above Eighty Years Competitors in the *Eaſt-India*, *African* and *American* Trades; ſo that if either had a Mind to quarrel, it would not be hard to find an Occaſion for it. Queen *Elizabeth* kept ſo ſevere a Hand over them, that they durſt not preſume to give the *Engliſh* any Cauſe of Offence during her Reign; nor do I find the *Engliſh* gave them any in King *James*'s Reign: Yet the *Dutch* gave the *Engliſh* a moſt abominable one, in the Buſineſs of *Amboyna*.

There

There is no need to make any Repetition here of the State of the *Dutch* Fiſhery on our Coaſt till the Reſtoration of the King: Nor of the *India* Trade: And but juſt to mention, that they having taken *New-York* from us in *America*, in the Reign of *Charles* I. they gave to it the Name of *New Netherlands*. A.D. 1665.

But King *Charles* II. being at better Terms with his Parliament and Subjects than his Father, the next Year after his Reſtoration, *viz.* 1661. ſent Sir *Robert Holmes* with a Squadron of Men of War, and ſome Soldiers to *America*, with which he reduced *New-York*, and all that which the *Dutch* had taken from the *Engliſh* in *Long Iſland*: And from thence Sir *Robert Holmes* ſailed to *Africa*, and took *Cape-Verd*, and ſome other Places, where the *Dutch* had Factories.

Thus things ſtood, when the *Algerines* being at War with the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, the *Dutch* by their Ambaſſador, deſired the King in 1663, to join a Squadron of Ships with the *Dutch*, to reduce the *Algerines* to better Terms, which the King did, and ſent a Squadron under Sir *John Lawſon* to that end: And the *Dutch* ſent another commanded by *De Ruiter* ſeemingly, but not deſignedly, to join Sir *John* againſt the *Algerines*.

For *De Ruiter*, after he had entered the *Streights*, abandoned Sir *John Lawſon*, and ſailed to *Cape Verd*, and diſpoſſed the *Engliſh* of their Factories, nor did he ſtay there; but ſailing thence, he attempted *Barbadoes*, but was beaten off with Loſs: But with better Succeſs he ſailed to *Long-Iſland*, where he made great Depredations.

This Double-dealing of the *Dutch* alarmed the Parliament, ſo as they petitioned the King to make War upon the *Dutch*, and the King was well diſpoſed to it; (having before deſigned it, as many thought, and ſo took this occaſion for it:) nor was the City of *London* leſs forward than the Parliament for promoting this War: And upon that account furniſhed the King with ſeveral Sums of Money, for which both Houſes gave the City Thanks, upon the 25th of *November* 1665.

An. Reg. 16. The King the Day before, made this Speech to the *Commons*: *Mr.* Speaker, *and you Gentlemen of the House of* Commons, *I know not whether it be worth my Pains to endeavour to remove a vile Jealouſie which ſome ill Men ſcatter abroad, and which I am ſure will never ſink into the Breaſt of any Man who is worthy to ſit upon your Benches; that when you have given me a noble and proportionable Supply for the Support of a War, I may be induced by ſome evil Counſellors,* (for they will be thought to think very reſpectfully of my Perſon) *to make a ſudden Peace, and get all the Money for my own private Occaſions.*

King's Speech in Parliament about the War.

But let me tell you, and you may be confident of it, That when I am compelled to enter into a War for the Protection, Honour, and Benefit of my Subjects, I will (God willing) not make a Peace, but upon the obtaining and ſecuring thoſe Ends for which the War is entred into; and when that can be done, no good Man will be ſorry for the Determination of it. But the War was not declared till the 22d of *February* following. But here I obſerve, that neither my Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, nor my Lord Treaſurer *Southampton*, were preſent in Council at it.

The large Sums and Revenues given the King.

It may ſeem ſtrange to any Man converſant in our Government, that the King in leſs than four Years and a half after his Reſtoration, ſhould be in ſuch a Neceſſity of borrowing ſuch Sums of Money of the City; for the diſbanding of the Army was paid by the Convention and Parliament, and the Parliament had ſettled the Exciſe on him, which was ceſſed at 500000 *l. per Annum*, and the Cuſtoms at 600000 *l.* and Chimney-Money worth 150000 *l. per Annum*, and 12 *Car.* 2. *c.* 26. granted the King the Arrears of 12 Months Aſſeſſment, commencing the 25th of *December* 1659; and (*C.* 29.) gave the King 70000 *l.* and (*C.* 34.) alſo the *Poſt-Office*, worth 50000 *l. per Annum*; and in the 13 *Car.* 2. *cap.* 3. veſted in the King the Arrears of the Exciſe and new Impoſts; and in the ſecond Seſſion (*Cap.* 8.) the Parliament gave the King 1270000 *l.* and (*Cap.* 5.) a voluntary Contribution, and (*Cap.* 8.) gave the poor Cavaliers 60000 *l.* that the King might never hear more of them; and (*C.* 9.) granted

granted a further Relief to the poor and maimed Officers which had ſerved the King's Father; and alſo *(Cap.* 15.*)* four intire Subſidies by the Laity, and four by the Clergy, beſides all the forfeited Eſtates both in *England* and *Ireland*. A.D. 1665.

So that the Exciſe, Cuſtoms, Chimney-Money, Poſt-Office and forfeited Eſtates, at a moderate Computation, may be computed at 1600000 *l. per Annum*, a new Addition to the Crown which Queen *Elizabeth* had not; only the *Court of Wards* was exchanged for part of the Hereditary Exciſe. And, if you compute but ſix Months Arrear of the twelve Months Aſſeſſment at 70000 *l. per Menſem*, beginning at *Chriſtmas* 1659, this will amount to 420000 *l.* and the Arrears of the Exciſe and new Impoſt at 300000 *l.* and 70000 *l.* granted the King, 12 *Car.* II. 29. and the 1270000 *l.* 13 *Car.* II. 3. and the voluntary Contribution at 300000 *l.* and the four Subſidies granted by the Clergy and Laity at 400000 *l.* beſides the new added Revenue of 1600000 *l. per Annum* to the Crown, the King in leſs than four Years and half received 2860000 *l.* or two Millions eight hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds.

Yet the King paid no Debts of his Father's, nor do I find he built any new Men of War, nor made any War except that laſt Year againſt the *Algerines*: It's true, he married his Siſter, but had twice her Portion of the *French* King for the Sale of *Dunkirk*, and alſo 400000 *l.* Portion with the Queen. Now let's ſee how things ſtood in *Scotland*.

During the Earl of *Middleton*'s Commiſſion, the Parliament of *Scotland* granted the King ſo great a Revenue, that the King ſignified his Pleaſure not to raiſe any more: But though *Middleton*, in the general Opinion, had done more in *Scotland* than could have been expected, yet *Lauderdale* thought he had not done enough, and therefore got the Parliament to be diſſolved, and a new one to be called in 1663, and the Earl of *Rothes*, (the Ring-leader of the Presbyterians in the Reign of King *Charles* I. and was the firſt that ſubſcribed the Letter to *Lewis* XIII. for his Aid, by the Appellation of *Au Roy*) to be made Commiſſioner,

The

A. Reg. 17. The King's Supremacy in all Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Matters, and ſo great a Revenue as the King could ask being ſettled by *Middleton*, one would have thought no more could be done; yet another Law muſt be paſſed, intitled the *Humble Tender: Whereby the Kingdom of* Scotland *is obliged to raiſe the King twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe ſufficiently armed, and furniſhed with forty Days Proviſion, to be in a readineſs at His Majeſty's Call; And alſo that all* Scotsmen *from ſixteen to ſixty, if the King ſhould have further uſe of them, ſhould hazard their Lives and Fortunes; as they ſhall be called by his Majeſty, for the Safety and Preſervation of his Sacred Perſon, Authority and Government, to march into any Part of* Scotland, England *or* Ireland, *for the ſuppreſſing any Foreign Invaſion, or inteſtine Troubles, or any other Service wherein his Majeſty's Honour,* &c. *was concerned:* And this Law it may be was the Equivalent for which the Forts were demoliſhed. Tho' *Rothes* was Commiſſioner when the Act paſſed, yet *Lauderdale* aſſumed to himſelf the Glory of it; and it's obſervable, this Act paſſed the ſame Year, and about the ſame time the King iſſued out his Declaration of Indulgence to the Diſſenters in *England*.

Parliament of Scotland *alſo liberal to the King.*

Thus you ſee, as the Parliament of *Scotland* outrun the Parliament of *England* in Loyalty to the King, ſo at leaſt they went hand in hand with them in granting the King more Aids than he would ask of the Subjects of his antient Kingdom.

Never had Kings of *England* or *Scotland* their Debts ſo eaſily paid, or was one tenth part ſo highly careſſed by their Subjects in a time of Peace. Was it not ſtrange then that the King ſhould be in ſuch Neceſſities for Money, as to borrow ſuch great Sums of the City for carrying on this haſty War before the Parliament ſhould meet to ſupply him?

Whereas when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, her Revenue, beſides the Court of Wards, and the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, was but 188179 *l. per Annum*, and the Crown left in Debt, by her Father, Brother and Siſter (which ſhe afterwards paid;) and for the four firſt Years of her Reign, the Parliament gave her but one Subſidy, and two Fifteens, about 120000 *l.* Yet in theſe Years ſhe fitted up her Navy Royal,

Royal, ſo as it was not only ſuperiour to thoſe of all the neighbouring Nations, but of any Prince in the World; and alſo ſent a Fleet and Land-Army into *Scotland*, with which ſhe expelled the *French* out of it. And the Parliament in the fifth Year of her Reign gave her but another Subſidy, and two Fifteens, wherewith ſhe aſſiſted the Princes of the Reform'd Religion in *France*: Whereas the Parliament in the fifth Year of this King's actual Reign, gave him 2467500*l.* for carrying on the War againſt the *Dutch*. *A.D.*1665.

I will not diſpute the Juſtice of this War, yet ſure never was any made with ſuch Precipitancy and Inconſideration both Abroad and at Home; for as the King entered into no Alliances or Confederations abroad in it; ſo on the contrary, *France* and *Denmark* (our next neighbouring Nations) join'd with the *Dutch* againſt the King; and that tho' the *Spaniard* ſtood Neuter in it, yet the King had little Reaſon to expect any Benefit from him, having been ſo uſed in the King's Sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French*, and joining with the *Portugueſe* and *French* againſt the *Spaniard*.

And as the King had made no Foreign Alliances abroad, ſo had he not laid up any Naval Stores at home; and, which is worſe, he had the Act of Navigation (tho' made by the *Rump*, yet the Parliament, 13 *Car.* II. confirmed it, or ſet the Royal Stamp upon it) to ſtruggle with to ſupply himſelf with Naval Stores for carrying on the War.

The Inconveniences of the Act of Navigation ſet forth.

For the *Rump* were as haſty in making the Act of Navigation, as the King was in entring into this War, and made it general, without any Conſideration of Time, either in War or Peace: And herein their Zeal to make this Law out-ran their Wit or Memory; for theſe very Men about ten Years ago, *viz.* 16 *Car.* I. 21. (which yet ſtands unrepealed) taking notice of the manifold Miſchiefs, though in time of Peace, which happen'd by reaſon the Importation of Gunpowder was prohibited contrary to Law, *viz.* that the price of Gunpowder was exceſſively raiſed, many Powder-Mills decayed, the Kingdom much weaken'd and endanger'd, the Merchants much damnified, many Mariners and others taken Priſoners,

A. Reg. 17. Priſoners, and brought into miſerable Captivity and Slavery, many Ships taken by *Turkiſh* Pirates, and many other Inconveniencies thereby enſued, and like to enſue: Therefore this Act made the Importation of Gunpowder, Saltpetre and Brimſtone, free to Strangers as well as Natives, and a *Præmunire* to hinder it. Whereas in this War, if the *Eaſt-India* Company ſhall ſet double or treble the Price upon Saltpetre, or if their Ships ſhould miſcarry, yet by this Act it is Confiſcation of Ship, Goods, Tackle, Apparel and Ammunition, for the Subjects of any other Nation to import Saltpetre, or Gunpowder.

The King, though this were a Naval War, having laid up no Stores for it; yet if the *Swede* from any Port of *Norway* but *Gottenburg*; or if the *Brandenburgher*, *Lubeker*, *Hamburgher*, or *Emdenher*, ſhould import any from any Port of *Norway*, or any rough Hemp or Flax from *Leifland* or *Pruſſia* for making Cordage or Sails, this had been Confiſcation of Ships, Goods, Guns, Tackle, Ammunition and Apparel by this Act.

This Act reſtraining the *Engliſh* in the *Newcaſtle* Trade, and to the Plantations, to navigate their Ships by three fourths *Engliſh*, the King was forced to man his Fleet with preſſed Men, the greater part whereof were Land and Water-Men: Whereas, if it had been free for the *Engliſh* during the War to have employed Foreigners in theſe Navigations, the King might have above Twenty thouſand of his beſt Sea-men more than he had to man his Fleet, and the City of *London*, and other Parts of *England*, throughly ſupplied with Coals at half the Prices, and with more Security.

The King by reaſon of this Act, in the firſt Year of this War, was forced in the dead of Winter to ſend Sir *John Harman* to *Gottenburg* with a Squadron of Men of War, for Maſts, Pitch and Tar, where by the Coldneſs of the Seaſon ſome of the Ships were frozen up, and many of the *Engliſh* loſt their Noſes, and were benumb'd in other Parts with the Cold: Yet all agreed, if the King had not been ſupplied with Naval Stores by this Fleet, he could not have fitted out a Fleet next Year.

Theſe things, tho' evident to any Stander-by, yet the Parliament took no notice of them: However, the King wiſely diſpenſed with the Act of Navigation, ſo

far

far as it related to the Importation of Naval Stores, and Hemp, and Flax, with this different Succeſs, that tho' the Parliament the Year before boggled at the King's diſpenſing with the Penal Laws againſt Diſſenters, yet they took no notice of the King's diſpenſing with the Act of Navigation. *A.D.* 1665.

Though this War was thus haſtily begun, yet was it managed more careleſly and prodigally than ever any was before: The Officers of the Fleet, like thoſe of the Guards, bought their Places to ſell their Lives; the poor common Sea-men not paid, and wanting Money to pay their Quarters, were forced to take Tickets for leſs than half their Wages; whilſt Favourites ſwelled into incredible Riches by the Ruin and Spoil of the Nation. The innumerable Prizes taken from the *Dutch*, were ſo far from contributing to the Charges of this War, that many of them were given to Women and Favourites, and became a Charge to the King: No Inſpection muſt be made into the diſburſing the Monies given for the War, for this was to diſtruſt the King: The Officers who had bought their Places in the Fleet, inſtead of minding their Buſineſs, made it their Buſineſs how to be Gainers for the Purchaſe of their Places, and caballed how they might improve their Intereſt at Court. *War ill managed.*

However, the King receiving no Satisfaction from the *Dutch* for the Injuries done to Sir *William Courten* and Sir *Paul Pindar*, upon the 17*th* of *May* 1665, granted Letters of Repriſal to Sir *Edward Turner* and *George Carew*, their Executors, *&c.* againſt the *Dutch*, till they ſhould be ſatisfied 151612 *l.* This Grant to ſtand in force notwithſtanding any Peace to be made, till Sir *Edward Turner*, &c. were fully ſatisfied of the ſaid Sum, with all their Coſts and Damages.

Sir *Thomas Allen* opened the firſt Sea Campaign by falling upon the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, and took four of them richly laden; and the 3*d* of *June* following, the *Engliſh* Fleet commanded by the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert* Admiral of the *White*, and the Earl of *Sandwich* of the *Blue*, fought the *Dutch* off the Coaſt of *Harwich*, where the *Dutch* were put to flight; *Opdam* their Admiral was blown up, and *Cartinere*, *Stillingwolf* and *Stamp* Flag-Officers, killed, and eighteen of the *Dutch* Fleet ſunk and taken; and if it had not been *Dutch beaten in the firſt Engagement.*

A. Reg. 17. been for fear of disturbing the Duke in his next Night's Sleep, it's believed the whole *Dutch* Fleet might have been destroy'd. But in this Fight, the *English* lost the renowned Earl of *Marlborough*; who, though Admiral in King *Charles* the First's Reign, died a private Captain in this Fight; Rear-Admiral *Sanson* was killed in it, and Vice-Admiral *Lawson* soon after died of his Wounds.

The Duke of *York* was of too estimable a Value to be ventur'd any more in this War, for in his Person the Hopes of this War, and Declaration of Indulgence, resolved: So the Earl of *Sandwich* was made Admiral, Sir *Thomas Allen* of the White, and Sir *Thomas Tiddiman* of the Blue Squadrons.

The *Dutch* were so damaged in the first Fight, that they were not in a Condition to set out another Fleet this Year. But the *Dutch* having lodged their *East-India*, and other Fleets, in *Bergen* in *Norway*, the *English* Fleet sailed thither to attack them in it.

But Sir *Thomas Tiddiman*, who was ordered to do it, did not sail into the Harbour, as he might have done upon his first Approach, but sent to the Governor of the Castle to treat without: The *Dutch* within, alarm'd at the Danger, set all hands on work that Night; so that by the Morning they had so fortified the Castle, that it was impossible for the *English* to force a Passage: and the Weather growing boisterous, it being towards the latter end of *September*, the *English* Fleet was forc'd to return; nor could the *Dutch* Fleet stay in *Bergen*; and in their Return home, two of their richest *East-India* Ships, and about 80 Sail of their other Ships fell to the *English* share: but though they were deep laden when the *English* took them, they became much lighter before they came into the *English* Harbour.

Plague at London. It seems God was not pleased with these things; for this Year he sent a horrible Plague, which rage[d] over almost all the Parts of *England*. The greate[st] Plague which happened since *Edward* the Third's time in *England*, was in the first Year of this King's Grandfather; yet a greater in the first Year of his Father's Reign; and now a greater than either, in the sixth Year of his actual Reign. And as the Plague drove the Parliament to *Oxford* in his Father's Reign, so did it now in his.

But

But neither the Mourning of the Land becauſe of Oaths, the Plague, this *Dutch* War, nor the King's Declaration of Indulgence for diſpenſing with the Penal Laws againſt Diſſenters, could abate the Parliament's Zeal in proſecuting Proteſtant Nonconformiſt Miniſters, but they made a Law, called the *Five-Mile Act*, whereby they were baniſhed five Miles from any Corporation, or Market-Town, and had this Oath impoſed upon them: *A.D.* 1666. Five-Mile Act *made.*

I A. B. *do declare, That it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition, of taking up Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or any that are commiſſionated by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion. And I do ſwear, that I will not, at any time to come, endeavour the Alteration of the Government either in Church or State.* So help me God.

The poor Nonconforming Miniſters did quietly ſubmit to this in *England*, but the *Presbyterians* did not ſo to the High Commiſſion erected in *Scotland*; for about this time they roſe in Arms at *Pentland*, againſt the Perſecution of the Prelates who diſturbed them in the Execution of their Miniſtry; but were ſoon broken, and a terrible Execution follow'd upon them, as Traitors and Rebels.

In *England*, the Parliament at *Oxford* granted the King 1250000 *l.* for carrying on the War againſt the *Dutch*; and in the Spring 1666 the Plague ceaſing, the King ſet forth a Fleet under the Command of Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*, Sir *Thomas Allen* Admiral of the *White*, and Sir *William Berkley* of the *Blue*. But the *Dutch* and *French* now try to do that by Craft, which they could not do by Force and Plain-dealing: And to this purpoſe it was given out, that the *French* had fitted up a ſtrong Fleet to join the *Dutch*; and this ſo prevailed upon the King and Council, that upon the 29th of *May*, (a remarkable Day) when the *Engliſh* Fleet was riding in the *Downs*, Prince *Rupert*, in all haſte, was ordered with the *White* Squadron, to ſail to the Weſt, to fight the *French* Fleet coming to join with the *Dutch*. I deſire to be particular in ſome part of what followed, becauſe I had it from Sir *John Harman* himſelf, who was Vice-Admiral of the *Blue*.

At

An. Reg. 18. At the ſame time Prince *Rupert* ſailed from the Fleet, the *Dutch* put out to Sea, the Wind at North-eaſt, a freſh Gale: This brought the *Dutch* Fleet on the Coaſt of *Dunkirk*, and carried the Prince to *St. Helens*, on the Iſle of *Wight*; but the Wind ſuddenly turning into the South-weſt, blew a ſtrong Gale, which brought the *Dutch* and Duke to an Anchor; when Captain *Bacon* of the *Briſtol*, by firing of his Gun, gave notice to the Duke of the Approach of the *Dutch*.

Hereupon the Duke ſummoned all the Captains on board him, not to conſult whether to fight the *Dutch*, but to order them to weigh Anchor, and fight the *Dutch*. This was the 1ſt of *June*, the Wind at South-weſt blowing a ſtiff Gale, ſo that the *Dutch* were forced to cut their Cables, not having time to weigh Anchor; and though the *Engliſh* had the Weathergage of the *Dutch*, yet the Wind ſo bowed the *Engliſh* Ships that they could not uſe their loweſt Tire when they came up to fight the *Dutch*. Sir *William Berkley*'s Squadron led the Van; but the Duke, when he came on the Coaſt of *Dunkirk*, to avoid running on a Sand made a ſudden Tack, which brought his Top-maſt to the Board; whereupon he was forced to lie by 4 or 5 Hours, till another was ſet up: but the *Blue* Squadron knowing nothing of this, ſailed on, fighting through the *Dutch* Fleet, which were 5 to 1 of the *Blue*. Here Sir *William* was killed, and his Ship (the *Swiftſure*, a ſecond Rate, and all her Guns, Braſs) taken; ſo was the *Eſſex*, a Frigat of the third Rate, and Sir *John Harman*, in the *Henry*, got among 9 Ships of the *Zealand Squadron*, commanded by Vice-Admiral *Everts*; and theſe ſo diſabled the *Henry*, that *Evert* offered Sir *John* Quarter if he would yield; but Sir *John* told him 'twas not come to that yet, and gave him a Broadſide, and killed *Everts*.

D. of Albemarle *engages the* Dutch *at a Diſadvantage.*

Hereupon this *Zealand* Squadron ſailed to aſſiſt their Fellows behind, and only left Sir *John* to the Mercy of 3 Fireſhips; one of which grappled the *Henry* on her Starboard-Quarter: The *Dutch* Fireſhips do not take Fire at firſt, as the *Engliſh* do, but firſt raiſe a Smoak incredibly ſtinking, and ſo thick as nothing can be ſeen at the leaſt diſtance, ſo as it could not be ſeen when the Fireſhip's Grappling-Irons were fixed; but upon th

the Fireſhip's taking Fire, *Sir John's* Boatſwain ſwung himſelf into the Fireſhip, and by the Light of the Fire found where the Grappling-Irons were fixed in the Fireſhip, and let them looſe, and got on board again. *A.D.1666.*

But another Fireſhip grappled the *Henry* on her Larboard Quarter-Deck, and took Fire, and Sir *John's* Chaplain, and about 50 more, skipped into the Sea; whereupon Sir *John* ran among the Mariners, and threatned to kill any other who did not aſſiſt in quenching the Fire: whereupon Sir *John's* Cabbin-Boy ſeeing the Sails on fire, with wet Cloths encounter'd and put it out; but the Cordage being burnt, the Croſs-beam fell upon Sir *John's* Leg, and broke it.

By this the third Fireſhip made towards the *Henry*, but four Pieces of Cannon laden with Croſs-ſhot, diſabled her; ſo that Sir *John* ſet up Jury-Maſts, and brought the Ship into *Harwich*, and the next Day after fitted her up, and tho' his Leg was broke, went out to Sea again to have fought, but the Fight was over before he could come up to the Fleet.

In this Day's mad Fight, wherein the *Engliſh* could make no uſe of their lower Tire of Guns, (and therefore Sir *Thomas Tiddiman*, Rear-Admiral of the *Red*, refuſed to engage) the *Engliſh* were much damnified in their Rigging, yet next Day the Duke engaged the *Dutch* again, tho' above double his Number of Ships, and the *Dutch* hourly receiving freſh Supplies; ſo he did the Day after, the 3*d* of *June*, when the Duke cauſed ſeveral of his moſt diſabled Ships, after he had taken out their Men, to be burnt, and had but 16 Ships left able to fight, with which he retreated, putting them between the *Dutch* and his unburnt diſabled Ships.

Towards the Evening, the *Engliſh* eſpied the *White* Squadron making up towards them; but the *Engliſh* engaged with the *Dutch*, ſtriving to make their neareſt way to meet the *White* Squadron. The *Prince Royal* (it may be the beſt Man of War in the World, and beſt gunn'd) commanded by Sir *George Askew*, run on a Sand, and was loſt, and Sir *George* made Priſoner; yet next Day the Fleets fought again, and by the help of

A. Reg. 18. the *White* Squadron, the *Engliſh* Fleet, with much ado, got into Harbour again; leaving it a Problem, whether it were a greater Treachery to divide the Fleet, or Madneſs to fight the *Dutch* with the reſt, when they could not uſe their lower Tire of Guns.

The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* thus engaged at Wars at home, the *French* King, inſtead of ſending his inviſible Fleet into the Channel to aſſiſt the *Dutch*, ſends a viſible Fleet to the ſubduing the *Engliſh* in their Plantations in the *Leeward Iſlands*, and almoſt totally expell'd the *Engliſh* out of *St. Chriſtophers*, and interrupted them in their Trade to their other Iſlands, and aſſumed a Sovereignty in thoſe Seas; where, at preſent, we leave him, and return to *England*.

The Dutch *worſted in another Engagement.*

The Loſs and Damage which the *Engliſh* ſuſtained in the laſt Fight, gave the *Dutch* an Opportunity to put out to Sea, and ride braving upon our Coaſts three Weeks, or a Month, before we could repair, and fit out another Fleet: But upon the 17*th* of *July*, the *Engliſh* put to Sea again; whereupon the *Dutch* retreat to their own Coaſts, where the *Engliſh* again engage them upon the 25*th*, and where they beat the *Dutch*, and forced them into their Harbours: In the Fight, *Everts*, (Brother to *Everts*, killed by Sir *John Harman*) Admiral to the *Zealand* Squadron, *Tirich Hides* of the *Friezland* Squadron, Vice-Admiral *Conder*, and ſix Captains, and Vice-Admiral *Banker*'s Ship, and the beſt Ship of *Harlem*, were taken and burnt. The *Engliſh* loſt but one Ship, commanded by Captain *Haiman*.

The *Dutch* thus driven in, gave the *Engliſh* an Opportunity to burn the Village of *Brandaris* in *Schelling*, and fire above 150 Sail of the *Dutch* within the *Fly*.

Upon the 16*th* of *Auguſt* the *Dutch* put to Sea agai and now the *Engliſh* had 10 or 12 Men of War m than the *Dutch*, (which was the only time in this, the other *Dutch* War, the *Engliſh* had ſo many Me War as the *Dutch*) and to the Amazement of Stand by, the *Dutch* forſook their own Coaſt, and ſail wards the *French*; for which no other Reaſon c be given, but that the *French* King (who equally loved the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*) had decoyed the *Dutch* to join that inviſible Fleet, which we divided ours to fight with.

The

The *Engliſh* purſued the *Dutch* through the Streights between *Dover* and *Calais*, and were ready to engage them, when by a terrible Storm the Wind drove the *Engliſh* to an Anchor at *St. Helen's Point*, where in the Paſſage the St. *Andrew* (a ſecond Rate Ship) broke her back upon a Sand, and the *Dutch* came to an Anchor in the Bay of *Bulloigne*; and the Wind, about the 8th of *September*, turning, brought the *Dutch* home before the *Engliſh* could engage them. *A.D.* 1666.

And in that inſtant, *September* the 2*d*, as near as could be conjectured, that this Storm aroſe which ſaved the *Dutch* Fleet, the City of *London* flew on Fire: Nor did the Deſolation made by the Fire end in it; but when it was over, by Order of Council, all the Houſes upon the *Tower* Ditch, to the number of about 200, were pull'd down, to preſerve the *Tower* from the Danger of another Conflagration now the City was burnt. *London burnt.*

The Firing of the City of *London* ſo ſoon ſucceeding the Diviſion of the Fleet, cauſed a ſtrange Conſternation, not only in Mens Minds in *London*, but all the Nation over, That there were Deſigns to ruin the Nation as well on Shore as at Sea; whereupon infinite Varieties of idle Tales and Stories were printed, as well as ſaid; ſo as though a general Fear of Plots againſt the Nation was evident, yet in this Confuſion the Cauſe from whence the City of *London* became fired, was not only ſmothered, but the Means of ſearching into it prevented. Herein I will take notice of only two Particulars, both which are mentioned in Sir *H. C*'s Speech in the third *Weſtminſter* Parliament, which met the 21*ſt* of *October* 1680. *Remarks upon it.*

In *April* 1666, next before the Fire of *London*, ſeveral Perſons confeſſed they had been treated with, and had treated with others to burn the City of *London* in *September* following, though the Parliament were then ſitting, and this a Matter of State proper to be enquired into by Parliament; yet theſe Men were hanged, as no further Enquiry could be made into it; and all thoſe who were taken in carrying on the Work, diſcharged, except one *Hubert* a *Papiſt*, who confeſſed that he and others ſet the City on Fire.

A. Reg. 18. Upon this *Hubert* was condemned; but I do not find he was examined who thoſe other were who joined with him in it, or who ſet him on work: But this I find, that Mr. *Hawles*, in his Remarks upon *Fitzharris*'s Trial, *fol.* 5. ſays, That the *Commons* reſolving to examine *Hubert* upon the Matter, next Day *Hubert* was hanged before the Houſe ſat, and ſo could tell no further Tales.

Thoſe who excuſed the firing of *London* to have been by Deſign, or that *Hubert* had any hand in it, ſaid *Hubert* was mad, and knew not what he did or ſaid: And why then would they let him be tried upon it? For it is not only contrary to our Laws, but to the Law of Nature and Humanity, to try and convict a Mad-man of any ſuppoſed Crime, when he is incapacitated to make any Defence, as a Mad-man is. And though the Statute of 33 *Hen.* 8. in High-Treaſon, ordains, That if a Man fall mad after he had committed High-Treaſon, yet he ſhould be tried for it and executed; yet this extends only to High-Treaſon, upon which *Hubert* was not tried; but even this Law being deemed inhumane and cruel, was ſoon after repealed. But this Caſe of *Hubert*'s only led the Van; you'll hear of others of like nature, which followed.

I remember very well, that when it was blazed about that *Hubert* was mad, and the City in Ruins, *Hubert* was carried to ſhew where he fired the City; and tho' it was in its Ruin, *Hubert* ſhewed thoſe who brought him where it began. I confeſs I was not preſent then; but ſuch was the Fame of it, which I never heard to be contradicted.

This Year the Parliament, that they might not leſs contribute to the *French* Grandeur by Sea, than the *Rump* had done by the *Act of Navigation*, made a Law (18 *Car.* 2. *cap.* 2.) againſt Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel, which is the only Law ſince the Creation, which was ever made by any Prince or State, to make things neceſſary for Preſervation and Convenience of Human Subſiſtence, ſcarce and dear.

The Reaſon given for this Law was, That the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel had fallen the Rents and Value of the Lands of *England*, and were like to fall more.

Obſer-

Obſervation I.

It's true, the Rents, and Value of the Lands of *England*, were fallen at this time conſiderably, but not from the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel; for Lands are valuable as Trade is more or leſs, and Money more plentiful. And we have ſhewed, That the Severity uſed by the Biſhops in 1636, had ſent many of our Woollen Manufacturers into *Holland*, as much to their Enriching, as to our Impoveriſhment: That by the Treaty of *Munſter* in 1648, the *Dutch* became Partakers with us in the *Spaniſh* Trade, whereby, above all others, we were enriched: That by reaſon of the *Act of Navigation*, we have, upon the matter, loſt the moſt beneficial Trades to *Hamburgh*, and into the *Sound*, with our Woollen Manufactures. And beſides the eternal fixing the Fiſhing-Trade upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, to the *Dutch* by this War, we have totally loſt the *Greenland* Fiſhery, and the *Dutch* partake with us in the *Iceland* and *Weſtmony* Fiſhing-Trades, and the *French* to the *Newfound-Land*: That by *Oliver*'s breaking with the *Spaniard*, and joining with the *French*, the *Dutch* got all the Riches of the *Spaniſh* Trade, whilſt we were bound to be Loſers by the *French*.

I will add two more Reaſons of the Fall of the Lands of *England*: One, The advantageous Treaty of Commerce made by *Oliver* with the *French*, was not eſtabliſhed by the King; but a much worſe, if any, ſubmitted to: And after, the *French* ſet ſuch high Impoſts upon our Commodities, that Sir *John Trevor*, in his Appeal, takes notice that we did not vend One fourth of the Commodities we before exported into *France*, whilſt we conſumed *French Wines*, *Brandies*, and other *French* Wares, more than before: So that about this time, or ſoon after, the Lords Commiſſioners for the Treaty of Commerce with *France*, appointed a Committee to inſpect the Difference of the Ballance; which, beſides thoſe of Gloves, Lace, Ribbon, and other Toys, did amount yearly to 965128*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* imported from *France*, more than exported out of *England*.

A. Reg. 18. The other is, That the moſt gainful Trade the *Engliſh* have, is that to *Spain*, which has no other Means to maintain it, but by the Returns of their Fleet; which ſince we took *Jamaica*, the *Buccaneers* ſo interrupted the *Spaniard* in the *Weſt-Indies*, that as the *Spaniſh* Loſs and Returns were more difficult, ſo much was our Trade to *Spain* damnified.

Obſervation II.

The Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel might fall the Rents of Lands, yet not make them the leſs valuable; for if Landlords would content themſelves with the Product of their Tenants Labours, ſo that if they could buy their Commodities half, or one third, *&c.* cheaper, their Lands would be as valuable as if they had half, or one third, *&c.* more Rent, and they pay ſo much more for their Commodities: Beſides, many thouſands of People might ſubſiſt by their Labours where Proviſions are cheaper, which could not if dearer; and the Charge of maintaining the Poor are ſo much more, as Proviſions are dearer; and ſo much leſs muſt the foreign Vent of our Manufactures be, as Proviſions are dearer whereon Workmen ſubſiſt. But admit the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel had cauſed ſuch Plenty of Proviſion as the Nation could not have expended, yet if Commodities be Riches, the Nation would have been ſo much more enriched by the Importation of the *Iriſh* Cattel; and by this means might have eſtabliſh'd a foreign Trade upon that Account: and only by foreign Trade the Nation is enrich'd.

Obſervation III.

The Returns which the *Engliſh* made for *Iriſh* Cattel, were Clothes, Hats, Caps, Stockings, Hops, other Manufactures; which, upon the Act ceaſing, the People who ſubſiſted by working theſe, neceſſarily fell into Decay and Poverty; ſo as the Value of the Lands of *England* were leſſen'd both ways: For as theſe People who by their Labours were enabled to buy Proviſions, to the Improvement of the Value of

the

the Lands of *England*; ſo by their Poverty they became a Charge and Burden to them. A.D. 1666.

Obſervation IV.

If it be Injuſtice and Wickedneſs to take away another's Lands or Goods without a juſt Cauſe, it's equally, or more wicked and unjuſt, to take away the Means of living from induſtrious Men in their juſt Employments, and make no Retribution; both which this Law did to the People employed in the Manufactures returned for *Iriſh* Cattel. Nor did this Law make any Proviſion for the Mariners employed in bringing over *Iriſh* Cattel, nor pay the Owners of the Veſſels employ'd in it for their Veſſels, now they had loſt their Employment. Nor did the Parliament give the King any Satisfaction for 30000 *l. per Ann.* Duties, paid the King for importing *Iriſh* Cattel.

Obſervation V.

By this Law the *Engliſh* loſt the Manufactures of the Hides, Tallow, and Horns of the Cattel, which might have been wrought in *England*, and gave them to other Nations, if the *Iriſh* ſhould not work them; to the Loſs of the Employment of the *Engliſh*, and thereby leſſening the Value of the Lands of *England*.

Obſervation VI.

Suppoſe that we had no *Act of Navigation*, but our *Weſtern Men* might have built and fitted out Ships for the *Newfound-Land Fiſhery* as cheap as the *French*; yet by this Act againſt Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel, the *French* being enabled to victual Ships cheaper from the Ports of *Ireland*, than we from the *Engliſh*; the *French*, from this only Cauſe, may have the foreign Vent of the *Newfound-Land Fiſhery*, whilſt the *Engliſh* are neceſſitated to vend theirs only in *England*; which is as much a Grievance, as the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel; for the Expence of them will as much fall the Price of Fleſh, as the Importation of the Cattel.

Obſervation VII.

By this Law the *Engliſh* have loſt the Benefit of Victualling foreign, as well as *Engliſh* Ships, from our own Ports, and eſtabliſhed them in *Ireland*, to the leſſening the Value of the Lands of *England*, and this in time of Peace: And in time of War, by how much cheaper foreign Nations can victual Ships from *Ireland* than we can from *England*, ſo much cheaper they may manage War, and continue it longer.

Obſervation VIII.

The Wools of *Ireland* are generally better than thoſe of *England*, (I have it by very good Authority;) and by the 14 *Car.* II. *c.* 18. it's Felony to export any out of *England* or *Ireland*: The Reaſon given is, it would decay the Woollen Manufactures, ruin many Families, and be the Deſtruction of the Navigation and Commerce of *England* and *Ireland*.

And why would it decay the Woollen Manufactures, and ruin many Families, to export Wool? The common Reaſon given is, That the Natives of other Countries would work them cheaper than the *Engliſh*, whereby we ſhould loſe the Employment of our People. If this be a Reaſon, this *Iriſh* Act was made in an ill time to make Proviſions dearer, which will neceſſarily reſolve into a further Dearneſs, becauſe thoſe who work our Woollen Manufactures muſt live by Food; and ſo much the dearer Food is, ſo much dearer muſt Men's Labours be.

But, I ſay, this is not the Reaſon; for no People in the World, in like Circumſtances, take ſo much Pains, for ſo little Profit, as the *Combers*, *Spinners*, and *Weavers* do in our Woollen Manufactures; and I'm ſure the Wools and Fullers-Earth in *England*, are cheaper here than can be had elſewhere, and an *Engliſh* Man or Woman hath a better Habit of Body, and as good Wit, as a *French* or *Dutch* Man or Woman; and that in *Holland* they pay as much for Exciſe for Meat and Drink, as in *England* is paid for them.

I'll

I'll give the true Reaſon, why, if the *Dutch* or *French* get our Wools and Fullers-Earth, they may vend the Manufactures cheaper in foreign Trade than the *Engliſh*. The Wools of *Derbyſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Hertfordſhire*, &c. are in the dead of the Winter brought by Land-Carriage to *Norwich* and *Colcheſter*; and even the Wools of the Sheep killed in *London*, are carried to *Colcheſter* to be wrought there; and then by another Land-Carriage they are brought to *London*, as our *Weſtern Cloths* are: And then none but the Free-men of *London* muſt buy them, at, it may be, 20 *per Cent.* cheaper than they might be ſold if the Trade were free; then they muſt be vended abroad in *Engliſh*-built Ships, double as dear by the *Act of Navigation*, and theſe ſailed by near double the Hands of foreign Ships of like Dimenſions; and if any Returns be made, they ſhall pay twofold more Duties than if they were imported into *Holland* and *Hamburgh*: And upon other Terms our Poor muſt not be employed, working Woollen Manufactures. A.D. 1666.

It's agreed, the vaſt Riches of *France* ariſe by the Trades which the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Dane*, *Hamburgher*, *Embdener*, *Lubecker*, and *Bremeners* drive, trading into *France* for Wines, Brandies, Salt, Paper, and the *Engliſh* beſides theſe, for Linen, Cordage, and Sails. Suppoſe then, the *French* King ſhould by Edict ordain, that theſe ſhould be firſt brought by Land-Carriage to *Paris*, and then none but the Free-men ſhould buy them at what Rates they pleaſe, and then theſe ſhould vend them in foreign Trade only in *French*-built Ships, and theſe ſailed by Three fourth parts *French*, whether they have Ships or Men, or not; and the Returns made of them, to pay him twofold more than if they were imported into *Holland* or *Hamburgh*, &c. Would not any Man think he were mad? Yet what would that differ from our Practice?

At this rate we have in *England* more Wools than we can work; and by this Act the *Iriſh* are forced to breed Sheep upon the Grounds they bred their Cattel before the Act; and by the Act of 14 *Car.* II. 18. it's Felony to export the Wools, ſo as the *Iriſh* are neceſſitated to work them, where Proviſions are cheaper

A. Reg. 18. per than in *England*, and where they ſhall not be at the unneceſſary Land-Charges of Carriage of their Wools, and Re-carriage of their Cloths; where they ſhall not be reſtrained to the vending of them to Freemen of Corporations at 20 *per Cent.* Loſs; and where their Ports are better and more convenient for foreign Trade than thoſe of *England*; and then the *Engliſh* muſt condeſcend to the Terms of the *Iriſh*, or theſe will undo more Families, and more decay the Trade of our Woollen Manufactures, than if Foreigners wrought the *Iriſh* or *Engliſh* Wools.

Obſervation IX.

Ireland is a Kingdom depending upon *England*, and Trade and Commerce create a mutual Correſpondence and Intereſt between Countries, ſo as this Law makes the Correſpondence and Intereſt of *Ireland* to depend upon other Countries; whereas it is the Intereſt of *England*, that *England* ſhould have been the Mart or Store-houſe of all the Wools, Hides, Tallow, *&c.* renewed in *Ireland*; as *England* is the Store-houſe of the Product of our Plantations, or as *Holland* is of the Spice-Trade.

Theſe ruinous and miſchievous Conſequences this Law has brought upon *England* and *Ireland*, only that the *Northern* and *Weſtern* Men might have a Monopoly of impoſing what Rates they pleaſed upon the *Eaſtern* and *Southern* Parts of *England*, I may ſafely ſay to the leſſening the Rates and Value of thoſe Lands at 30 *per Cent.* and I dare ſay from many leſs Cauſes; or if this Partial Law had been impoſed by any King out of Parliament, it might have cauſed a Rebellion in *England* and *Ireland* too: Yet it had been the Intereſt of the *Northern* and *Weſtern* Men to have continued the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel; for in breeding Cattel they can make but one Return in five Years, whereas they might make four Returns in one Year by the *Iriſh* Cattel imported: Yet in many Land-Taxes, the Parliament taxed the *Southern* and *Eaſtern* Parts of *England* near double more than the *Northern* and *Weſtern*.

But

But neither the King's Management of Buſineſs, this Infant-Law, the Fire of *London*, the pulling down the Houſes upon the *Tower-Ditch*, the Plague, nor the *Act of Navigation*, now ſixteen Years old, could allay the Parliament's Heat from carrying on this War againſt the *Dutch*; and therefore they gave the King 1256000 *l.* towards it: But the King had other Occaſions for the Money, and thought he better otherwiſe could diſpoſe of it, upon the Aſſurance he had from his Mother out of *France*, that the *Dutch* would not ſet out another Fleet this Year, though the *French* King uſed all means that the *Dutch* ſhould do it; And this Year the *Zealanders* ſet out a Squadron of Ships, and took *Surinam* from the *Engliſh* in *America*. A.D. 1666.

Relying upon his Mother's Intelligence, the King, by the Mediation of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, entertains a Treaty of Peace with the *Dutch*, whilſt they make all poſſible Preparations for War, which all the World ſaw but the King, who would not ſee it; and ſo took no Care to ſet out a Fleet to fight them, nor to protect his Fleet in the Ports.

However, the King at this time was not pleaſed with the Inſults of his Brother of *France* upon the *Engliſh* in their Plantations in the *Leeward-Iſlands*; and therefore ſent Sir *John Harman* with a Squadron of Frigats, to repreſs the *French Inſolence* there: Sir *John* had the Gout ſo as he could not go; but upon the Diſcovery of the *French Fleet*, got upon his Feet, and gave Orders to fight the *French*, which he did, and beat them; and during the Fight, walked and gave Orders as when well. But the Fight was no ſooner over, when Sir *John* returned to his Gouty Lameneſs again, and after reduced *Surinam* to the *Engliſh*: But this was after the Peace of *Breda* between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*.

The *Dutch* having compleated their Fleet, upon the 9*th* of *June* entred the River: I was on the 10*th*, in the Morning, walking in St. *James*'s *Park*, when a Gentleman whiſpered to me, That the *Dutch* were enter'd the River. Then the King had fed his Ducks, and was walking on the Weſt-ſide of the *Park*; and as we walked, Prince *Rupert* overtook us, and met the King at the further End of the *Pall-Mall*; and the King told

A. Reg. 19. told the Prince how he had ſhot a Duck, and ſuch a Dog fetch'd it: and ſo they walk'd on till the King came to St. *James's Houſe*, and there the King ſaid to the Prince, *Let's go ſee* Cambridge *and* Kendall, (the Duke's two Sons, who then lay a dying) but upon his Return to *White-Hall*, he found all in an Uproar, the Counteſs of *Caſtlemain* (as 'twas ſaid) bewailing above all others, that ſhe ſhould be the firſt torn in pieces.

Dutch *burn our Ships at* Chatham.

Hereupon the Duke of *Albemarle* was poſted down to *Chatham*, where, in a Council of War, it was reſolved to ſink all the Ships; but as they ſay, there was not Water enough. The *Dutch* found an eaſy Paſſage, after they broke the Boom which lay croſs the River; for no Fort was then finiſhed at *Sheerneſs*, and that at *Upnor* ruin'd for want of Repair: however, the Duke put ſome Guns into it, which ſhooting high, little damaged the *Dutch* in the Paſſage: So the *Dutch* fired the *Royal James*, *London*, and *Royal Oak*; and the *Henry* being afloat, run ſo violently upon *Rocheſter-Bridge*, the Tide forcing her, as endanger'd the breaking of it; and the *Royal Charles* was carried off by the *Dutch*.

I was then at *London*, and alſo in the Plague and Fire Years, yet in neither did I obſerve ſuch Conſternation and Confuſion in the Looks of all Men, as at this time, and with great Cauſe: for if the *Dutch* had then come up to *London*, they had found all open to them; not one Gun mounted at *Tilbury-Fort*, nor one Frigat ready in the River; ſo as they might have forced all the Ships in the River up to the Bridge, and there have burnt them; which would certainly have fired the *Tower*, and all the Suburbs Weſt to *Blackwall*, as well as *Southwark*, below Bridge.

Nor were the Ships at *Portſmouth* in more Safety; and the *Dutch* had Ships enow to have made both Attempts at the ſame time; but whilſt the *Dutch* lay loitering below *Sheerneſs*, the *Engliſh* had time to plant ſome Guns in *Tilbury-Fort*, and ſink Ships croſs the River at *Woolwich*. And the King ſent the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and Captain *Elliot*, to *Portſmouth*, who uſed ſuch Diligence in fortifying it, that when the *Dutch* came before it, they thought not fit to attempt to do what they had done at *Chatham*.

However

However the Diſhonour which the Nation ſuſtained by this Action, may be forgotten; yet the ſudden, and diſhonourable Peace concluded at *Breda* the 9th of *July* following, will never be. The 3d Article is, *That all Offences, Injuries, Damages, and Loſſes ſuſtained on either ſide by the King and States, or their Subjects, during this War, or at any time before, upon any Cauſe or Pretence whatſoever, be totally expunged, and buried in Oblivion.* So that by this Article the Buſineſs of *Amboyna* is buried, and never to be called in queſtion; which *Oliver*, though he made Peace with the *Dutch*, would not do, but it was referred to the *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, who never did any thing in it. The *Dutch* had *Polloroon* (out of which they had expelled our *Eaſt-India* Company during this War) confirmed to them, whereby they became ſole Proprietors of the Spice-Trade, as well in *Europe*, as other Parts of the *Indies*, *Arabia*, and *Perſia*: And they were to have the Plantation of *Surinam* reſtored to them, becauſe taken by Sir *John Harman* after the Treaty. A.D. 1667. Peace concluded at Breda.

The 4th Article is, *That all Ships, Goods, and Moveables, which at any time had come into the Power of either Party, or their Subjects, ſhould remain in the preſent Poſſeſſors thereof, without any Compenſation or Reſtitution for the ſame, without any Exception of Place, Time, or Things.*

The 5th Article was, *That all Actions, Ships, and Pretenſions whatſoever for the ſame, ſhould remain void, obliterated, diſannulled, and nothing moved thereupon hereafter.*

The 8th Article is, *That under the foreſaid Renunciation, and Stipulation, all Letters of Mart, Repriſals, or Counter Mart, general or particular, ought to be comprehended and revoked, by vertue of that Article accordingly, notwithſtanding any Grant to the contrary.*

This was the Succeſs of the King's Speech to the Parliament, upon his declaring War againſt the *Dutch*, that as he enter'd into the War for the Protection, Honour, and Safety of his Subjects, ſo without theſe he would not make a Peace: and this Benefit Sir *Edmund Turner* and Mr. *Carew* had of their Letters of Repriſal, wherein the King granted, That they ſhould ſtand good, notwithſtanding any Peace to be made with the *Dutch*, until they had fully reprized their Debt of 151612 *l.*

A. Reg. 19. 1667 *l.* and Charges of Reprizal; nay, their Agents were tried by a Commiſſion out of the Admiralty for Piracy, for acting under the ſaid Grant, the Silver Oar being carried before Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who was very zealous to have hanged them; but the Common-Law Judges were of another Opinion, and ſo they did not loſe their Lives, as Sir *Edmund* and Mr. *Carew* did their Debts: yet the *French* ſped not ſo well as the *Dutch* in this Peace, being to reſtore all they had taken in the *Leeward-Iſlands* to the *Engliſh*.

And now the Steed is ſtoln, the Stable-door is ſhut: for after the Peace, thouſands of People were preſſed in *London* to finiſh the Fort at *Sheerneſs*; and it being a terrible Aguiſh Time, in an Aguiſh Place, almoſt all fell ſick; and it was deemed by many, that more died there than in all the *Dutch* War.

Lord Chancellor Clarendon *diſgrac'd.*

In this Conſternation, 'twas neceſſary to do ſomething to appeaſe the Parliament and People, and ſo the King ſends for the Seal from my Lord Chancellor *Hide*; which was no ſooner done, but the Parliament were as fierce upon him as for the *Dutch* War. One of his intimate Friends told me, he took Counſel with his Friends, whether he ſhould ſtay or leave the Kingdom; they all adviſed him not to ſtay; and ſo he left the Kingdom, yet fell into more Danger than if he had not; for at *Diep* a Company of rude Seamen endeavour'd to have aſſaſſinated him. Thus fell this great Chancellor and Stateſman, I do not ſay a Sacrifice for either King or People, having followed the King's Father in all his Wars, and himſelf in his Exile; yet he lived to ſee two Lord Chancellors in *England*, and two Lord Keepers alive at the ſame time (no Argument of the Steadineſs of Councils after him:) Two were depoſed as well as he; and the third, with much ado, lived to die in the Place. A little before his Depoſure, (as if he had lived long enough) that great Standard of Loyalty and true Nobility, my Lord Treaſurer *Southampton*, died; but ſure ſo upright a Chancellor, or two ſuch honourable Counſellors and Stateſmen, for their Integrity to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and great Underſtanding in State-Affairs, have not ſince ſucceeded: But they were but two to too many others, and the King's Inclinations

were

were towards the other ſide; ſo as neither he, nor my Lord Treaſurer *Southampton* were preſent at the Council when the War was declared againſt the *Dutch*: But this Power was in the Wain, and the Torrent run t'other way. A.D.1667.

It was time for the *Dutch* to make Peace with *England*; for this Summer the *French* King, with a mighty Army, was fallen into *Flanders*, and like a Torrent, had ravaged *Artois*, *Hainault*, and other parts of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and taken *Charleroy*, *Audenard*, *Aeth*, *Courtray* and *Liſle*. But that we may take a better View of this War, we muſt look back.

In the Year 1612, there was a croſs Marriage between *Lewis* XIII. of *France*, and *Philip* IV. of *Spain*: *Lewis* married *Ann*, *Philip*'s Siſter, and *Philip* married *Elizabeth*, *Lewis* his Siſter. By *Elizabeth*, *Philip* had *Don Belthazar*, and the *Infanta*, married to the *French* King by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*.

In the Year 1649, (*Elizabeth* of *France* being dead) *Philip* married *Ann* the Daughter of *Ferdinand* the Third, Emperor, *Philip*'s own Niece, by whom he had *Charles* the late King of *Spain*. I do not find whether *Don Belthazar* was dead before the *French* King married his Siſter; but *Charles*, the now King, was born about nine Months after the *Pyrenean* Treaty.

By the *Pyrenean* Treaty, the *French* King, by all that they call ſacred in the Church of *Rome*, and by all the Clauſes the Wit of Man could expreſs to avoid Evaſion, diſclaimed all Right or Title to *Spain*, or any part of it, in the Right of the *Infanta*; and *Philip* dying in the Year 1665, the *French* King did engage his Faith and Royal Word to the Queen, by the Marqueſs *de la Fuente*, that he would religiouſly keep the Peace, and continue a faithful Friendſhip with her and her Son during his Minority; nay, after the Irruption by the *French* into *Flanders*, the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* did, *in Verbo Sacerdotis*, proteſt and vow to the Queen, that his Maſter (the *French* King) would never break with the King of *Spain*, or invade his Dominions during his Minority.

By this time the *Dauphin* (I think) was about ſix Years old; and his Father, to cover his Hypocriſy and Perfidy, pretended that the Women of *Brabant*,

by

A. Reg. 19. by the firſt Venter, inherit before the Males of the ſecond: but you ſhall ſee *Brabant* flow over all the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and therefore no Act of his could preclude the *Dauphin*, who was born of *Elizabeth*, *Philip*'s firſt Wife; which vain Pretenſion was throughly confuted by the renowned Stateſman, the Baron *de Iſola*, in his excellent Treatiſe termed, *The Buckler of State and Juſtice*.

However, about four Days after the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*'s Proteſtation, the Queen of *Spain* had notice of a *Manifeſto* publiſhed by the *French* King, that he had ſo fully proved his Son's Title, that he did not think himſelf obliged to ſpend any time in unprofitable Conteſts about it; yet not to make War, but to take Friendly Poſſeſſion of what was ſo juſtly due to the *Dauphin*.

Never was *Spain* at ſo low an Ebb; and unable to make Oppoſition to the *French*, as at this time; for beſides our King's giving up *Dunkirk* to the *French*, and the breaking of the *Spaniſh* Army at the Fight at *Elvas* in *Portugal*, which ſhould have defended *Flanders*, the War ſtill continued there; where the *French*, by a Treaty with *Portugal*, (contrary to the *Pyrenean* Treaty) were to have all the Port-Towns taken from the *Spaniard*: The *Buccaneers* at *Jamaica* plagued the *Spaniard* in the Returns of their Plate-Fleet, and plundered and fired many of the *Spaniſh* Towns upon the firm Land: And *Don John* (the King's Baſtard Brother) and the Queen, were at higheſt Diſcord about her Confeſſor *Nitard*, ſo as *Don John* refuſed to accept of the Government of *Flanders* again to oppoſe the *French*.

Here 'tis obſervable, how much the *French* King's Ambition prevail'd beyond his Zeal to Religion; for in 1665 and 1666, the *Iriſh* had been treating with him to ſend an Army into *Ireland* to aſſiſt the *Iriſh* in a deſign'd Rebellion againſt the King, which this Year was brought to Maturity; and the *French* King promiſed to ſend them Forty thouſand Men to land on *St. Lewis*'s Day, in *Auguſt*: But he kept his Promiſe no better with them to aſſiſt them, than he did his Oath at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, not to aſſiſt the *Portugueſe*, and to the Queen Regent in *Spain*, not to invade

vade any of the *Spaniſh* Dominions during the Minority of the King. *A.D.1667.*

The King either ſtung with the Succeſs of his Mother's Aſſurance, that the *Dutch* would put out no Fleet this Year, or at this time angry with his Brother of *France*, for the Ravages he had made upon the *Engliſh* in the *Weſt-Indies*, whereby the King's Cuſtoms were much leſſened; or it may be, having ſome Seeds of the wholſome Counſels which the Chancellor *Hide* and Treaſurer *Southampton* had infuſed into him, how dangerous it would be to *England* as well as *Holland*, for the *French* to make a Conqueſt in *Flanders*; ſent to Sir *William Temple*, his then Reſident at *Bruſſels*, to take joint Meaſures with the *States* for reſtraining the Progreſs of the *French* Conqueſts in *Flanders*: This was in *January* 166$\frac{7}{8}$.

The *French* Progreſs in *Flanders* more nearly concerned the *Dutch* than the *Engliſh*; the *Spaniſh Netherlands* being the Barrier to ſecure the *United Netherlands* from ſinking under the Power of *France*, and therefore the *Dutch States* readily complied with Sir *William*'s Propoſals, and Sir *William* waited upon the King to give him an Account of his Negotiation; and within five Days after was ſent back with Powers to conclude a ſtricter Defenſive League than that at *Breda* between *England* and *Holland*; either by Mediation or Force, to ſtop the further Progreſs of the *French* Army in the *Spaniſh* Provinces: And becauſe the *Swede* ſoon after entred into it, it was called the Triple Alliance. This preſerved what the *French* had left untaken, and the *Spaniard* was forced to ſet down by the Loſs.

King makes a League with the Dutch and Swede to ſtop the French Progreſs in Flanders, called The Triple-League.

But whatever the *Spaniard* loſt by the *French* Ravages, the *Engliſh* gained this Benefit by it: That one *Brewer*, (whoſe Parents were ſaid to be *Engliſh*) with about fifty *Walloons*, who wrought and dyed fine Woollen Cloths, came into *England*; and the King, after the Example of two of his wiſeſt and moſt renowned Predeceſſors, *Edward* III. and Queen *Elizabeth*, entertain'd them againſt our Barbarous Law, or rather Uſage, againſt Foreigners partaking the Benefit of Natural-born *Engliſh*; and by them the *Engliſh*, in a few Years time, were inſtructed to make and dye fine Woollen Cloths cheaper by 40 *l. per Cent.* than they

A. Reg. 20. could do before; not only to the Benefit of the *Engliſh* at home, but in foreign Vent abroad; which before the *Dutch* had.

The baniſhing the Chancellor *Clarendon* did palliate, but the Triple League reconciled all Difference between the King and Parliament, as if no *Dutch* War, or Miſcarriages had been; and for the Triple League, they granted the King a Treble Supply, *viz.* 20 *Car.* II. *c.* 1. 301000 *l.* upon Wines and Liquors: Secondly, an Additional Duty of 8 *l. per* Tun on *French* Wines, *&c.* and 12 *l. per* Tun on *Spaniſh* Wines for eight Years, which amounted to 560000 *l.* this was the 22 *Car.* II. And alſo, *cap.* 3. an Act for ſale of the Fee-Farm-Rents to the Value of 1300000 *l.*

1668. But you'll ſee theſe dear bought Joys ſoon will fade, for the great *Clarendon* and noble *Southampton* are now gone, and another Generation is ſpringing up, and that with ſuch forward Growth (as all Weeds do) that upon the Joy of the Triple League, the Houſe of Commons having given the King the 301000 *l.* Mr. *Clifford* (after Lord Treaſurer) in *April* following, told a Friend of Sir *William Temple*'s, that for all this great Joy, it muſt not be long before we have another War with *Holland*; and this very Year a *French* Man gave my Lord *Arlington* the Deſign of laying another *Holland*'s War, and the Advance of it by the Practice of Monſieur *Colbert*, upon the Miniſters of our Court.

A. R. 21. 1669. However the Devil will play at ſmall Game rather than ſtand out: For now the *French* King's Hands are tied up by the Triple League and Treaty at *Aix la Chapelle* from taking more Towns in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*: Yet he exacted great Contributions from the Dutchies of *Limburgh* and *Luxemburgh*, and confiſcated the Eſtates of thoſe in his Conqueſts who would not forſwear their Allegiance to the King of *Spain*, and endeavoured to ſurprize the Town of *Hainault*. And though by the *Pyrenean Treaty* the Duke of *Lorain* was to be reſtor'd to his Dutchy; yet the Duke, tho' a Friend to the King, was rejected from entring into the Triple League, which he endeavoured, and therefore incurred the *French* King's Diſpleaſure; who in the Year 1669, ſeized upon the poor Remainders of his Country, and order'd one of his Generals to ſeize his

his Perſon, and bring him either dead or alive. And A.D. 1670. though by the Treaty of *Breda* the *French* King was to reſtore the *Engliſh* to their Plantations in St. *Chriſtophers*, which the *French* had taken from them, yet hitherto he refuſed to do it.

In this trifling, which the Hector of *France* did only to keep his Hand in ure, he did not ſleep otherwiſe; the Triple League ſtuck ſore in his Conſcience, which, unleſs broken, would ſet Bounds to his boundleſs Ambition: In its infant State Monſieur *Colbert*, in the firſt Year, had made ſome Steps towards it; but the next Year made ſuch Advances, that he had almoſt brought the Deſtruction of it to Perfection: To facilitate this hopeful Project, *Madam*, the King's beloved Siſter, came in *June* 1670 to *Dover*, with full Powers to conclude this deſired Buſineſs. The King was not long behind; but with equal Deſire, and extraordinary Affection, meets his Siſter, where all things are concluded; which, though as dark as Hell, yet were as ſecret as Witchcraft, which would have no Light, but by their Conſequences: and that this well-laid Deſign might not be forgotten, the Princeſs left her Woman, Madam *Carwel*, after Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, with the King, to put him in mind of it: But the Princeſs was unhappy in this; for *Monſieur*, her Husband, entertained a furious Jealouſy in his frantick Brain, that ſomething elſe beſides this hopeful Project was deſigned by her; ſo that though ſhe were in perfect Health, and never more pleaſed than when here, yet, upon her Return, ſhe in the Glory of her Age, but Twenty ſix Years old, died ſuddenly; ſo that the Cauſe of her Death was as dark as the Deſign ſhe came for.

French Method to break the Triple League.

But there is neither Siſter, Father or Mother, with Kings and Kingdoms: The ſudden Death of *Madam* put no ſtop to the ratifying the Buſineſs ſhe came for, but the Marqueſs of *Bellefond* is ſent hither, and an honourable Perſon into *France*, for both Kings Ratification of it.

Hereupon the *French* King deſcended from his Stiffneſs, and delivered the *Engliſh* their Grounds in St. *Chriſtophers* to Sir *Charles Wheeler*, yet deſtroy'd all the Plantations: And by his *Engliſh* Penſioners, did not

A. Reg. 22. only keep the Emperor and Duke of *Lorain* out of being deſirous to enter into the Triple League, but enters into a ſtricter League with the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, againſt the *Dutch*, and now began to fit out a greater Fleet of Men of War than ever any *French* King did before: Nor were the *Dutch* behind-hand, but made proportionable Advances, not doubting but our King would make good his Proportion.

Upon the 24*th* of *October* 1670, the Parliament met again, and notwithſtanding all the Aids granted the King in *April* before, my Lord Keeper *Bridgman* told the Parliament the great Care his Majeſty had of them and the Kingdom ſince their laſt Receſs, and that beſides the Triple Alliance, he had made many advantageous Alliances, both for Security and Profit of Trade with the *Swede*, *Dane*, *Spaniard*, and D. of *Savoy*: But ſince the *Dutch* and *French* made ſuch vaſt Naval Preparations, it was neceſſary for the Safety and Honour of the Nation, that the King ſhould at leaſt keep equal pace with them, which could not be done without great Supplies, which muſt be ſpeedily granted; for the King intended to put an End of this Seſſion before *Chriſtmas*: But whatever Treaties of Commerce were made with other Princes, the Keeper finds none with *France*, where neither the advantageous Treaty made by *Oliver* was obſerv'd, nor any new one made, but the *French* King did uſe the *Engliſh* with all imaginable Oppreſſions, without any Redreſs from the King. However, this Speech wrought ſo pathetically with the Parliament, that they gave the King one Shilling in the Pound of the real Value of all the Lands of *England* for one Year, and an Additional Excize upon Beer and Ale for ſix Years, and the Law-Bill for nine Years; which three Bills were computed at two Millions and a half.

And now this dark Deſign, founded in ſuch deep Diſſimulation, Hypocriſy and Perfidiouſneſs, as *Cromwel* would have been aſhamed of and bluſh'd at, begins to receive Light: For, the Parliament having granted the King the Aids, were in conſequence prorogued, and did not meet to act till the 4*th* of *Febru-*

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ary 167½. But in regard that not only the extirpating the Proteſtant Religion, but the Subverſion of the Weſtern Parts of *Europe* was now deſign'd, which extended as far as the *Baltick* Sea, and the Bounds of the *Turkiſh* and *Tartar* Empires, we will be a little particular in it. But what is moſt amazing is, that the King, in appearance a Proteſtant, and a free independent King, ſo uſed by the *French* King in his Exile, and ſince his Reſtoration, ſhould be ſo forward in joining with a Faithleſs and Boundleſs Ambitious Neighbouring Prince, which if his Deſign had ſucceeded, had involved the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* in the ſame Condition with the reſt of *Chriſtendom*. *A.D.* 1671.

The Vizard-Mask under which the Popiſh Party covered their Hypocriſy, in propagating their Catholick Cauſe [for Plain-dealing muſt never be expected in it] in King *Charles* the Firſt's time, was *Arminianiſm*, which then had the Aſcendant in *Laud*'s Regency: but ſince the King's Reſtoration, the Proteſtant Diſſenters being ſo fiercely proſecuted by the Parliament, it was judged that the diſpenſing with Penal Laws againſt Diſſenters from the Church of *England*, would conjoin the Proteſtant Diſſenters Intereſt with the Popiſh; and this not only appeared by Practice, but by Deſign in *Coleman*'s Letters to Father *Ferier* and *La Chaiſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſors.

As before the firſt *Dutch* War, the King iſſued out his Declaration of Indulgence for diſpenſing with the Penal Laws in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in the Interval of the Sitting of the Parliament, ſo did he before the ſecond. It ſeems to me that the Deſigners of this War got ſome ſecret Oath or Promiſe from the King, that he ſhould not do the like again; for the King told the Houſe of Commons he would ſtand by his Declaration of Indulgence, and ſure nothing but Golden *Money* would have got him off. However, theſe Conſpirators were more zealous than politick; for before the King iſſued out his Declaration of Indulgence in *England*, upon the 26*th* of *February* 1671, he iſſued out his Proclamation in *Ireland*, wherein he granted Liſence to all Papiſts to live in Corporations, exer- *King grants a new Declaration of Indulgence.*

A. Reg. 23. ciſe Trades there, and enjoy the ſame Privileges as other Subjects ought to do; which was a greater Privilege than his Proteſtant Subjects had, for by their Charter all who were not free of the Corporations could not have the Benefit of their Privileges. But that the Catholick Deſign might take deeper Root and Continuance, the Duke of *York*'s Son being dead, and the Princeſſes his Daughters being bred up in the Proteſtant Religion, Care muſt be taken to eſtabliſh the Popiſh for the time to come; for which it was expedient the Duke ſhould marry ſome Popiſh Princeſs, and to this end the Arch-Dutcheſs of *Inſpruck* was propounded, and a Treaty entred into upon it.

But though the Princeſs's Religion pleaſed the *French* King, yet the Intereſt this Marriage would bring with it did not. So that he propounded the Princeſs of *Modena*, and this, againſt all Endeavours of the Parliament, and to the Diſhonour of the Treaty with the Arch-Dutcheſs, prevailed, the *French* King having adopted her a Daughter of *France*, and given her a Portion.

But while theſe Deſigns are laid in the dark in *England*, the *French* King, bare-fac'd by his Ambaſſador at *Vienna*, in a ſolemn Speech declared, that his Maſter had undertaken the War againſt *Holland* for propagating the Catholick Cauſe, and that all good Chriſtians were bound to join with him to extirpate Hereſy, and that he would reſtore all his Conqueſts to re-eſtabliſh the true Worſhip baniſh'd out of the *United Netherlands*.

Now let's ſee how agreeable theſe Mens Morals were to their Religious Pretences in laying the Scene for this deſigned *Dutch* War. The Treaſury, ſince the Death of my Lord Treaſurer *Southampton*, was managed by Commiſſioners; and if the Aids granted by the Parliament were not ſufficient for carrying on the King's Deſigns, the *French* King is to ſupply him further: But things were not ripe enough yet for theſe Monies to be returned into the *Exchequer*, leſt they might gave cauſe of Suſpicion; and therefore between Six and ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds were received by Mr. *Chiffins*, he to have two Pence in the Pound, to be diſpoſed of as the King ſhall order.

King receives Money from France.

Tho

Tho' by the Defenſive League between the King and States when the Triple League was entred into, the King and States were mutually engaged to ſupply each other with a certain Number of Men and Ships in caſe of any foreign Invaſion upon either; yet now the King hath Subſidies given him by the *French* King to join with him againſt *Holland*, which by the Defenſive Alliance the King was obliged to aſſiſt. The King, who was ſo great in the Love of his Subjects and Parliament for the Triple League, and had received ſuch vaſt Sums for it, now at the Inſtance of the *French* King ſends Mr. *Henry Coventry* to the Court of *Sweden* to diſſolve it, which he did ſo effectually, that that King not only ſtood Neuter at the beginning of the War with the *Dutch*, but in it joined with the *French* againſt the Confederates; and this Succeſs Mr. *Coventry* had, that for this Buſineſs, which put all Chriſtendom into a Flame, he was by the King made Principal Secretary of State, and it may be preſented with his fine Ranger's Place in *Enfield Chaſe* too, and that perhaps with thrice more by the *French* King: Whereas Sir *William Temple*, who was the principal Inſtrument in the Peace at *Nimeguen*, loſt 2200 *l.* by it; and his only Recompence was to be Secretary of State in Mr. *Coventry*'s Place, if Sir *William* would give him 10000 *l.* for it. A.D. 1671. *He diſſolves the Triple League.*

The Triple League thus diſſolved, all Obſtacles which might retard the Progreſs of this pious Work muſt be removed. And now my Lord Keeper *Bridgman* having done by his Speech the Conſpirators Work for Money, has done his own too, and is turn'd out of his Place; and my Lord *Aſhley Cooper*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, is made Lord Chancellor of *England*, and Earl of *Shaftsbury*; Mr. *Clifford* (after Lord *Clifford*) Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, and my Lord *Arlington* Chamberlain to the King's Houſhold; and Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Trevor* diſcharged from the Committee of Foreign Affairs; ſo as the *CABAL*, viz. *Clifford*, *Aſhley*, *Buckingham*, *Arlington* and *Lauderdale* govern all.

The firſt Reſult of this ſacred Conclave, was the ſhutting up of the *Exchequer*, wherein the Bankers *Exchequer ſhut up.*

A. Reg. 25. (who formerly had furniſhed the King with mighty Sums of Money at extorſive Intereſt) had lodg'd between 13 and 1400000 *l.* of the Subjects Money; this was in *January* 167½. One would think theſe Monies added to the Aids granted in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, with thoſe received from *France*, might have carried on the War againſt the *Dutch* on the King's Part: But to make ſure, the Fleet for which the Parliament gave him ſuch vaſt Sums, to be equal with the *French* or *Dutch*, is ſet out under Sir *Robert Holmes* to ſurprize the *Dutch Smirna* Fleet, which he vainly attempted the thirteenth and fourteenth of *March* 167½; and to ſanctify ſo Heroick an Act, at this very time the Declaration of Indulgence was printed and publiſhed the fifteenth.

The *French* King having got our King into his Net, openly declared, that it was none of his Quarrel, and that he only engaged in it out of reſpect to his Perſon; and therefore before any War was declared, the King muſt firſt break the Peace, by the Attempt on the *Dutch Smirna*-Fleet. The *Dutch*, alarm'd at the Attempt, and being in no Condition to reſiſt both Kings, ſent Deputies to both to know upon what Terms they would agree to Peace: Thoſe ſent to our King were denied Audience, and kept at *Hampton-Court* till it were known what the *French* King's Pleaſure was; but thoſe ſent to the *French* had Anſwer, That what the King had was his own, and what he ſhould conquer ſhould be his without an Equivalent, and declared the *States* might deal with *England* as they pleaſed, and come off as cheap as they could, becauſe by their Treaty they were not bound to procure them any Advantages. Yet, all this the King as patiently ſubmitted to now, as before he ſuffered one *Marſilly* to be broken on the Wheel at *Paris*, without one Word from him in his behalf, for being his Agent to the *Swiſs*, to invite them to join in the Guaranty of *Aix*; who upon the Scaffold had twenty Queſtions asked him in relation to his Majeſty's Perſon, and a ſtrict Enquiry of the Particulars that paſſed between the King and him.

Pretended Cauſes for the ſecond Dutch War.

I find little difference in the Cauſes of this War by theſe two Kings. The *French* King's was, that the *Dutch*

Dutch had acted in Diminution to his Glory, but ſays not wherein. The King of *England*'s was, the *Dutch* had not yielded him the Honour due to his Flag. The *Cabal* ſought for a fourfold Cauſe of this War, the Inſults upon the *Engliſh* in the *Eaſt-India* Trade, the detaining the *Engliſh* Planters in *Surinam* againſt the Treaty at *Breda*, and horrid Pictures in Defamation of his Majeſty, and his Flag. To this purpoſe the Committee for the *Eaſt-India* Company was ſummoned to ſhew Cauſe: Who anſwer'd, and gave it under their Hands, That ſince the Treaty at *Breda* they knew none, nor as yet the *Dutch* could pretend to no more than was granted by it, they having not as yet aſſiſted the young King of *Bantam* againſt his Father, and made uſe of the young King's Name to expel the *Engliſh* Factories from the Pepper Trade, as before they had the Spice Trade. *A.D.* 1672.

For detaining the *Engliſh* Planters at *Surinam*; it was anſwer'd, the Planters were not willing to forſake their Subſiſtence, and be turned into the wide World to ſeek it; and that the *Dutch* perform'd their Part with Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, and therefore it was no Fault of theirs if it were not obſerv'd; nor did they hinder them when they were tranſplanted to repair the Ruin of the *Engliſh* Plantation in St. *Chriſtophers*, made by the *French*. For the Pictures the *Dutch* anſwered, they knew of none, except one Medal, which might be liable to any ſuch Conſtruction; but ſo ſoon as they knew of it, they cauſed the Stamp to be broken.

For that of the Flag, the Caſe ſtood thus: The *Dutch* having fitted up a Fleet of Men of War in jealouſy of the *French*, were riding near their own Coaſt, when one of the King's Yachts diſcharged a Gun at the Admiral to ſtrike Sail; which the Admiral not doing, was the Cauſe of the Breach of the War, though the *States* diſown'd the Refuſal, and offer'd to make any Satisfaction the King ſhould require. But it is the End which crowns the Work in every Act, and therefore the Declaration concludes, *That notwithſtanding this War, the King will ſupport the Treaty at* Aix la Chapelle, *according to the Scope and Intent of it, and preſerve the Ends of it inviolable: As if the getting*

the

A. Reg. 25. *the* Swede *out of it, and joining with the* French *againſt the* Dutch, *diametrically contrary to it, were the Support of that Treaty; or that the ſubduing* Holland, *ſo that the* French *ſhould be Lords on both ſides of the* Spaniſh Netherlands, *could be to protect them againſt the Power of the* French. *Good God! Did theſe Men believe Heaven or a God! But all moral Virtues, and whatſoever may be called ſacred, muſt give way to the Advancement of the Catholick Cauſe.*

By this time the *French* King, by the Benefit of the Act of Navigation, *Oliver*'s Peace with *France*, and War with *Spain*, our King's ſupine Negligence, and the Addition of twelve great Men of War built by the *Dane* and *Dutch* in the former *Dutch* War, had got a Navy equal to the *Dutch* or *Engliſh*; yet how to damage or deſtroy theſe, and to inſtruct his Men to fight, is the *French* Game now to be play'd. And therefore for this time the *French* permitted the *Engliſh* to have the Red Flag, and the *French* were content with the White: Yet here it's obſervable, That in all the former Fights with the *Dutch*, when the *French* and *Dane* join'd againſt the *Engliſh*, except that when the Fleet was divided, the *Engliſh* put the *Dutch* to flight; whereas in all the Fights (which were four) wherein the *French* joined the *Engliſh*, the *Engliſh* came off with more loſs than the *Dutch*.

Things thus order'd, the Duke of *York* was Admiral of the Red, or the whole Fleet, Monſieur *d'Eſtree* of the White, and my Lord of *Sandwich* of the Blue: And thus they rode at Anchor in *Sould-Bay* the 28th of *June* 1672, the Wind blowing at North-Eaſt, a ſtiff Gale, and upon that Day there was a mighty Sacrifice to *Ceres* and *Bacchus* on Board the Fleet by the Flag-Officers; and at the ſame time, the other Captains, in Imitation of their Admiral, went on Shore to perform the ſame at *Alborough*, *Dunwich*, and *Sould*.

Southwould Bay *Fight.*

In their jollity on Board, my Lord *Sandwich* (not at good Terms either with the Duke or with the *French*) ſaid, that as the Wind ſtood, the Fleet rode in danger of being ſurprized, and therefore thought it adviſeable to weigh Anchor, and get out to Sea: The Duke retorted upon him, as if this had been ſaid

ſaid out of Fear, which the next Day 'twas thought was the loſs of the Earl, and the brave Ship the *Prince Royal*. The Sacrifice ended, and when all were *Vino ſomnoq; ſepulti*, the Thunder of the Cannon of the Scout-Ships about two in the Morning, gave notice that the *Dutch* Fleet was approaching to call the *Engliſh* to an account for their Yeſterday's Jollity. A.D. 1672.

Now all things were in Confuſion, our drowſy Officers were in no caſe to go to Counſel, nor had time for weighing Anchor; the Cables therefore were cut to avoid being burnt by the *Dutch* Fire-Ships, and the Long-boats were ſent near the Shore to wait upon their ſleepy Officers. Here was no time to draw into a Line of Battel; but it happened that about Four in the Morning a Calm fell, which continued till after ſix, whereby the Captains had time to get on Board, tho' not to conſider how to fight: And I have heard experienced Seamen ſay, if this Calm had not happened, the whole *Engliſh* Fleet had been in danger to be ſtranded or burnt.

The Coaſt of *Sould-Bay* lies near North and South, the Northmoſt part inclining into the Eaſt, called *Eaſtonneſs*, being the moſt Eaſtern part of *England*, but towards the South it inclines into the Weſt. The *French* lay South, the Duke's Squadron in the midſt, my Lord *Sandwich* on the North; ſo as the *French* had moſt Sea-room, and the Blue leaſt.

When the *Dutch* engaged the Fleets, the Wind was South-Eaſt; and the *Dutch* did not fight cloſe with the *French*, yet the *French* ſhot furiouſly, but their Shot fell ſhort: But with great Courage the *Dutch* fell upon the Duke's Squadron, and more fiercely upon the Blue, the *Dutch* having near One third more than the *Engliſh*, and thus the Fight held till about 11, when the *French* by this time might have weathered the *Dutch*, and diſengaged the *Engliſh*, but did not: Now the Wind had got North-Eaſt, and *Van Gent*, the *Dutch* Vice-Admiral, with three Men of War, whereof one lay acroſs his Hauſer, ſorely diſtreſſed my Lord *Sandwich*, when Sir *Joſeph Jordan* (Vice-Admiral of the Blue) who might have diſengaged the Earl, ſailed to the Red to aſſiſt the Duke, and it's believed the Earl might have done ſo too, if his great

Spirit

A. Reg. 25. Spirit could have digeſted his Yeſterday's Taunt: So this noble Earl and his brave Ship periſhed, with many young Gentlemen beſides Mariners. Towards two the *Engliſh* got the Weathergage of the *Dutch*, and then the Fight ended; nor did the *French* ſerve the *Engliſh* better in any of the other Sea-Fights, which let others tell, I have had enough of this.

Though the *Dutch* could thus cope with the *Engliſh* and *French* at Sea, yet they found another kind of Task of it by Land: By what Steps their Republick grew up, their Wars, Navigation, and how they ſtood with their Neighbours, has been ſhewn before.

After they had made Peace with *Oliver*, being before at Peace with *France*, *Spain* and the Empire, they now ſet all their Wits to work to eſtabliſh their Commonwealth without the Prince of *Orange*; and to make ſure work, God's ſacred Name muſt be proſtituted to eſtabliſh their Ambition, Perfidiouſneſs and Ingratitude, by ſwearing never to admit of a Stadtholder; nor did they ſtay here, but impoſed the ſame upon the Prince of *Orange*: The Succeſs you'll ſoon hear.

In this ſeeming Proſperity, they made *John de Witt* (a Fellow as arrogant and inſolent as ungrateful, factious, and imitating *French* Modes) Penſionary, or rather Dictator of *Holland*; whoſe chief Buſineſs was to depreſs the Prince, thereby arrogating ſo much more to himſelf as he debaſed the Prince and his Authority; and ſo intent he was hereon, that he neglected to take care of the Military Diſcipline which was exerciſed in the United Provinces, whilſt they continued in War with *Spain*; and in all their Garriſons, (eſpecially thoſe upon the *Rhine*) inſtead of the old experienced Governors, *De Witt* and his Faction put in Burgomaſters Sons, and Favourites of their Faction oppoſite to the Prince.

Now *De Witt* having lull'd the King into the Security of a deceitful Peace, whereby the *Dutch* got the Opportunity of firing our Ships at *Chatham*, and then the Peace at *Breda*; and after having gotten the King into the Triple Alliance, *De Witt* aſcribed the Glory of all theſe to himſelf, and became ſo inſolent hereon, that he became intolerable to all but his own Faction.

The

The *French* King coop'd up by the Triple Alliance, uſed this Fineneſs to break it; his Penſioners in *England* repreſented to the King the Inſolence of *De Witt* and the *Dutch*, upon the Treaty at *Breda*, and it may be more than was true; and how that the *French* King had by the Treaty reſtored what he took from the *English* in St. *Chriſtophers* during the War, whereas the *Dutch* ſtill detained *Polloroon*, and *Surinam*, tho' taken in the War; and how diſhonourable it would be to the King not to vindicate his Honour herein, and how ready his Brother of *France* would be to aſſiſt him in it. Theſe Counſels had the Effects before ſhewed. *A.D.* 1672.

In all this Time the *French* King entertained a Treaty with the *Dutch*, to be a Mediator between the *Engliſh* and them, about their ſettling Trade and Commerce, but eſpecially in the *Eaſt-Indies*; and the *Dutch* embraced the Overture, wherein the *French* were no more ſincere, than the *Dutch* were with the *Engliſh* in the Year 1667, before they fired our Ships in their Harbours. *Dutch too ſecure and careleſs.*

The *Dutch* lull'd into Security by this Treaty, made no Preparations by Land againſt the *French*, either by raiſing an Army, or fortifying their Garriſons.

Whilſt the *French* King was thus wheedling *De Witt* and his Faction, he corrupted one *Mombas*, (a *French-man*, and an Officer of War in the *Dutch* Service) who betrayed all he could learn or obſerve to the *French* King; and one *Deſroches*, a Captain in the Prince of *Conde*'s Guards, and a Kinſman of *Mombas*, prevailed with him the Winter before the War broke out, to take a Journey into *France*, fully to inform the King of the State of Affairs in *Holland*, and to take further Inſtructions from the King. Mombas' *treacherous to them.*

Thus the *French* King having made a ſtrict Alliance with the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and Biſhop of *Munſter*, (two implacable Enemies of the *Dutch*, for having filcht ſome Towns from them) utterly ſurprized the *Dutch*, and marched with a mighty Army to *Wiſe*, a ſmall City upon the *Maez*, in the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, where he ſtaid a Fortnight for further Inſtructions from *Mombas*.

The

A. Reg. 25. The *Dutch* now rouzed out of their ſtupid Security, to take Counſel what to do, the Prince of *Orange*'s Counſel was, to put Ten thouſand Men into *Maeſtricht*, and to encamp with the reſt at *Bodegrave*, whoſe Situation was moſt advantageous to cover *Holland*, and to abandon the reſt of the Places above the *Rhine*: Monſieur *Opdam*, and *Celidreck*, who ſpoke for the Nobility, were of the ſame Opinion.

But *De Witt* and his Faction, (little verſed in Military Affairs, yet ruled all the roaſt) would keep all or loſe all, (and ſo they did;) and though the Garriſons upon the *Rhine* were weak, and ill provided, they made them much weaker, by detaching great Numbers out of them to put into *Maeſtricht*. *Mombas* gave the *French* King an Account of all this, and how eaſily all the Towns upon the *Rhine* might fall into his Power.

French carry all before them.

The *French* King nicks the Opportunity, paſſed the *Maez*, and eaſily put to flight ſome Troops which the *Dutch* had advantageouſly poſted to oppoſe him, and came before *Orſoy*, which next Day was ſurrendred to him. *Rhinburgh* and *Doſſery*, both ſurrendred without ſhooting one Cannon. *Weſel* was delivered to *Condé*, after the Trenches had been opened for a day or two; *Barick* at the ſame time was taken by *Turenne*; and *Conde* advancing, took *Deudekom*, *Rees*, and *Emerick*, with the ſame Facility as he had done *Weſel*. Thus you ſee theſe *De Witts*, (or without Wits) after their ſupine Negligence of preſerving their Country for 20 Years, by their Ignorance, or ſtubborn Oppoſition to the Prince, made the *French* King's Paſſage more eaſy to deſtroy their Country.

Here the *French* Arms ſeem to ſtop, for the *Iſſel*, by reaſon of its Depth, not only forbad their farther Progreſs, but the ſtrong Retrenchments on the other Side, where the River is more fordable; when two Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood of *Tol-huys* came to the Prince of *Conde* at *Emerick*, and promiſed to ſhew him a Paſſage over the *Rhine*, where there were but One hundred Paces ſwimming. The Prince of *Conde* hereupon, ſent the Count *De Guiche* to try the Truth hereof, with the two Men, who brought the Count

oppoſite

oppoſite to the *Tol-huys*, where plunging into the Water, the Count followed them, and found what they had ſaid to be true. A.D. 1672.

The Prince hereupon acquainted the *French* King, who came that Night and ſupped with the Prince, and ordered his Army to march towards the *Rhine*, whither they came about half an hour before Day.

You have ſeen how eaſy a Conqueſt the *French* King made of all the Towns on the *Rhine*, by the Advice of theſe witleſs *De Wits*: Now you ſhall ſee how by their Advice, they gave him as eaſy a Paſſage over the *Rhine*, to the Ruin and Loſs of all their Up-land Towns, and Country on this ſide of it.

The Prince of *Orange* (who in this Exigence by *De Witt*'s Faction was permitted to be General) not knowing the Man, ſent *Mombas* with a Body of Horſe and Foot to guard the Paſſage over the *Rhine*, thoſe of the *Iſſel* being already ſecured from the Paſſage of the *French*; but *Mombas* ſeeing this might prevent the *French*, wrote to ſome of the Deputies of the States, that there was no Likelihood of the *French* paſſing the *Rhine*; but if they pleaſed, he would put himſelf into *Nimeguen*, where he believed they bent their March, which theſe Deputies ordered him to do.

At this time the Prince was gone out from the Camp with a Detachment, and upon his Return was ſurpriſed with what *Mombas* and the Deputies had done; and forthwith ſent *Wartz* with ſome Troops to the *Tol-huys*, to intrench himſelf there; but though *Wartz* made all the Haſte he could, the *French* appeared on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, which cauſed him to intrench his Infantry, and cauſed the Cavalry to advance along the *Rhine*.

The *French* King cauſed his Cannon to play upon *Wartz*'s Cavalry, who ſheltered themſelves from the Shot, among the Trees upon the River, whilſt the *French* paſſed it, though ſome were drowned in it; which *Wartz*'s Cavalry did not hinder: But when they perceived ſome of the *French* Troops had come over, and began to form a Squadron, they came from the Shelter of the Trees; but inſtead of preſſing upon them, they made a Halt, and a Diſcharge at ſo great a Diſtance, as did no Execution; and thereby

gave

A. Reg. 25. gave the *French* an Opportunity of joining thoſe who were before come over.

The Foot divided from the Horſe, and diſcouraged by their baſe Cowardize, and not having time to intrench themſelves, demanded Quarter; which the Prince of *Conde* granted, in caſe they laid down their Arms. But the Duke of *Longueville*, advancing to the Brink of the *Dutch* Retrenchment, fired his Piſtol; whereupon the *Dutch* diſcharged a whole Volley upon the *French*, and killed a conſiderable Number of them, whereof *Longueville* was one, and the Prince of *Conde* wounded.

Hereupon the *French* ſtormed the Trenches, wherein they found ſome Reſiſtance, and put all to the Sword, but thoſe who eſcaped by Flight; and took and plundered the Caſtle of *Tol-huys*, and put all the Iſle of *Betue* under Contribution, while the *Dutch* who guarded the *Iſſel*, fearing the *French* would fall upon them behind, fled from their Poſts, and left the Paſſage free to the *French*; ſo as the King in Perſon took *Doesburg* and *Tureſune*, *Nimeguen*, *Swoll*, *Daventer*, *Grave*, *Arnheim*, *Skinenſchons* and *Creveceer*; and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, *Coventer*.

Whilſt the King beſieged *Doesburg*, the Burgomaſters of *Utrecht* ſurrendred the Keys to the King, who ſent the Marqueſs of *Rochfort* to take Poſſeſſion of it; who made ſuch Haſte, that he neglected to take *Muiden*, then abandoned, whereby he might have bridled *Amſterdam*. Thus you ſee what a deplorable State the Ingratitude and Perfidiouſneſs of theſe Men had brought their Country to; and you'll ſoon ſee that theſe Men who had ſworn to exclude the Prince from being Stadtholder, ſhall themſelves be depoſed from being States, and no other viſible Hopes left to free their Country from the Calamities which they had brought upon it, but by exalting this Prince, which they had formerly ſworn never to do. And 'tis more obſervable, that both the *De Witts* were maſſacred by the Rage of the People, in whom the *De Witts*, and *Barnvelt* before them, placed all Sovereignty, and might do as they pleaſed.

To

To compleat the miſerable Condition of the *Dutch Provinces*, the King had raiſed an Army commanded by Marſhal *Schomberg*, (who had done what he could for the *French* in *Portugal*, the Queen Regent of *Spain*, upon the *French* Irruption into the *Spaniſh Netherlands* in 1667, having made Peace with *Portugal*) and Col. *Fitzgerald*, an *Iriſh Papiſt*, Major-General: The Buſineſs of this Army was, as the Vogue went, That ſince the *French* King could not get that part of *Holland* which was drench'd by freſh Water, to ſouſe it with ſalt Water by cutting down their Sea-Banks; but *Ponit Homo*. A.D. 1672.

For the *Dutch Mob*, aſtoniſhed and confounded with the Loſs of their Country by Land, and oppoſed by two of the moſt powerful Kings in the whole World by Sea, in a Rage aſſaſſinated the two *de Witts*, *Cornelius* and *John*, as the Betrayers of their Country, reſtored the Prince of *Orange* to the Command of his Anceſtors, and made *Monſieur Fagell* Penſioner of *Holland*.

The Prince being the King's Nephew, and having never offended him, raiſed an Expectation in the People, and Fear in the *French* King, that the King would not ſuffer the Prince to fall into a worſe State than the *De Witts* intended, by ſuffering the *French* to conquer *Holland*, whereby the Prince's Authority muſt needs be ſwallowed up. This the *French* King foreſaw, and therefore to obviate it, the *French* King was the firſt who made Application to the Prince, and propoſed to him the making him Sovereign of the *United Provinces*, under the Protection of *England* and *France*: (ſuch a Protection was never heard of before) But the *French* King knew how to deal with his Brother of *England*.

It's admirable to conſider, that notwithſtanding the Conqueſt by the *French* of the other Provinces, and the Deſolation of *Holland*, and the long Prejudices, even from his Cradle, againſt him by the *Loveſtein* Faction, this generous Prince in his moſt florid and ambitious Age, ſhould, out of his virtuous, innate Love to his Country, ſtand ſo firm to it, that his Anſwers were, *That he would never betray a Truſt repoſed in him, nor ſell the Liberties of his Country, which his An-*

A. Reg. 25. *ceſtors had ſo long defended, and God ſo bleſt him herein.* But out of theſe Ruins ſhall this limited Prince ariſe, and put a check to the boundleſs and arbitrary Ambition of this deſigning *French* Univerſal Monarch, as his Anceſtors before had to the *Spaniſh*.

Our Councils diſtracted. The King it ſeems could not but ſee, that whilſt he got nothing but Blows by Sea, the *French* got all by Land; and therefore ſent the Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lords *Arlington* and *Hallifax*, to the *French* King keeping his Court at *Utrecht*, but with Inſtructions as ſecret and dark, as thoſe of making the War: Theſe, when they came into *Holland*, were informed of the *French* Deſigns; and the King's Anſwer to their Deputies was, *viz.* That *the King might treat as he pleaſed, but that what the* French *King had got, was his own; and that what he ſhould get, he would not reſtore without an Equivalent.* Which raiſed ſuch an Indignation in them, that nothing would ſerve their turn, but deſtroying, at leaſt maſtering the *French* Fleet: And in this Humour they went to the Prince of *Orange*, and promiſed the ſame; and engaged to their utmoſt, to bring the *French* King to be ſatisfied with *Maſtricht*, and of keeping Garriſons in the Towns upon the *Rhine*, belonging to the Electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Cologn*.

From *Holland* two of theſe proceed to the *French* Court at *Utrecht*, where the *French* Air changed their Minds they left in *Holland*, and about four Days after ſent word to the Prince of *Orange*, that the *States* muſt give Satisfaction to both Kings jointly, and that neither would treat ſeparately; upon which the Prince deſired to know what the Kings joint and reſpective Demands were, and of the new Agreement made by them, ſo contrary to their Promiſe to the Prince and States: Whereupon Mr. Secretary *Trevor* makes theſe Queries.

Secretary Trevor's Queries about the Embaſſy to the French King at Utrecht. 1. *Whether they were ſent to promote the* French Conqueſt? *If not, why, by making the Peace impoſſible, as far as in them lay, would they force the* Dutch *to ſubmit to the* French Dominions? 2. *Whether they did not know that the* French *Demands alone had been rejected by the States, and that the granting of them would make it*

impoſſible

impoſſible for the Dutch *to give the King any Satisfaction?* A.D.1672.
3. *Whether having received from the Prince and States all imaginable Aſſurances of their Deſigns to return to the King's Amity, and to purchaſe it at any Rate they could, they could faithfully neglect theſe, and enter into a new Engagement, ſo prejudicial to* England? 4. *How far thoſe who were joined in Commiſſion did concur in their Judgment; and whether theſe Conſiderations, with many others, were not repreſented to them, and urged by ſome who deſired to ſerve the King faithfully?* 5. *Whether or no it was for that Reaſon they oppoſed ſo fiercely my Lord Viſcount* Hallifax's *(who came a Day or two after them) Appearing and Acting jointly with them, tho' in the ſame Commiſſion with them, in as ample a Manner as themſelves?* 6. *Who were thoſe who (after my Lord* Hallifax *could be kept out no longer) went privately to the* French *Camp under Pretences, and had Negotiations of their own on foot?* 7. *Whether they had order to call the* French *King, King of* France, *and to name him before their Maſter, as well in the* French *Demands, as of his Majeſty's, in all their Agreements which they ſent to the Prince of* Orange? 8. *Whether they had Inſtructions to ſtand in the Behalf of the* French *upon the Publick Exerciſe of the* Roman Catholick Religion *in the* United Provinces, *the Churches to be divided to the* Roman *Prieſts to be maintained out of the Publick Revenue? And to bind the King's Hands, ſo that the* French *King may be ſure of his Bargain, theſe Plenipotentiaries (Two of them) agreed with the* French, *that the King ſhould not treat nor conclude a Peace with the* Dutch *without them.* But the *French* King ſhall find no more Security herein, than the *Dutch* and *Spaniard* did in the King's joining in the Triple League.

The Management of the Cabal in England.

For the Support of this Holy Catholick Deſign, ſtood my Lord *Clifford*, and a new Band of Parliament-Penſioners, never before heard of in *England*, at Board Wages: But theſe being a kind of Land-Privateers, are to tax the Country to pay themſelves, and to do whatſoever ſhall be commanded, or no Purchaſe no Pay.

In this State of Affairs the Parliament met again the 4th of *February* 167½, when the Commons, like Men coming out of a drowzy Lethargy, began to conſider

A. Reg. 26. conſider the dangerous State of the Nation, and the dangerous Conſequences of the ſevere Proſecution of *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, by provoking them to join with the *Popiſh*; and therefore, tho' they queſtion'd the King's Declaration of Indulgence, and no Money was like to be had unleſs he recall'd it, yet upon the 14th of *February*, the Commons reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente, That a Bill be brought in for the Eaſe of his Majeſty's Subjects, who are Diſſenters in Matters of Religion from the Church of England.* And a Bill paſſed the Houſe accordingly, but was ſtopt in the Houſe of Lords, (*Cauſa patet*) the dead Weight joining with the cabalting Party.

Lauderdale's *Management in* Scotland.

But whatever the Commons thought of the King's Diſpenſing Power in *England*, *Lauderdale* (the fifth in the Cabal in *England*) was of another Opinion in *Scotland*; for in the ſecond Parliament *c.* 1. held by him, he gets an Act, declaring, That by Virtue of the King's Supremacy, the ordering the Government of the Church does properly belong to his Majeſty and Succeſſors, as an inherent Right of the Crown; and that he may enact and emit ſuch Conſtitutions, Acts and Orders, concerning Church-Adminiſtrations, Perſons, Meetings and Matters, as he in his Royal Wiſdom ſhall think fit, *&c.* any Law, Act, or Cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And that he might not be leſs active in *Scotland* than his Brother *Clifford* was in *England*, and *Buckingham* and *Arlington* were in *Holland*, being armed with theſe other Powers, he made all ſorts of People depoſe upon Oath, their Knowledge of the Perſons of Diſſenters, not Popiſh Meetings, in the Exerciſe of their Worſhip, upon penalty of Fining, Impriſonment, Baniſhment, and Tranſportation, to be ſold for Slaves; impriſoning all outed Miniſters who ſhall preach out of their Families, till they give Security of 5000 Marks *Scot*, not to do the ſame again; every Hearer, being a Tenant, to pay 25 *l. Scot*, and Cotter 12, *toties quoties* they ſhall offend; and that it ſhall be Death for any to preach in Fields or Houſes where any are without doors; and 500 Marks Reward for any to ſecure ſuch dead or alive; [illegible] gave Orders, That every Man, for himſelf and all under him, ſhould

ſhould give Bond, not to go to Field-Meetings, and to inform againſt, purſue, and deliver up all outed Miniſters to Judgment. *A.D.* 1673.

The Execution of theſe Orders was not by legal Officers, but by an Army of *Highland Robbers*, who quartered upon the Country; ſo that it may be a Queſtion, whether the *French* King did not take his Meaſures in his Dragoon-Reformation, by the Ground-work laid by *Lauderdale*.

But his Grace (which it ſeems did work irreſiſtibly) did not ſtay here; for his *Highland Army*, which conſiſted of eight or nine thouſand Men, not only lived upon Free Quarter, upon all ſorts of the King's peaceable Subjects, but in moſt places levied great Sums of Money, under the Notion of Dry Quarters: They had only regard to the Duke's private Animoſities; for the moſt part of the places where they quartered and deſtroyed, had not been guilty of Field-Conventicles. The King's Subjects were denounced Rebels, and *Captions* iſſued out for ſeizing their Perſons, for not entring into Bond, That neither they, nor any under them, ſhall go to Field-Conventicles; and the Nobility and Gentry were diſarmed, who had ever been faithful to the King, and aſſiſted in ſuppreſſing Field-Conventicles. Indictments were delivered in by the King's Advocate in the Evening, to be anſwered next Morning upon Oath, otherwiſe they were to be reputed guilty. Theſe, and many more of this kind, in the Matters relating to *Lauderdale's* Adminiſtration of Affairs in *Scotland*, were repreſented to the King, and that by his Command; and are in *Lauderdale's* and his Lady's Impeachment, which are all in print. Notwithſtanding all this, it was this *Lauderdale* who had procured an Act of Parliament to raiſe 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, to march into *England* to ſerve the King upon all Occaſions. And tho' the Duke, to prevent the Fame of his Actions arriving in *England*, had by a Proclamation forbid all Subjects to depart the Kingdom without Licence, yet the Noiſe of his Actions flew every where in *England*, not leſs than the Cenſures of the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commiſſion*, in *Laud's* Regency, did in *Scotland*; and in due time the Duke ſhall

A. Reg. 26. ſhall hear of them. Can any Man now believe, that the King, by his Declaration of Indulgence, intended any Benefit to the Diſſenters in *England*, whilſt *Lauderdale*, without doubt by his Order, was acting theſe things in *Scotland*?

The Houſe of Commons could not at firſt Step forget all the Loyalty they before profeſs'd to the King, nor yet would they own the *Dutch* War; and therefore they voted the King 1238750 *l.* to ſupply the King's extraordinary Occaſions; but before they would let this Bill ſlip through their Fingers, they tack'd a Bill to it, by which no *Papiſt* ſhould have any publick Employment. This Bill catch'd my Lord Treaſurer *Clifford*, the firſt in the Cabal, who was forced to reſign his Treaſurer's Place, or renounce *Popery*, which he would not do; his Penſioners not being againſt it, hoping thereby to get the Places which the *Popiſh Party* held; and even my Lord Chancellor *Aſhley*, from *Delenda Carthago*, now ſets up for the Country Party, againſt the Deſigns of the Cabal: ſo monſtrous are all Deſigns which are not cemented in Juſtice and Honour.

The King having got the Bill for the Money, the farther Sitting of the Parliament became uneaſy to him; whereupon the Parliament was adjourned till the 20th, and after to the 27th of *October*, viz. 1673.

Engliſh not ſucceſsful in their Naval War.

During this Receſs, there were three Sea-Fights between the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*, Prince *Rupert* Admiral, in all which the *French* ſtood aloof, looking on whilſt the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* battered one another; only Monſieur *de Martell*, for engaging, was recalled, checked, and diſmiſſed. As the *Engliſh* thrived no better by Sea, ſo neither did the *French* by Land; for firſt the Elector of *Brandenburg*, then the Emperor, and at laſt the King, or Queen-Regent of *Spain*, apprehenſive of the Danger common to them all, of the *French* ſubduing the *Dutch Provinces*, entred into a mutual League for their Defence: and by their Conjunction, the Prince of *Orange* recovered many of the *Upland Towns*, in almoſt as little Time as the *French* had taken them.

In

In this State, the *Swede* now broke looſe from the Triple League, whereby he opened the Gap to let in this Confuſion, became a Penſioner to *France*, and propoſes a Treaty of Peace to be held at *Cologne*; and thither our King, the Emperor, the *French* King, and the King of *Spain*, ſend their Plenipotentiaries to [illegible]. *A.D.*1673.

The *French* King's Propoſitions were ſo inſolent, that if granted, our King could have nothing; yet the King (*pudet hæc*) inſiſted, That though he was contented with ſuch Propoſitions as he required, ſo as accepted in ten Days; yet if granted by the *States*, they ſhould be of no force: nor will he enter into any Treaty of Peace, unleſs his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall receive Satisfaction from the *States* in his Particular. French *Propoſals of Peace inſolent.*

After the *French* King ſhould have all, the King's Demands were a Regulation of the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, a Settlement of the Freedom of Navigation in *Europe*; the Arrears for the Fiſhing-Trade upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt, to aſſert a ſettled Revenue to the Crown for every Buſs or Dogger-boat for the future; and to make Satisfaction for the Damages ſuſtained by the Depredations upon the Ships and Lading taken from Sir *Paul Pindar*, and Sir *William Courten*, &c.

In this Interval of the Parliament's Receſs, the King took the Seals from my Lord Chancellor *Shafteſbury*, and gave them to Sir *Heneage Finch*, a Perſon of ſingular Integrity, Eloquence, and Veracity; who to thoſe inſight Excellencies which were natural to him, improved them by the great Example of his Uncle *John Finch*, likewiſe Keeper of the Great Seal in the King's Father's Reign; yet with a different Fate, for the Temper of the Times would not bear his Uncle's Integrity, Eloquence, and Veracity; whereas the Nephew, with proſperous Gales, continued his Courſe till he arrived at Lord Chancellor, Lord *Daventry*, and Earl of *Nottingham*, and kept the Seals to his dying Day; which not one of his three Predeceſſors could do: And Sir *Thomas Osburn* ſucceeded Lord Treaſurer. So *C.* and *A.* are out; we ſhall ſoon ſee what became of *B.* *A.* and *L.*

A. Reg. 26. At laſt the 20th of *October* came, and the Parliament met again, when at the opening of the Seſſion, the new Lord Keeper, with admired Eloquence and Veracity, made a large Deduction of the *Dutch Averſeneſs* to Peace; their uncivil Demeanour to the King's Plenipotentiaries at *Cologne*, and how indirectly they dealt with the King in all the Overtures of Peace; and therefore a neceſſary Supply, proportionable to the Greatneſs of the King's Affairs, was not only demanded, but Care to be taken for Payment of the Bankers Debt, otherwiſe Multitudes of the King's Loyal Subjects would be undone.

But neither the Keeper's Eloquence nor his Veracity would down with the Commons; for during this Receſs, the Terror of the *French* Progreſs had alarm'd the Nation as well as the reſt of *Chriſtendom*: The *French* Legerdemain at Sea was ſo much more taken notice of as our Loſs was more, by their looking on whilſt the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* deſtroyed one another. The Commons were frighted at the ſtanding Army in *England*, commanded by a Foreigner, and an *Iriſh* Papiſt, taking all Military Liberty as in Time of War. It was more than whiſper'd, the Conditions propoſed by the King's Plenipotentiaries at *Cologne* were impoſſible; which though granted, yet no Peace was to be had, unleſs the *French* King was anſwer'd in his Demands: nor were the Commons content with their Prorogation, till the Marriage with the Princeſs of *Modena* was paſt cure.

Parliament not pleas'd with the War.

Hereupon the *Commons*, on the 31ſt of *October*, bound themſelves by a Vote, That conſidering the preſent Condition of the Nation, they will not take into further Conſideration any Aids or Charges upon the Subject, except it ſhall appear that the Obſtinacy of the *Dutch* ſhall render it neceſſary; nor before this Kingdom be effectually ſecured from Popery and Popiſh Counſels, and other Grievances redreſſed. This early Vote of the Commons was ſo much more ſurprizing to the Band of Penſioners, who as yet had not earned their Bread, by how much they expected Mountains of Gold ſhould fall from my Lord Keeper's Eloquence and Veracity. And now is the King, like his Father

when

when he went to *York* to fight the *Scots*, reduced to a fine ſtate, all the Money received from the *French* King, like Water ſpilt upon the Ground, is never to be collected: Beſides the Band of Penſioners, he had a Land Army to maintain, and a Fleet at Sea, which the *French* Subſidies would not One fourth maintain: He could not avoid the Clamours of his Subjects whoſe Monies were ſhut up in the *Exchequer*, nor the Merchants who had ſupplied his Navy in this and the former *Dutch* War; yet their Graces the Dutcheſſes of *Cleveland* and *Portſmouth* muſt be maintained ſuitable to their Qualities; ſo muſt the Dukes of *M*—— *G*——*S*——N——R——St. *A*—— and Earl of *P*—— beſides Portions to be provided for many of his Offſpring of the other Sex. He had already provided Titles for the Cabal, except *Buckingham*, who could not be greater. However, you'll ſee this Vote of the Commons will work powerfully, notwithſtanding the Agreement at *Utrecht*, that the King ſhall not make a ſeparate Peace without the *French* King, nor any Peace with the *Dutch*, unleſs the *French* King ſhall be ſatisfied in his Particulars at *Cologne*. A.D. 1673.

Nor did the Commons ſtay here, but *C.* and *A.* being gone, one dead, the other gone to t'other ſide, they fell upon *B. A.* and *L.* and addreſſed themſelves to the King that they might be removed from his Councils, Preſence, and all publick Employment: And upon the 4*th* of *November* moved,

1. *That the Alliance with* France *was a Grievance.* 2. *That the evil Counſel about the King, was a Grievance to the Nation.* 3. *That the Lord* Lauderdale *was a Perſon grievous to the Nation, and not fit to be truſted in any Office or Truſt, but to be removed.*

The Rump of the Cabal thus uſed, frighted the whole Band of Penſioners into a Fear, their Turn would be next, at leſt their Penſions not paid; and therefore to undo all that was done, in a Hurry the Parliament was prorogued to the 7*th* of *January* following, not having ſat eight Days.

But the Commons needed not to have been ſo fierce upon *B. A.* and *L.* for *B.* was now going off, and *A.* being the King's Brother-in-law, was ſpited that he was twice balked in being Lord Treaſurer;

A. Reg. 26. and if he did not turn to t'other ſide, yet he would never be reconciled with my Lord Treaſurer: Only *L.* now remained to be quit with the Commons, to get an Act of Parliament in *Scotland* to raiſe 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, to ſerve the King upon all Occaſions.

The King having ſo haſtily begun this War by two ſuch Acts as were without Precedent, *viz.* The ſhutting up the *Exchequer*, and the Attempt upon the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, was now as forward to make a Peace with the *Dutch*, even upon any Terms; though but laſt Year his Plenipotentiaries had agreed at *Utrecht* with the *French* King, not to make Peace with the *Dutch* without him; and this Year at *Cologne*, to grant no Peace unleſs the *French* King be ſatisfied in his Particulars.

By this time the *CABAL* was degenerated into a *Junto*, and this was compounded too of five, *viz.* My Lord Keeper *F*----- *L*----- D. *Lauderdale*, *Arlington*, and Secretary *Coventry*, in room of Secretary *Trevor*, now dead.

It was agreed by the whole *Junto*, That Sir *William Temple* was the moſt proper Agent for making this Peace, not only for his Abilities and great Reputation he had acquired in concluding the *Triple League*, but for the Honour and Eſteem the King of *Spain* and *States of Holland* held of his Integrity and Conduct: And in order hereunto, my Lord *Arlington*, from the King and *Junto*, complimented Sir *William*, and told him, He would not pretend the Merit of having named him (Sir *William*) upon this Occaſion, or whether the King or my Lord Treaſurer did it firſt, but that the whole Committee joined in it, and concluded, That ſince a Peace was to be made, no other Perſon to be thought ſo fit for it; and therefore the King, with many kind Expreſſions, gave order to Sir *William* to prepare for his Journey, and the Secretary to draw up his Inſtructions.

Prince of Orange's Succeſs. But how forward ſoever the *Junto* were for Peace, the *Dutch* out-run them, or at leaſt kept equal Pace with them: for tho' the Prince of *Orange* was victorious in *Holland*, and with admired Prudence and Conduct, like another *Scipio*, carried the War out of his Country,

Country, and thereby ſaved it; for in the dead of the Year he joined *Montecuculi* the Emperor's General, and beſieged and took *Bon*, (the Reſidence of the Elector of *Cologne*) and thereby cut off the Communication between *France* and *Holland*, whereby the *French* were forced not only to quit their conquer'd Towns by heaps, but he opened a Paſſage for the Imperial Forces to join the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh*; yet the *Dutch*, having but newly recovered their drowned Country, and loſt their Trade, the Charges of maintaining their Land-Army became ſo great, that it was impoſſible this Year to ſet out a Fleet by Sea. *A.D.* 1673.

The *Dutch States* therefore gave the Marqueſs of *Frezno* (the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *England*) Power to treat and conclude a Peace with the King, which came in three Days after the *Junto* had ſent to Sir *William*: and this, by Sir *William*'s Advice, ſtayed his Journey into *Holland*, it being more honourable for the King to be ſought to, than ſeek a Peace; and that the King's Intereſt might be better purſued at *London* than at the *Hague*. The King and *Juncto* agreed to it, and withal added, *That though Sir* William *did not treat the Peace at the* Hague, *he ſhould at* London: And when Sir *William* had received his Inſtructions, he at three Meetings with the Marqueſs concluded the whole Treaty to the Satisfaction of the King. Sir *William* ſays, the Articles being publick, need no place here; but the two Points of greateſt Difficulty were the Flag, and recalling the *Engliſh* Troops out of the *French* Service: But that this laſt was compoſed by private Engagements to ſuffer thoſe to wear out without any Recruits, or not to permit new ones to go over; yet at the ſame time to give Leave to the *Dutch* to raiſe ſuch Levies as they ſhould think fit in His Majeſty's Dominions. *King makes Peace with the* Dutch.

But this is an odd Equivocation to recal the *French* Troops, which was to let them wear out, without Recruits, which was not obſerved neither, for Men were not only encouraged, but preſſed to this Service: and to theſe in the *French* Service, does Sir *William*, and the *Germans* too, aſcribe the Glory of all the *French* Actions, who not only in *Turenne*'s Life, but at his Death, ſaved the whole *French* Army. But if this be

A. Reg. 26. as Sir *William* ſays, yet the King hereby, inſtead of being the Protector, becomes a Murderer of his Subjects, in permitting them to kill one another on both ſides; for it is impoſſible the War ſhould be juſt on both ſides: Nor do I believe the like Precedent can be ſhewed, unleſs by the King's Grandfather *James* the Firſt.

This haſty Peace thus huddled up, in leſs than 4 Days, *viz.* between the 5*th* or 6*th* and 9*th* of *February*, would not admit of the Eſtabliſhment of a Marine Treaty, and Regulation of the *Eaſt-India* Trade between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and Treaty at *Cologne*: And therefore it was agreed, That Commiſſioners on both ſides were to meet at *London* to treat of theſe, and determine them in three Months after ſuch Meeting: And in caſe any Differences ſhould not be adjuſted, theſe to be referred to the Queen Regent of *Spain*, who ſhould name 11 Commiſſioners, the greater part of whom ſhould determine the Differences in 6 Months after, and theſe to meet in 3 Months after the Queen Regent ſhall have taken the foreſaid Arbitrament upon herſelf.

But the *States*, as wiſe in this Treaty as the *Engliſh* were improvident and haſty, got the 7*th* Article agreed to, *viz.* *That the Treaty made at* Breda 1667, *as alſo other Treaties renewed by it, to be confirmed, and remain in full Force and Vigour, as far as they ſhall not be contrary to this preſent Treaty.*

The *Marine Treaty* was agreed by the Commiſſioners; but nothing was agreed for the Regulation of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, nor any thing concerning it referred to the Queen Regent of *Spain*. This is that honourable Peace, to his Majeſty's Satisfaction, which ſucceeded this glorious War, to the Expence of ſuch vaſt Treaſure and Charge to *England*, and involving *Chriſtendom* into a War, wherein we taught the *French* to fight by Sea, while they encouraged the *Dutch* and us to deſtroy one another, whereby we got nothing but dry Blows, except the 800000 Patacoons: for the Flag was ever given by the *Dutch* to Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* I. and by the Treaty to *Oliver* in 1654, and to the King in 1666 and 1667, nor ever deſired by the *States*: But the *Dutch* got confir-

med

med the Iſlands of *Amboyna* and *Polloroon*, which they had raviſhed from the *Engliſh*, (whereby they not only ſupply *Europe*, but *India* and *Perſia*, with *Spice*) and *Surinam*; and alſo got diſcharged again from the Piracy or Robbery perpetrated upon the *Bona Eſperanza* and *Henry Bonadventura* in time of Peace, and all the Arrears of 30000 *l. per Annum*, for fiſhing upon our Coaſts ſince 1636. So little Regard was had in this Treaty, either of the King's Honour, or of the Good or Intereſt of the Nation. *A.D.*1673.

However, 'twas the Intereſt of *Spain* to promote this ſeparate Peace with the *Dutch*; for this Year the *French* King having brib'd the *Swiſs* to a Compliance, took the *Franche County* from *Spain*, the *Swiſs* keeping Garriſons in *Dole* and *Beſanzon*: And this Year *Meſſina* revolted from *Spain*, and ſubmitted to the *French* King.

CHAP. III.

A further Detection of this Reign till the Breaking out of the Popiſh Plot.

TO mollify his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, highly exaſperated, you muſt think, by this Peace, the King, 'twas ſaid, and I believe it, ſent his Ship-Carpenters to inſtruct the *French* how to build his Men of War: And, I ſay, Sir *Anthony Dean* told me, that by Order of the King, he built the Model of a Man of War, and carried it by Water to *Roan*, from whence the *French* King convey'd it by Land to *Verſailles*, and had it launched into his great Pool he had made there, where he came on board, and had much Conference with Sir *Anthony* upon it. *The King ſtill kind to France.*

The King emptied his own *Magazines* to fill the *French*; and from *June* 1675 to *June* 1677, Granadoes were ſent without Number, under colour of unwrought

A. Reg. 27. wrought Iron; Lead-ſhot Twenty one Tuns, Gunpowder Seven thouſand one hundred and thirty four Barrels, Iron-ſhot Eighteen Tuns ſix hundred Weight, Match Eighty eight Tuns and a thouſand Weight; Iron Ordnance Four hundred forty one; Quantity Two hundred ninety two Tuns, nine hundred Weight, Carriages, Bandaliers, Pikes, *&c.* uncertain.

French uſe him ill. In return of theſe, the *French* King not only exorbitantly enlarged his Impoſitions upon the *Engliſh* in their Trade to *France*, but let looſe his Privateers upon the *Engliſh*, as if there had been no Peace, and plunder'd, murder'd, made Prize of their Ships and Effects, and confiſcated them; block'd up our Coaſt, and took our Ships out of their very Ports: and if Complaints were made at his Sovereign Port, they were baffled, except ſome which were redeemed by Sir *Ellis Leighton*'s Intereſt, who made a ſecond Prize of them.

Now the King, who by this War had ſet *Chriſtendom* in a Flame, being himſelf got out of it, ſets up to be a Mediator for Peace; and no Man ſo fit to be employed in it as Sir *William Temple*, who would not take this Employment upon him before he had ſounded the King's true Sentiment, and truſt no more to his Miniſters; therefore, in a Conference with the King in his Cloſet, reflected how ill he had been adviſed to break Treaties ſo ſolemnly agreed to, and how ill they had ſucceeded, how different the Conſtitutions of *France* were from thoſe of *England*, and how different the State of the Crown now was from that when it had the Court of Wards, and Knights Service, and large Revenues of Lands, and Fee-Farms, which now were alienated: So that *Gourville* well obſerved, that a King of *England* who will be the Man of his People, is the greateſt King in the World; but if he will be ſomething more, he is nothing at all. Upon which, the King at laſt ſaid, *Gourville* had reaſon for what was ſaid, *And I will be the Man of my People*: But you'll ſee the King ſhall not long hold in this Mind; for Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, and the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, by the Agency of a *French* Monk, who had changed his Frock for a Petti-

coat,

coat, ſhall unravel all Sir *William* had been weaving in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. A.D.1674.

It ſeems to me the *French* Intereſt was chiefly deſigned, even in this Embaſſy; for though Sir *William*'s Inſtructions were for a general Peace, yet his Application was firſt to the States, and after to the Prince, that they would accept of it, and after their Acceptance of it, to endeavour it with their Allies; which looks as if the King rather intended a ſeparate Peace with the *Dutch* and *Spaniard*, than a general one: and this the King endeavour'd during the whole Treaty at *Nimeguen*, and ſo ended at laſt: And if the *French* King could have a ſeparate Peace with the *States* and *Spain*, he little cared for the Empire, being in a Treaty with *Teckely* to raiſe a Rebellion in *Hungary*, and to engage the *Turk* in a War againſt the Empire.

Though the King had got out of this War, the *French* got the *Swede* into it without declaring War, in *Pomerania*, though it had like to have coſt him all he had there; for the Elector of *Brandenburg* returning at the latter end of the Summer, routed the *Swediſh* Army, and after took *Stetin*, and had kept it, if afterwards the *Dutch* had not made a ſeparate Peace, and left him and the Empire too, who had ſaved them, to the Mercy of the *French*: And this had been done a Year ſooner if the Noble Conſtancy and Authority of the Prince of *Orange* had not oppoſed it, who this Year fought the great Battel at *Seneff* againſt the Prince of *Conde*, with uncertain Victory.

You have ſeen how we got Peace abroad, now let's ſee how things ſtood at home. Though the Popiſh Party had been twice balk'd in their Deſigns, by recalling the Indulgence, and this Peace, yet were their Hopes and Deſigns by the Marriage of the Duke with the Princeſs of *Modena* more heightned than ever; for they knew the King being involved in all ſenſual Pleaſures, and therefore hating the Cares and Troubles of Buſineſs, might eaſily be prevailed upon by Importunity; and the Dutcheſs being an adopted Daughter of *France*, and having her Advancement and Portion from the *French* King, was obliged to propagate the *French* Deſigns with the Duke, and he with the King: And the Advancement of the Catholick Cauſe was the

Intimacy between the D. of York and the French Court.

A. Reg. 27. the moſt pious and glorious Work they could promote, and therefore *Coleman* (the Duke's Secretary) now holds Intelligence with Father *Ferrier* (the *French* King's Confeſſor) *Ferrier* with the Jeſuited Faction in *France*, and *Coleman* with thoſe in *England*, how to manage the King in order to it.

The Bargain was ſoon made by *Coleman* and *Ferrier*, and his Chriſtian Majeſty was fully ſatisfied of the Duke's good Intentions towards him, ſo that he eſteemed both their Intereſts to be one and the ſame: This Return was by Sir *William Throgmorton*, *June* 2. *N. S.* 1674, to *Coleman*.

This *Coleman* communicates to the Duke, who commanded *Coleman* to anſwer, That the Duke was very ſenſible of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Friendſhip, which he would cultivate with all the good Offices he was capable of, and that the Duke was fully convinced that their Intereſts were one, and the Parliament was not only unuſeful, but dangerous both to *England* and *France*; and that it was the Duke's Opinion, That if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would write his Thoughts freely to the King upon this Subject, and make the ſame Offer of his Purſe to diſſolve this Parliament, as he made to the Duke to call another, he did believe it very poſſible for him to ſucceed; and from this time to the breaking out of the Popiſh Plot, you ſhall ſee the Parliament call'd, prorogu'd and adjourn'd, by Order from *France*, or *French* Miniſters and Penſioners.

That this Deſign may be carried on in Maſquerade, the whole Band of Penſioners make it their Buſineſs to poſſeſs whom they could perſwade, that the Church is in Danger, and that the Nation was running into *Forty One*: All Countenance and Hopes of Preferment were promiſed to thoſe who would ſupport the Church from the Danger of *Forty One*. This was blaz'd abroad, and encourag'd by all ſorts of printed Pamphlets, and if they met with Oppoſition, the Authors and Printers were perſecuted for publiſhing unlicenſed Pamphlets. Mr. *Roger L'Eſtrange* was the Champion and Penſioner of the Cauſe: Never did Man fight ſo to force the Whig into the Church, and when he was there, made a Trimmer of him, and would have him out again:

Licenſer of the Preſs.

Forty One was his Retreat againſt all who durſt con- *A.D.*1675.
tend againſt him and the Government.

For propagating this holy Cauſe, Sir *Francis North* is made Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Richard Rainsford* Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, *William Mountague* Chief Baron, *Vere Bartue* a Baron of the *Exchequer*; Sir *William Scroggs* a Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, and Sir *Thomas Jones* of the *King's-Bench*, Men all *durante bene placito*.

The Parliament was to have met the 10*th* of *November* 1674, but the Inſtructions from *France* were not yet ſufficiently ripened, ſo 'twas put off till the 13*th* of *April* 1675. At the opening of this Seſſion, my Lord-Keeper told the Houſes, *No Influence of the Stars, no Configurations of the Heavens are to be feared ſo long as theſe two Houſes ſtand in good Diſpoſition to each other, and both in a happy Conjunction with their Lord and Sovereign; but they ought not* quieta movere, *nor* res parvas magnis motibus agere.

The Houſe of Commons had been ſullen theſe two laſt Seſſions, and proceeded contrary to the Humour and Deſign of the Court, and therefore a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, entituled, *An Act to prevent the Danger that may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government*, which was the ſame impoſed upon the Diſſenting Clergy by the *Oxford five-Mile-Act*: this my Lord-Keeper ſaid was a moderate Security to the Church and Crown, which no honeſt Man could refuſe, and who did, gave great Suſpicion of dangerous and Antimonarchical Principles: This Oath or Abhorrence, or Teſt, is mentioned before, and is now ſet on foot to be taken by all who enjoy'd any Beneficial Offices, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military, to which were added Privy-Counſellors, Juſtices of the Peace, and Parliament-Men.

It's ſtrange to me that Princes, or indeed other Men, who have any Piety or Fear of God, ſhould think to be ſecure in unjuſt Actions, by Mens ſwearing to obſerve them: For though Humane Actions be voluntary, yet the End and Deſign by them is not in Humane Power: *Paul* may plant, and *Apollos* water, but only God can give the Bleſſing; with what reaſon then can Man expect a Bleſſing from God, becauſe his Name is pro-

A. Reg. 27. faned, and made as a Stalking-horſe to attain it? What Security had the *Presbyterians* by their Covenant, or the *Rump* Parliament by their Engagement, or *Oliver* or his Son by their Recognition? And more I think the King could not expect hereby.

Whereas Princes, whoſe Thrones are eſtabliſh'd by Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, have a nobler Security than can be hoped for by Mens previous ſwearing to get Offices and Employments; ſo that *Trajan*, who was truly called the *Juſt*, put his Sword into the *Prætorian Prefect*'s Hands, and bid him draw it againſt him whenever he ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Publick Good.

This King had a way, never gone by any of his Predeceſſors, to be preſent in the Houſe of Lords at Debates, and would ſolicit their Votes: This was firſt declaimed againſt by my Lord *Lucas*, as an Awe upon the Peers. This Oath being the Gap to let in the Popiſh Deſigns, you cannot think the King would now be away, but give all Countenance to the paſſing of it; the Biſhops to a Man were for it, ſo were all the Court-Lords, or thoſe who hoped for Preferment, ſo as theſe were the much greater Part: Yet the Country Lords, when they debated it in Paragraphs, made it inconſiſtent with the preſent Conſtitution of the Nation, vain and ſuperfluous, and inconſiſtent in itſelf, which held for 17 Days together: But the Debates were laid aſide by the Commons Votes againſt the Juriſdiction of the Lords in Appeals from *Chancery*. Upon which the King prorogued the Parliament to the 13*th* of *October* 1675.

But becauſe my Lord-Keeper *will have an ill-meant Diſtinction between the King's Natural and Politick Capacity*, I'll put one Caſe which I do not find in all theſe Debates: The one Part of the Oath is, I declare, *That it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King; and, that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe who are commiſſionated by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion.* Suppoſe Duke *Lauderdale* ſhould have a Commiſſion from the King to bring his Twenty two thouſand *Scots* into *England* and plunder, and diſpoſſeſs the *Engliſh* of their Eſtates; and the

Sheriffs

Sheriffs of the Counties ſhould raiſe the *Poſſe* to ſup- A.D.1675.
preſs them, and compel them to keep the Peace, as the Sheriff by his Commiſſion and Oath is bound to do: On which ſide does the Abhorrence of the Traiterous Poſition of taking up Arms againſt thoſe commiſſionated by the King lie?

Though the Duke loſt Ground in the Houſe of Commons, and was diſappointed in carrying the *abhorring Teſt* in the Houſe of Lords; yet he gained ſo much upon the *French* King, that upon the 2*d* of *June* he offered the Duke his Friendſhip, the uſe of his Purſe to the aſſiſting of him againſt the Deſigns of his and the Duke's Enemies; and proteſted their Intereſts were ſo cloſe linked together, that thoſe who oppoſed the one, ſhould be looked upon as Enemies to the other.

Tho' the *French* could not fight againſt the *Dutch* in Conjunction with the *Engliſh*, yet without the *Engliſh* they can fight the *Spaniard* and *Dutch*: For the *Spaniard* (having block'd up *Meſſina* in *Sicily* by Land, which laſt Year revolted to the *French*) agreed with the *Dutch* to ſend a Fleet of Men of War to join the *Spaniſh*, to block up *Meſſina* by Sea, which the *Dutch* this Year did under *De Ruyter*; but were ſo niggardly in it, that the *French* beat both *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Fleets, and killed *De Ruyter*: This was a juſt Reward returned to the *Dutch*, for building the *French* ſix great Men of War ſix or ſeven Years before. Juſt ſo *Richlieu* ſerved the *Spaniard* in 1637, for joining with the *French* in expelling the *Engliſh* out of the Iſle of *Rhee*.

Though the King were the firſt in the Triple League for the Guaranty of the Treaty of *Aix*, for the Preſervation of *Flanders*; and though the King, in his Declaration at the beginning of this War, had engaged to ſupport the Peace made at *Aix*; yet the *French* King this Summer took the City of *Limbury*, being the chief of one of the *Spaniſh* Provinces: which the King not only takes no notice of, but tells Sir *William Temple*, (newly commanded out of *Holland* by the King) that ſome warm Leaders in both Houſes had a mind to engage him in a War againſt *France*, which they ſhould not do, becauſe he was ſure they would make uſe of it to the Ruin of his Miniſters.

A. Reg. 27. If the King were unhappy in his Declaration, he was not leſs in ſaying this to Sir *William*, to whom the Year before he promiſed to be the Man of his People, but is now of his Miniſters: And ſure he was the firſt Prince that ever profeſt it.

Upon the 13th of *October* the Houſes met, and the King asked a Supply for Building of Ships, and to take off the Anticipation upon his Revenue. In the Interval of this Receſs, the Debates of the Abhorring Oath became publick, which ſo nettled the Court and Church-Party, being the more numerous, that ſince they could not prevail by Reaſon, they would by Fire, and therefore ordered them to be burnt, which made the Debates ſo much the more to be enquired into, and hereby received a greater Light.

The Commons had before them ſeveral Bills for preventing future Miſchief, *viz.*

The *Habeas Corpus* Bill. *A Bill againſt ſending Men Priſoners beyond Sea. Againſt raiſing Money without Conſent in Parliament. Againſt* Papiſts *ſitting in either Houſe. For more ſpeedy convicting of* Papiſts. *And for recalling his Majeſty's Subjects out of the* French *Service.*

Theſe Bills being ſo diametrically contrary to the *French* and Popiſh Deſigns, and the Commons now more peremptorily than before, oppoſing the Lords Juriſdiction in Appeals from *Chancery*, ſo that they voted, *Whoſoever ſhall ſollicite or proſecute any Appeal againſt any Commoner of* England *from any Court of Equity before the* Houſe of Lords, *ſhall be deemed and taken a Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the* Commons *of* England, *and ſhall be proceeded againſt accordingly.* And the Commons having committed the Council (who pleaded before the Lords) to the *Tower*, the King took thereby an Occaſion to prorogue the Parliament to the 16th of *February* 1676, which is above a Year; in which time, by a Law in *Edward* the Third's Time, a Parliament was to be called; and as it was without Precedent, ſo it cauſed new Debates and Heats in both Houſes when they met.

In

In this long Receſs, I find but few Motions of the *French* and Popiſh Councils more than what appeared in Sir *Thomas Gaſcoin*'s and other Trials: For *Coleman*'s laſt two Years Letters were ſuppreſt, as was his Book of Entries; and the Commotions raiſed in *Bretagne* and *Guiene*, by the Impoſition impoſed upon the Inhabitants, hindred the *French* this Year from their uſually more early opening their Campaign than the Confederates; ſo that every where the Confederates prevailed againſt the *French*; *Turenne*'s Army was diſtreſſed by *Montecuculi*, and himſelf killed, yet the Army got on the *French* ſide of the *Rhine*, by the Bravery and bold Stands of the *Engliſh*. The Duke of *Lunenburg* routed Mareſchal *Crequy*'s Army, and after took *Triers*, and made *Crequy* Priſoner; and the Imperialiſts alſo took *Philipsburg*; the Elector of *Brandenburg* routed the *Swedes* in *Pomerland*, entred into a League with the King of *Denmark*, who took *Wiſmar* from the *Swede*; and the Prince of *Orange* took *Binch* from the *French*, and raſed it. But the Progreſs of all theſe Victories were ſtopt, by the unaccountable Retreat of *Montecuculi* out of *Alſatia* with his whole Army back over the *Rhine*. A.D. 1676. *The State of the War between the French and the Allies.*

If the Commotions in *Bretagne* and *Guiene* retarded the *French* opening the Campaign laſt Year, the King ſhall make amends in this: For having provided Stores for Horſe and Man in his Frontier Garriſons, in *February* 167$\frac{7}{8}$ he block'd up *Valenciennes* and *Cambray*, and committed ſuch Ravages, by burning and deſtroying thoſe Parts of *Germany* which lay oppoſite to him on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, as if he made War not to conquer but to deſtroy, though this was at a time whilſt they were in a Treaty of Peace with the Empire and King of *Spain*.

Upon the 17th of *March*, he, notwithſtanding the extream Coldneſs of the Seaſon, took *Valenciennes*, and from thence marched to *Cambray*, and laid Siege to it and St. *Omers*; and after the opening of his Trenches *Cambray* ſurrendred, but not the Citadel, our King looking on, as if he had not been concerned in the Guaranty of the Treaty of *Aix*. Nor could the Prince of *Orange* prevent this, the *Spaniſh* Garriſons being ill provided, and the Confederates being

A. Reg. 28. being ſo ſlow in getting into Bodies to oppoſe the *French*; or if they had been to be got together, they could not have kept the Field for want of Proviſions for Horſe and Man.

Battel of Mount Caſſel. However, though the Prince could not come time enough to relieve *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*, yet with the ſingle Forces of the *States*, he marched to the Relief of St. *Omers*; but the Duke of *Luxemberg*, joining with the Duke of *Orleans*, met the Prince at *Mount-Caſſel*, where at firſt the Diſpute was brave; but the firſt Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry breaking and falling into Diſorder, the Prince rallied them ſeveral times, and renewed the Charge, but could not prevent their plain Flight; whom he was forced to reſiſt as Enemies, and fall in among them with Sword in Hand; he cut the firſt over the Face, and cried aloud, *Raſcal, I'll ſet a Mark on thee at leaſt, that I may hang thee at laſt*; yet made ſo brave a Retreat, which wanted little of the Honour of a Victory; ſo both the Citadel of *Cambray* and St. *Omers*, upon the 20th of *April*, fell into the *French* Hands.

Upon the 15th of *February* $167\frac{6}{7}$, the Parliament met again, and from the Diſagreement between the Houſes about Appeals, they fell at Variance, whether this long Prorogation were not a Diſſolution. The Conteſt was higheſt in the Houſe of Lords, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Shaftsbury*, and Lord *Wharton*, were committed cloſe Priſoners to the Tower for their Reaſons alledged; yet the Lords who voted their Commitment this Seſſion, were as zealous the laſt to petition the King to diſſolve the Parliament, when the Commons conteſted their Juriſdiction in Appeals from *Chancery*: Whereas the Commons now reſolved the Parliament not to be diſſolved, and granted the King an additional Duty upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors for three Years: For *now was the time to ſecure Religion and Property*, ſaid my Lord Chancellor.

But whether the Parliament were diſſolved or not, the Commons were mightily alarm'd at the *French* Progreſs in *Flanders*, and therefore upon the 23d of *May* reſolved, that an Addreſs be made to the King to enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive [illegible] *States*

the States General of the *United Provinces*, and make such other Alliances as he should think fit against the Growth and Power of the *French* King, and for the Preservation of the *Spanish Netherlands*. A.D. 1677.

It seems the Ministers were as fearful of a War, as the Commons were of this Peace, wherein the *Spanish Netherlands* were in such Danger; and therefore the King in his Answer upon the 28th of *May*, told them, *They had so intrenched upon so undoubted a Right of the Crown, that in no Age it will appear (when the Sword was not drawn) the Prerogative of making War and Peace had been so dangerously invaded:* With a great deal more such Stuff; and therefore assures them, that no Condition shall make him depart from, or lessen so essential a Part of the Monarchy. A Man, I think may swear out of what Quiver this Arrow was shot. As if any King were less a King for being well advised, especially by those who can best assist him. To advise and to act, are different. The Commons did not in this Address treat either of War or Peace, but only advised or counselled the King; excited to it by their own, as well as the King's Danger, by the Growth of the *French*: And sure Princes have not such a Prerogative, as not to take Advice or Counsel, in less Actions than of War and Peace. *King displeased with a Address of the Commons.*

If you look upon the King's former Actions, what glorious Wars, and honourable Peaces he had made, you had little Reason to think it so dangerous to his Prerogative, to advise him. For my part, I wonder the Commons should make any Address to him about them, since they could have no Security in any Answer he should make to them.

For was not the King a Guaranty in the Treaty of *Aix*, for the Preservation of the *Spanish Netherlands* before the *Swede* entred into the Triple Alliance? And did not the King in the beginning of this War declare he would observe the Treaty of *Aix*, which he might do, though the *Swede* were out of it? And was not the King by the last Peace with the *Dutch*, obliged to withdraw his Subjects out of the *French* Service; yet did not only continue them, but

A. Reg. 28. permitted, nay preſſed his Subjects, to recruit and encreaſe them?

In the firſt *Dutch* War, (which was deſigned for the Overthrow of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt) then the Commons Advice was embraced, and thankfully entertained; but in this, for the reſtraining the boundleſs Ambition of the *French* King, is an unheard of Uſurpation of the King's Prerogative.

However, by this the Commons might perceive what Thanks they had from this King for their Reſtoration of him; and for the manifold Millions they had poured upon him for the Maintenance of his Prodigality and Luxury; and how much he preferred the Enjoyment of his Minions and Flatterers, above his own Honour, the Safety and Welfare of himſelf, the Nation or Chriſtendom.

The King, to ſhew his further Indignation to the Commons, and to take *French* Councils for Reparation of their dangerous Invaſion of his Prerogative, ſignified to the Commons, that they ſhould adjourn to the ſixteenth of *July* following; which was ſo abſolutely obeyed by the *Speaker*, then Mr. ſince Sir *Edward Seymour*, that without the Conſent of the Houſe, or ſo much as putting the Queſtion, he adjourned them, though Sir *John Finch* was impeached for the ſame thing of High Treaſon in Parliament in 1640. So that if the Parliament were not diſſolved by the laſt long Prorogation, another Queſtion may now ariſe, whether it was not ſo by their Separation, without either Prorogation or Adjournment.

But in this time of War, it ſeems the *French* King was not at leiſure to give Counſel; therefore when the Parliament met on the 16th of *July*, Mr. Secretary *Coventry* ſignified, that it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure they ſhould be adjourned to the third of *December*, which Mr. *Speaker* did again by his own Authority. But before that the King iſſued out his Proclamation, that he expected not the Members Attendance then, but that thoſe about the Town might adjourn themſelves to the fourth of *April* 1678; yet when the Houſe met the third of *December*, Mr. Secretary *Coventry* delivered the Houſe a Meſſage from the

the King, that the Houſe ſhould be adjourned but to the fifteenth of *January* 1677, which Mr. *Seymour* this third time did. *A.D.* 1677.

Thus did the *Speaker* make a threefold Invaſion upon the Privilege of the Houſe, for the Houſe's once preſuming to invade his Majeſty's Prerogative of making War and Peace.

In this Jumble of Adjournments, the Prince of *Orange*, about the End of *September*, came into *England*, and from *Harwich* rode Poſt to *New-market*, where the Court then was; his Buſineſs was twofold, a Wife, and a Treaty with the King for the Preſervation of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. *Prince of Orange comes into England.*

Sir *William Temple* was ſent into *Holland*, by the King, in *July* 1674, to mediate a Peace between the *French* King and the *States*; and after that to offer the King's Mediation for a general one, between the Confederates and *French* King. The *Spaniards* were fearful of this, and the Prince jealous of it; ſo that the Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* refuſed Sir *William* a Guard to go to the Prince, and the Prince declined Sir *William*'s coming to him, ſo as Sir *William* was forced to return to *Holland*, and wait for the Prince there till the Campaign was over. After the Prince returned to the *Hague*, Sir *William* acquainted him with the Powers the King had given him, and that the King deſired to act in concert with the Prince; and therefore deſired ſo ſoon as might be, to underſtand the Prince's Opinion therein.

The Prince's Opinion was, That the *States* with any Faith could not make a ſeparate Peace, and thereby expoſe the Confederates, who had ſaved the *States*, to the Mercy of the *French* King; nor could a general Peace be made unleſs *Flanders* was left in a Condition to defend itſelf: That it was in the King's Power to induce the *French* to what was juſt, and that the Prince muſt perform what his own Honour, as well as what the *States* were engaged to for their Allies, let it coſt what it would. This Anſwer was coldly received by the King, ſo as he made no Reply to it. *A Relation of many Particulars concerning the Peace and War before his Arrival.*

My

A. Reg. 28. My Lord *Arlington* poſſeſt the King, that it was Sir *William*'s ill Management that the Prince was not pliable to the King's Deſires; but if the King would employ him in the Affair, by the Intereſt of his Lady's Relations, the Prince might be better diſpoſed: So in *November* following the King ſent my Lord *Arlington* upon this Affair to the Prince, and my Lord *Oſſery*, who had married Madam *Beverwort*, the Counteſs of *Arlington*'s Siſter.

My Lord *Arlington* treated the Prince with that Authority, Arrogance and Inſolence, and ſo artificially, that the Prince, who was of a plain and free Diſpoſition, could not bear it, but ſaid the King never intended he ſhould treat him after that manner. Sir *William* and my Lord too had Inſtructions to ſift the Prince to a Diſcovery of Applications made to him by diſcontented Perſons in *England*; and to enter into ſecret Meaſures with the Prince, to aſſiſt the King againſt Rebels at Home; and to ſweeten all, my Lord *Oſſery* gave the Prince Hopes of a Match with the Princeſs *Mary*, the Duke's eldeſt Daughter: But the Prince would not treat of a ſeparate Peace, was obſtinate againſt the ſecond, ſaid that the third was a Diſreſpect to the King to think that he was ſo ill beloved; and that his Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife: So that my Lord *Arlington* every way failed of his Expectation, loſt much of the King's Favour, and utterly diſſolved the Friendſhip and Confidence he believed he had in the Prince.

On the contrary, tho' *Oſſery* had above any other more bravely fought againſt the Prince's Intereſt by Sea in this laſt War with the *Dutch*, yet the Sympathy of their noble Natures begot a Friendſhip, which no Power leſs than Death could diſſolve; and my Lord became Partaker with the Prince in that glorious Attempt againſt the Duke of *Luxemburg*, upon the Relief of *Mons*, the Succeſs of which was ſtopped by the unhappy ſeparate Peace the *States* made with *France*; and the Propoſition which my Lord made of the Match between the Prince and the Princeſs, made ſuch an irreſiſtible Impreſſion in the Prince's Mind, that would admit of no other Relief but Enjoyment.

The

Tho' the Prince could not ſuppreſs, yet he concealed his Deſires of matching with the Princeſs *Mary*, till a little before the opening the Campaign 1676, when he diſcloſed them to Sir *William Temple*; but before he made any Paces towards the attaining his Deſires, he deſired Sir *William*'s Opinion of the Perſon and Diſpoſition of the Princeſs. A.D. 1677.

Sir *William*, who was glad to find the Prince's Reſolution to marry, and the rather becauſe he was the only one of the Maſculine Line left, replied, That he knew nothing of his own Knowledge of the Diſpoſition of the Princeſs; but had always heard his Wife and Siſter ſpeak with all the Advantage that could be of what they could diſcern in a Princeſs ſo young, and more by what had been told them by her Governeſs.

Hereupon the Prince reſolved to write to the King and Duke, and beg their Favours to him in it, and that my Lady *Temple* being to go over into *England* upon Sir *William*'s private Affairs, ſhould deliver his Letters, and deſired that my Lady, during her Stay in *England*, would endeavour more particularly to inform her ſelf of all that concerned the Perſon, Humour and Diſpoſition of the young Princeſs.

About twor or three Days after the Prince brought his Letters to my Lady *Temple*, he went to the Army. The *States* were deſirous of Peace, yet durſt not break from their Confederacy, not truſting *England* enough, nor *France* at all. The *French* knew the *States* were bent upon Peace, but the Prince againſt any, but what was conſiſting with his Honour, and the Preſervation of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. The *French* Deſigns, under the Covert of the general Peace to be treated at *Nimeguen*, were to break the Confederacy, and therefore their Ambaſſadors, *D'Eſtrades* and *Colbert* accoſted Sir *William*, and told him they had expreſs and private Orders from their King to make particular Compliments to him, upon the Eſteem their King had for his Perſon. They told him, they knew the States were bent for Peace, which could not be had unleſs the Prince would interpoſe his Authority, which was ſo great with the Allies that they were ſure they would conſent to whatever Terms

A. Reg. 28. Terms he ſhould propoſe; and therefore there was no way to procure a happy Iſſue, but for the Prince privately to agree with *France*, upon the Conditions in which he might make uſe of the known Temper of the States to bring them to it: That the Duke of *Bavaria* had ſo acted his part with *France* at the Treaty of *Munſter*, whereby he owed the Greatneſs of his Houſe, that by purſuing the ſame at *Nimeguen*, it would be in the Prince to do the ſame for himſelf and his Family: And that for what concerned the Prince's perſonal Intereſts, their Maſter had given them Aſſurance he ſhould have a *Carte Blanch* to write his own Conditions: That tho' they had other ways of making theſe Overtures to the Prince, yet their Orders were to do it by none but Sir *William*, if he would charge himſelf with it: That they knew the Confidence the Prince had in him, and how far his Opinion would prevail; and that if Sir *William* would eſpouſe this Affair, beſides the Glory of having alone given Peace to *Chriſtendom*, he might reckon upon what he pleaſed from the Bounty and Generoſity of the King their Maſter.

Sir *William*, in a well-compoſed Anſwer, acknowledged his Obligations for their King's good Opinion of him; but that his Inſtructions were for a general, not for a private Peace: For the Prince of *Orange*, he aſſured them it was his Opinion, That the Prince had none for his, or any Man's elſe, further than their Arguments prevailed upon his Judgment.

The Attacks upon Sir *William* not ſucceeding, *D'Eſtrades* turn'd his Battery upon Penſioner *Fagel*, but all the Offers of Advantage made to the Intereſt of the Prince, met with no other Reception than what the Prince had foretold, tho' at this time he ſtruggled under great Difficulty, by reaſon of the *French*'s great Treaſure, and great Order of diſpoſing it: The *French* Magazines were always filled in the Winter, ſo as it enabled them to take the Field as they pleaſed in the Spring, without fearing the Weather for their Foot, or expecting Graſs for their Horſe. On the other ſide, the *Spaniards* wanting Money and Order, left their Troops in *Flanders*, neither capable to act by themſelves, nor in Conjunction with oth[illegible] upon

upon any ſudden Attempt, nor to ſupply with Pro- A.D. 1677.
viſions, either *Dutch* or *Germans*, that ſhould come to their Relief: And their Towns were ill fortified, and worſe defended; ſo that the *French* in *April* took *Conde* in four Days, and in *May Orleans* took *Bouchain*, and the Prince of *Orange* beſieged *Maeſtricht* without Succeſs.

But neither the good Succeſs of the *French* this Campaign, nor the ill Succeſs the *French* Ambaſſadors had upon the Prince of *Orange* to induce him to a ſeparate Peace, retarded the *French* from purſuing of it; for the *French*, by their Emiſſaries in *Holland*, but eſpecially at *Amſterdam*, offer ſuch a Reglement of Trade as the People could deſire; the Reſtitution of *Maeſtricht*, and all Satisfaction to the Prince of *Orange* he could pretend to upon his Loſs, or their Seizures in the War. This put the Mob into a ferment of having a ſeparate Peace; nor could any thing have allayed it, but the noble Conſtancy of the Prince, which ſtood unſhaken, in oppoſing it in all theſe Difficulties.

However, this Campaign the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in ſeveral Encounters beat the *Swede*, and was in a hopeful State to have expelled them out of *Germany*; and it had been juſt they had been ſo: For tho' the Kings of *England* and *Sweden* were Guarantees in the Triple League, for the Preſervation of the *Netherlands* againſt the *French* King; yet the King of *England* ſtood ſtill, only looking on, whilſt the *French* Arms by Piecemeals devoured them; and the *Swede* acted in Conjunction with the *French* King, aſſiſting him in the War. *Put not your Truſt therefore in ſuch Princes.*

The Prince of *Orange*, however his Conſtancy in oppoſing a ſeparate Peace was unſhaken, yet in the diſtracted State of the Confederates, and the violent Humours of the People's running into it, ſaw it was impoſſible to keep them out of it, unleſs the King of *England* would interpoſe his Authority further, than by being a bare Mediator, and acquainted the King with it. But the King, in a long Letter under his own Hand, complained, the Confederate Miniſters in *England* caballed with Parliament Men, and raiſed all Mens Spirits againſt Peace as high as they could,

A. Reg. 29. could, ſo that it was difficult for him to make any Steps with *France* towards a general one, unleſs the *Dutch* Ambaſſador *Van Beningham* would put in a Memorial preſſing the King from the States to do it; and declared, that without it, all *Flanders* would be loſt.

The Prince, to comply with the King, replied how willing he was that *Van Beningham* ſhould put in ſuch a Memorial; and that if the King pleaſed to have a ſudden Peace, the Prince thought it muſt be done upon the Foot of the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*.

Sir *William* at this time was at the *Hague*, when his Colleague Sir *Lionel Jenkins* wrote to him, That there was a Negotiation of a ſeparate Peace treating between the *French* and *Beverning* at *Nimeguen*, without any Communication of it to the Mediators; upon which Sir *Lionel* acquainted the Court of *England* with it. Whereupon Orders were diſpatched, That in caſe a ſeparate Peace was concluding, or concluded, the Mediators ſhould publickly proteſt againſt it.

This Sir *William Temple* wrote to my Lord Treaſurer, and Secretary *Coventry*, That he could not underſtand the Reaſon of ſuch a Proteſtation: For if a ſeparate Peace were thought ſo dangerous at Court, the King might endeavour to prevent it, and had it ſtill in his Power; but if it were once concluded, any other Effect of ſuch a Proteſtation, unleſs it were to irritate both Parties, and bind them the faſter, by our being angry at their Conjunction, could not be expected: Nor did he know what Ground could be given for ſuch a Proteſtation; for though the Parties had accepted the King's Mediation for a General Peace, yet none of them had obliged themſelves to the King not to treat of a ſeparate one without his Mediation; or if they had, he did not ſee why the ſame Intereſts that could make them break through ſo many Obligations to their Allies, ſhould not make them as bold with a Mediator: That as to prevent the thing may be a very wiſe and neceſſary Counſel, ſo the King's Reſolution in it ought to be ſignified as eaſily as can be, where it is like to be of that moment to *France*.

But if the thing ſhould be firſt done, as he could not tell how well to ground any Offence, ſo he could as little how to ſeek Revenge, and it would be to ſtay till we were ſtruck, and then truſt to crying out: That his Opinion was, it were better to anger one of the Parties before a ſeparate Peace, than both of them after; and if we muſt ſtrain any Points of Controverſy with them, to do it rather by making a fair and general Peace, than by complaining and proteſting againſt a ſeparate one. But our Councils at Court, he ſays, were ſo in Ballance between the Deſires of living at leaſt fair with *France*, and the Fears of too much diſpleaſing the Parliament, that our Paces upon the whole look'd all like croſs Purpoſes, which no Man at home or abroad could well underſtand, and were often miſtaken by both Parties engaged in the War, as well as in the Houſe of Commons, till the thing was wreſted out of our Hands. A.D. 1677.

Upon the 5th of *January* 167⅞, Sir *William* receiv'd Anſwer from the King to his laſt Diſpatches by the Prince's Direction, which conſiſted of two Parts; the firſt, an Offer of the King's Entrance into the ſtrongeſt Alliance with the *States*, thereby to ſecure them from all Apprehenſions from *France*, after the Peace ſhould be made; the ſecond was, the King's Remarks rather than Concluſions upon the Terms propounded by the Prince; that he believed it might be compaſſed with *France*, upon the Exchange of *Cambray*, *Ayre*, and St. *Omer*, for *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Conde* and *Bouchain*.

This Anſwer was ſo different from what the Prince propoſed, ſo illuſive, and of ſo little Security to the *Dutch*, that the Prince told Sir *William*, that he would rather die than make ſuch a Peace; and complained that the Offer of Alliance was wrote to him by the King's own Hand, but this about the Peace from the Secretaries, which was in a Stile as if he had thought the Prince a Child, and to be fed with *Whip'd Cream*: That ſince all this had been before the foreign Committee, he knew very well it had been with the *French* Ambaſſador too, and that the Terms were his, and were a great deal worſe than if they had directly come from *France*.

But

A. Reg. 29. But the *French* King wheedling our King and the *Dutch* about a ſeparate Peace, no ways abated the Vigour of his Proſecution of the War, as already related, ſo that the Prince of *Orange* ſeeing all Attempts againſt the *French* would be in vain, unleſs the King came in to aſſiſt the Confederacy of the Allies, ſent Monſieur *Bentink* into *England*, to deſire the King's Leave to make a Journey over ſo ſoon as the Campaign was ended; to which he receiv'd this cold Anſwer, *That the Prince would firſt think of making the Peace, and rather defer his Journey till that were concluded.* Could any Man now believe any other Prince ſhould be ſo ſupine as not to apprehend the imminent Danger his Nephew ſtood in, and in conſequence his own Dominions? And tho' all the World but he ſaw and dreaded this, yet the King, as at the End of the firſt *Dutch* War, would not. This was about the Beginning of *June*; and about the middle, Sir *William Temple*'s Son brought him Letters from my Lord Treaſurer, That he ſhould come over and enter upon the Secretary's Place, which Secretary *Coventry* had offer'd to lay down upon the Payment of 10000 *l.* and that the King would pay half the Money, and the Treaſurer muſt lay down the reſt at preſent; but did not doubt but the King would find a way of eaſing him of that too.

What could be expected in ſuch a Reign, where Secretaries of State, who are the Eyes of the King and Kingdom, to take care of all foreign and domeſtick Affairs, which cannot be carried on without Charges, ſhould purchaſe their Places, and thereby not only diſable them in the Performance of their Office, but utterly to neglect it, and make it their Buſineſs how they may be Gainers by their Purchaſe they had ſo dearly bought? But Sir *William* excuſed it, as not being able to raiſe 5000 *l.* now his Father was alive: And tho' Secretary *Coventry* came cheap enough by the Place, it ſeems he was either unwilling Sir *William* ſhould ſucceed him in it; or that he would not truſt to the 5000 *l.* to be paid by the King, unleſs he might chuſe his Succeſſor, who, it may be, would have given him 15000 *l.* for it.

After

After Sir *William* came over, and the Bargain for the Secretaries Place not ſucceeding, the King had often Conferences with him about the Peace, and the Prince's coming into *England*: he had a great Deſire for the firſt, but not for the other, till the firſt were done. He ſaid his Parliament would never be quiet with him while the War laſted, and then leave him in it, unleſs they might have their Terms in removing and filling Places, which he ſhould be very loth to be ſo much at their Mercy; and that the longer the War continued, the worſe it would be for the Confederates, and for *Flanders*, and therefore would have the Prince make a Peace for them if they would not do it themſelves; and that if the Prince and he would fall into Terms about it, he was ſure it might be done; and deſired Sir *William* to make a ſhort Turn to the Prince, and try if he could perſwade the Prince to it: But Sir *William* excuſed it, and deſired Mr. *Hide* might do it. *A.D.* 1678.

About the latter End of *September*, the Prince took his Journey for *England*: he was kindly received by the King and Duke, who both invited him often into Diſcourſe of Buſineſs, which the Prince avoided induſtriouſly, ſo as the King bid Sir *William* ask the Prince the Reaſon of it: the Prince told him, he was reſolv'd to ſee the young Princeſs before he enter'd into that Affair, and get to proceed in that before the other of Peace: whereupon the King, to humour him, left *New-market* ſome Days ſooner than he intended, and came to *London*. *Prince's Reception in England.*

The Prince, at firſt ſight, was ſo pleaſed with her Perſon, and all thoſe Signs of ſuch a Humour as had been before deſcribed to him, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and Duke, which was well receiv'd and aſſented to, but upon Condition the Terms of Peace abroad might be firſt agreed to between them. The Prince excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, he muſt end his firſt Buſineſs before the other. The King and Duke were both poſitive otherwiſe, that that of Peace ſhould precede: but the Prince continu'd reſolute for the former, and ſaid, His Allies were like to have hard Terms of Peace as things ſtood,

A. Reg. 29. ſtood, and would be apt to believe he had made this Match at their Coſt; and for his part, he would never ſell his Honour for a Wife. But the King and Duke continued in their Reſolution for three or four Days.

In the Obſtinacy of theſe contrary Reſolutions between the King, Duke, and Prince, *Temple* chanc'd to go to the Prince one Evening after Supper, and found him in the worſt Humour he had ever ſeen him: he told Sir *William*, he repented he ever came into *England*, and reſolved he would ſtay but two Days longer, if the King continued in his Mind of treating upon the Peace before Marriage; and that before he went, the King muſt chuſe how they muſt live hereafter; for he was ſure it muſt be either like the greateſt Friends or the greateſt Enemies: and preſſed Sir *William* to let the King know ſo the next Morning, and give him an Account what he ſhould ſay upon it.

Next Morning Sir *William* told the King all the Prince had ſaid to him, and the ill Conſequences of a Breach between them, conſidering the ill Humours of ſo many of his Subjects upon our late Meaſures with *France*, and the Invitations made to the Prince by ſeveral of them during the late War. The King heard Sir *William* with great Attention; and when he had done, ſaid, Well, I was never deceiv'd in judging of a Man's Honeſty by his Looks; and if I am not deceiv'd in the Prince's Face, he is the honeſteſt Man in the World, and I will truſt him, and he ſhall have his Wife, and you ſhall go immediately and tell my Brother ſo, and that 'tis a thing I am reſolved on.

Sir *William* did ſo, the Duke at firſt ſeemed [illegible] ſurpriz'd; but when Sir *William* had done, the Duke ſaid, the King ſhall be obey'd, and I would be glad all his Subjects would learn of me to obey him.

Marries the Lady Mary. From the Duke he went to the Prince, and told him all this Story: At firſt the Prince ſeem'd diffident but ſoon embrac'd Sir *William*, and told him he had made him a very happy Man, and that unexpectedly; and ſo he left the Prince, to give the King an Account

[illegible]

count of what paſſed, and in the Prince's Anticham- A.D.1678.
ber met my Lord Treaſurer, who undertook to adjuſt all the reſt between the King and the Prince, which he did ſo well, that the Match was declared that Evening at the Committee before any other in the Court knew any thing of it.

When the Match was known, the Nation entertained it with an univerſal Joy: yet the *French* Ambaſſador and my Lord *Arlington* were diſpleaſed at it; the *French* Ambaſſador, becauſe he had not given his Maſter an Account of it; and my Lord *Arlington*, becauſe nothing of near ſuch Moment had paſſed, and he not acquainted with it: and within two or three Days after the Marriage was conſummate.

He agitates the Terms of Peace with the King.

The Prince having ſo happily gained the firſt part of his Deſign in coming into *England*, the Terms of Peace were agitated immediately, and Sir *William Temple* was admitted to be preſent at the Debates. The Prince inſiſted upon the Strength and Enlargement of a Frontier on both ſides of *Flanders*; otherwiſe he ſaid *France* would end this War with the View of beginning another, and carrying *Flanders* in one Campaign. The King was content to leave that Buſineſs a little looſer, upon Confidence that *France* was ſo weary of the War, that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign: that the King was paſt his Youth, and lazy, and would turn to the Pleaſures of the Court and Buildings, and leave his Neighbours at quiet.

But the Prince thought *France* would not make a Peace now, but to break the preſent Confederacy, and to begin another War with more Advantage and Surprize: that their Ambition would never end till they had all *Flanders* and *Germany* to the *Rhine*, and thereby *Holland* in an abſolute Dependance upon them, and us in no good one: and, that *Chriſtendom* could not be left ſafe by the Peace, without a Frontier as he propoſed for *Flanders*, and the Reſtitution of *Lorain*, as well as what the Emperor had loſt in *Alſatia*.

Temple told the King, that in the Courſe of his Life, he had never obſerved Mens Natures alter by

A. Reg. 29. Age or Fortune, but that a good Boy made a good Man, a young Coxcomb an old Fool, and a young Fripon an old Knave; that quiet Spirits were ſo, and unquiet would be ſo, old as well as young; that he believed the *French* King would have always ſome Bent or other, ſometimes War, ſometimes Love, ſometimes Building; but was of the Prince's Opinion, that he would ne'er make Peace but with a Deſign of a new War, after he had fixed his Conqueſts by the laſt.

The King approved of what Sir *William* had ſaid, and the Points of *Lorain* and *Alſatia* were eaſily agreed to by the King and Duke, but they would not hear of the Reſtitution of the County of *Burgundy*, as what *France* would never be brought to; yet the Prince inſiſted much upon it; which the King imagined was by reaſon of the Prince's own Lands in that Country, (which were greater and more *Seignurial* than thoſe of the Crown of *Spain* there) and thereupon the King told the Prince, That for his Lands there, he would charge himſelf, that the Prince ſhould enjoy them as ſafe under *France* as under *Spain*; or if the Prince would part with them, the King would undertake to get him what Price he would value them at: To which the Prince generouſly reply'd, That he would not trouble himſelf nor the Peace about that Matter; and that he would be content to loſe all his Lands there, to get one good Town more for the *Spaniard* upon the Frontier of *Flanders*.

But then another Debate aroſe between them, one pretending *France* would never be brought to this Scheme, the other that *Spain* would never be brought to it; but at laſt it was agreed, that the Peace ſhould be made upon theſe Terms: All to be reſtored by *France* to the Emperor and Empire, that had been taken in the War; and the Dutchy of *Lorain* to the Duke, and all on both ſides between *France* and *Holland:* and to *Spain* the Town of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, St. *Gillain* and *Binch*, which were nine Towns; that the King ſhall endeavour to procure the conſent of *France*, and the Prince of *Spain:* And to this purpoſe, the

King

King ſhould ſend ſome Perſon immediately over with the Propoſition, who ſhould be inſtructed to enter into no Reaſoning upon it, but demand a poſitive Anſwer in two Days; and after that Term, immediately return. And then the King order'd Sir *William* within two Days to make himſelf ready to go and acquaint the *French* with it. A.D. 1678.

At this Agreement between the King and Prince none were preſent beſides the Duke, my Lord Treaſurer, and Sir *William Temple*, ſo that the *French* Ambaſſador was as much ſurpriz'd in it, as before he was at the Marriage of the Prince: but this could not be longer concealed from him, than when it began to be put in Practice; yet it ſeems to me he was acquainted with it before, and that the King had taken other Reſolutions than what was agreed upon but the Day before.

For Sir *William* having prepared all things in a Readineſs to go, the Evening before, he met the King in the Park, who told him he had been thinking upon Sir *William*'s Errand, and how unwelcome he ſhould be in *France*, as well as the Meſſage; and that having a Mind to gain Peace, he was unwilling to anger them more than needs: beſides, the thing being not to be debated or reaſoned, any body elſe would ſerve the Turn as well as he, whom he had other uſe of. Sir *William* was very glad of it, knowing how ungrateful a Meſſenger he ſhould be upon this Account. Then the King aſked Sir *William* what he thought of my Lord *Duras*, (a *Frenchman*, and a great Favourite of the Duke's, and ſince Earl of *Feverſham*.)

It ſeems the King asked Sir *William*'s Opinion only for Form ſake, for the thing was the Morning before agreed upon, at the Deſire of the Duke, upon pretence that *France* would accept of the Terms, and that he had a Mind to have the Honour of it by ſending a Servant of his own. So my Lord *Duras* went immediately after with the Orders; and ſome few Days after the Prince and Princeſs embarked for *Holland*, where Affairs preſſed his Return beyond the Hopes of my Lord *Duras* from *France*, the King aſ-

A. Reg. 29. ſuring the Prince he would never part with the leaſt part of the Scheme ſent over, and would enter into a War with *France*, if they refuſed it. But (*pudet hæc*) you'll ſoon ſee another Face of Affairs after the Prince was gone; nay before he went, it was a great Mortification to him, to ſee the Parliament prorogued till the next Spring; which the *French* Ambaſſador had gained of the King, to make up ſome good Meen with *France*, after the Prince's Marriage, and before the Diſpatch of the Terms of a Peace to that Court.

But how honourable and ſincere ſoever the Prince's Actions were in the Management of this whole Affair, the outward Face of things had another Appearance, which cauſed great Jealouſies of him, not only among the *Amſterdamers*, and Common People in *Holland*, but even amongſt the Confederates; for the Prince ſending Monſieur *Bentinck* privately over into *England* about the beginning of *June*, and Sir *William Temple* ſo ſoon after following, and the Prince's raiſing the Siege before *Charleroy* the next day after my Lord *Oſſory* came to his Camp, and the Prince's going in *September* following into *England*; theſe things thus concurring, paſſed not without many Reflections, not only in *Holland*, but among the Allies, as if there were Intelligences between the King and him, which were heightned by the Marriage, the main Buſineſs of the Treaty made by the King and Prince about the Peace being yet in *Embrio*; ſo as the Prince and Princeſs were coldly receiv'd in *Holland* upon the Prince's Return; and theſe Jealouſies encreaſed more upon the Tranſaction between the *Engliſh* Court and *France*.

The Noiſe of a Peace with *France* ſo ſoon after the proroguing the Parliament, raiſed a Ferment in the Nation, of ſome Deſign of the Court as dangerous to the Nation, as the *Dutch* Jealouſies that their Liberties were in by the Prince's Treaty and Marriage with a Daughter of *England*. And now the Prince was gone, and out of Sight, he was out of Mind too by the King, in reſpect to the Terms of Peace, and the ſolemn Promiſe the King made to the Prince upon his Departure, that he would never

never part with the leaſt Point in the Scheme ſent into *France*, and make War upon it if it were refuſed. *A.D.* 1678.

For upon my Lord *Duras*'s Arrival at *Paris*, the Court were ſurprized, at leaſt ſeemed ſo, both at the thing, and more upon the manner of it; yet made good Meen upon it, took it gently, and ſaid, *The King* (*of* England) *knew very well he might be always Maſter of the Peace: but ſome few Towns in* Flanders *ſeemed very hard, eſpecially* Tournay, *upon whoſe Fortifications ſuch vaſt Treaſure had been expended; and that they would take ſome ſhort time to conſider of the Offer.* But my Lord *Duras* told them he was tied to two Days ſtay, but when that was out, was prevailed upon to ſtay ſome few Days longer, (*which he durſt not have done without ſecret Orders from our Court contrary to his Inſtructions*) and at laſt came away without any poſitive Anſwer. Hereupon the King, inſtead of declaring War againſt *France*, as he ſo ſolemnly promiſed the Prince, entred into a Treaty with the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, which by *French* Artifice was ſo ſpun out in length, without any poſitive Refuſal, that the Blow came to be eluded which could not otherwiſe be avoided, as Sir *William Temple* ſays, *tho' I believe it was intended even when the Prince went out of* England. French Court prevaricates with ours.

However, about the latter end of *December* 1677, the King ſent to Sir *William Temple* to the Foreign Committee, and told him he could get no poſitive Anſwer from *France*, and therefore reſolved to ſend him into *Holland*, to make a League there with the *States* for forcing *France* and *Spain* into a Peace upon the Terms propoſed, if either refuſed. To which Sir *William* told the King, *what he had agreed was, to enter into a War with all the Confederates in caſe of no direct and immediate Anſwer from* France. *That this perhaps would ſatisfy the Prince and Confederates abroad, and the People at home: But to make ſuch a League with* Holland *only, would ſatisfy none of them, and diſoblige both* France *and* Spain. *Beſides, it would not have ſuch an Effect or Force as the Triple Alliance had, being a great Original, of which this ſeemed an ill Copy:* And therefore King loth to enter into the War againſt France.

A. Reg. 29. excuſed himſelf from going. And ſo the King ſent Mr. *Thyn* with a Draught of the Treaty to Mr. *Hide*, who was then come from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, upon a Viſit to the Princeſs, which was done, and the Treaty ſigned the 16*th* of *January*, (tho' not without great Diſſatisfaction to the Prince.)

This Tergiverſation of the Court ſet fire to the Jealouſies in *Holland*, eſpecially at *Amſterdam*, that the Prince by this Marriage had taken Meaſures with the King as dangerous to the Liberties of *Holland*, and make it there believed, that by this Match the King and Duke had wholly drawn the Prince into their Intereſts and Sentiments. The *French* hereupon propoſed other Terms of Peace to the *Dutch*, far ſhort of the King's, and leſs ſafe for *Flanders*, reſtoring only ſix Towns to the *Spaniard*, and mentioning *Lorain* but ambiguouſly, which would not have gone down in *Holland* but for the Suſpicions raiſed by the Prince's Marriage among the People there, who had an incurable Jealouſy of our Court, and thereupon not that Confidence in the Prince that he deſerved.

If we take this Reign as one thing, you'll find it made up of almoſt infinite Confuſions and Diſorders, and ſcarce one regular Act in it; and now we are come to one which is without any Precedent, which was this: You heard before how the King, to gratify the *French* Ambaſſador for not acquainting him with the Marriage with the Prince, had prorogued the Parliament to the 8*th* of *April* next, *viz.* 1678. And now Mr. *Tlyn* had made this League with the *States*, the King thought this a good occaſion to get Money from the Parliament upon it, and was loth to ſtay till the 8*th* of *April* for it; and therefore by his Proclamation, commands the Parliament to meet upon the 15*th* of *January*, before the 8*th* of *April*.

Prorogations of Parliaments are new, and I think were never heard of in *England* before the Reign of *Henry* VIII, and are ſaid to be the Acts of the King, but Adjournments the Acts of the Houſe to a certain Time and Place, and both Houſes muſt be ſitting and in being when they are either ſo prorogued or adjourned. I remember upon the diſcovery of *Cole-*

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man's Letters the Court were mightily ſurprized at it, and the Parliament was to have met ſome few days after upon a Prorogation, which the King in that Surprize unwilling they ſhould, did therefore call a Council to adviſe whether he might not prorogue them to a further day without the Houſes meeting, and 'twas ſaid my Lord Chancellor *Finch* was of Opinion he might; and thereupon Sir *Edward Seymour*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, having Occaſions in the Country, went out of Town: but ſome body acquainted the King of the Doubtfulneſs of the Chancellor's Opinion, and deſired the King to adviſe with old *John Brown*, who had been Clerk of the Parliament for near forty Years; the King did ſo, and *John Brown* was poſitive, that in caſe the Houſes did not meet at the Time and Place appointed, the King by his Proclamation could not prorogue them, but it would be a Diſſolution: Whereupon the Speaker was ſent for back again, and ſo many of both Houſes met as would make a Parliament (which it's ſaid is forty Commoners and ſeven Lords) and then the King prorogued them. A.D. 1678.

The Houſes thus met, the King acquainted them with the League he had made with *Holland*, and demanded Money of them to carry on the War againſt *France*, in caſe *France* did not comply with the League; whereupon the Parliament granted him a Tax by Poll, and otherways, which amounted to 1200000 *l.* not for Peace, but to enter into an actual War with *France*: But this Tax ſhall only beget another, to disband an Army raiſed upon that Pretence, tho' no War was entred into againſt *France*.

But ſo far was the *French* King from giving up any Towns, notwithſtanding the Agreement the King had made with the Prince, or the League he had made with *Holland*, that about the latter end of *January* he had made an Attempt upon *Ipre*, and threatned *Oſtend*, and in *March* following, by open Force, takes both *Ipre* and *Gaunt*; yet the *French* Ambaſſador here continued his Court and Treaty with all the Fairneſs that might be.

The *French* having now taken *Ipre* and *Gaunt*, were ſo far from proceeding in a Treaty either with *England*, *French Arms* ſucceſsful.

A. Reg. 30. *land*, the Confederates, or *Holland*, or in the Treaty at *Nimeguen*, that about the Firſt of *April* the *French* King made publick Declaration of the Terms upon which he reſolved to make Peace, which, tho' very different from thoſe agreed upon between the King and *Holland*, and more from the Pretenſions of the Allies, yet this way of treating the *French* purſued in the whole Negotiation afterwards, declaring ſuch and ſuch were the Conditions, which they would admit, and no other, and upon which the Enemies might chuſe either War or Peace; and to which *France* would not be tied longer than the 10*th* of *May*, after which they would be at liberty to change or reſtrain as they ſhould think fit.

But how imperious ſoever the *French* were abroad, yet they dreaded a Conjunction of *England* either with the *Dutch* or Confederates, and therefore thought fit to wheedle our Court till the Affairs of the Confederates ſhould become ſo deſperate as to ſubmit to what Terms the *French* King ſhould impoſe upon them: And to this purpoſe Mr. *Mountague* ſent a Pacquet to my Lord Treaſurer, giving an account of a large Conference Monſieur *Louvoy* had with him by the King his Maſter's Order, wherein he repreſented the Meaſures they had already taken for a Peace in *Holland* upon the *French* Terms; and that ſince they were agreed there, they hoped his Majeſty would not be againſt it. That however, *France* had ordered him to make his Majeſty the Offer of a great Sum of Money for his Conſent, though the thing was already accepted by *Holland*, and wherein his Majeſty was conſequently not concerned. The *French* Ambaſſador at *London* began to change his Language, *That his Majeſty ſhould be Arbiter of the Peace*: But now being aſſured his Maſter had agreed with *Holland*, he ſeem'd to wonder and expoſtulate why the King ſhould pretend to obtain better Terms for the *Spaniards* than the *Dutch* their Allies were content with.

You have heard the Agreement between the King and Prince before he went into *Holland*, as well in the behalf of the Empire and Duke of *Lorain*, as of the *Spaniards*, and how it was not obſerved by the King, and of the time when the Prince arrived in *Holland*,

and

and of the unjuſt Jealouſies had upon the Prince thereby, as well by the Confederates as by the *Dutch*, and of the ſeparate League the King made with the States for enforcing the *French* to come up to the Agreement between the King and Prince of *Orange*, and how the King had got Twelve hundred thouſand Pounds of the Parliament for entring into an actual War with *France*, and how the *French* King, in defiance of the King and States, inſtead of giving up any Towns, had taken *Ipre* and *Gaunt*, as well contrary to this Agreement and League, as to the Treaty of [illegible]: Now let's ſee how the King proceeded, after the *Dutch*, contrary to the League with the King, had accepted the *French* Terms. A.D. 1678.

Having got the Money of the Parliament for making the League with the *Dutch*, upon the Terms agreed upon by the Prince, he now ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould not get the Money the *French* offer'd him if he would agree to the Terms he had made with the *Dutch*; and to that purpoſe order'd Sir *William Temple* to treat upon it with the *French* Ambaſſador, who had Orders to that purpoſe: Sir *William* would have excuſed it; but the King told him he could not help ſeeing him, for the Ambaſſador would be at his Houſe next Morning by Seven, and then he came; but Sir *William* told him he had been very ill in the Night, and could not enter into Buſineſs; ſo the Ambaſſador was diſappointed of his Deſign at that time: However the Bargain went on, not only for the Money, but ſomething elſe; ſo that Sir *William Temple* ſays, There was one Article in this private Treaty the King took ſuch Indignation at, that he would never forget it whilſt he liv'd.

There was but one Accident favourable to the Confederates in all theſe Treaties, *viz.* the *French* apprehenſive of a Conjunction between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who at this time were much more powerful at Sea than *France*, thought they might block up *Meſſina* by Sea, while the *Spaniard* beſieged it by Land, and ſo might loſe all the Cannon, Proviſions and Stores they had in it; to prevent which, they abandoned it while it was in their Power to ſecure their Effects there,

A. Reg. 30. there, and left the *Meſſinians*, their Confederates, to the Mercy of the *Spaniards*.

Peace agitated at Nimeguen.

Beverning was the Agent who managed this Treaty upon the *French* Terms, and *Beverning* was ſent to the *French* Camp, where the Terms of Peace were concluded about the latter end of *June*, and a Ceſſation of Arms for ſix Weeks, that the *Spaniards* might come into the Peace upon the Terms propoſed: But if they ſhould not, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty aſſured the *States*, that he would always provide ſuch a Barrier in *Flanders*, as they thought neceſſary for their Safety; and after the Peace ſhould be made, and the ancient Amity reſtored, he would be ready to enter into ſuch Engagements with them as ſhould for ever ſecure their Repoſe and their Liberties, *viz. he would be the Fox that ſhould preſerve theſe Geeſe.*

Indignation will not ſuffer this to paſs over without Reflection, that the World may ſee what Truſt is to be given to *French* Faith. Did not he make this War upon the *Dutch*, *only becauſe of the ill Satisfaction he had of the* Dutch Behaviour *toward him, being riſen to that degree, that he could no longer, without Diminution of his Glory, diſſemble his Indignation againſt them*, &c. *and therefore reſolved to make War againſt them by Sea and Land*? Did he not in the beginning of this War, by all *French* Artifice, court the Prince of *Orange* to take upon him the Sovereignty of the *Dutch* Provinces? Did not his Ambaſſadors court Sir *William Temple*, Penſioner *Fagel*, and the *Dutch* themſelves, and that the Prince ſhould make what Terms he pleaſed, ſo as to make a ſeparate Peace? And now he is making a ſeparate Peace with a Pack of factious *Dutch*, of the *Loveſtein* Faction, oppoſite to the Prince, to wheedle them, that after the Peace was made he would enter into ſuch Engagements with them as ſhould for ever ſecure their Repoſe and their Liberties, meaning to depoſe the Prince from having any Power or Authority with them.

In this hopeful Security of this Faction relying upon *French* Faith, the Marqueſs *de Balbaces* propoſed when the ſix Towns in *Flanders* ſhould be given up to the *Spaniard* upon the *French* Terms: To which the

French

French Ambaſſador anſwered, That *his Maſter being obliged to ſee an entire Reſtitution made to the* Swede *of all they had loſt in the War, could not reſtore the Towns in* Flanders *to the* Spaniard, *till thoſe to the* Swede *were likewiſe reſtored.* So that now the *Dutch* by this ſeparate Peace muſt only ſtand ſtill and look on, if the King of *Denmark*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, will not deliver the Towns they had taken from the *Swede*, which it's like they would not, nor could the *Dutch* compel them, while the *French* take all *Flanders*, and impoſe what Terms they pleaſe upon the reſt of the Confederates. A.D. 1678.

Beverning could not tell what to ſay to this, and acquaints the States with it; the States were confounded at it, and could neither tell what to do, nor to whom to complain: To the Confederates they were aſham'd to complain, who had ſo generouſly entred into the War for their Preſervation, when otherwiſe they had ſunk under the *French* Tyranny without poſſibility of Relief, and therefore had great reaſon to be offended at their endeavouring to make a ſeparate Peace, thereby to expoſe them to the Fury and Tyranny of the *French* Arms; and the Councils of the Court of *England* were ſo looſe, that no Reliance could be had upon them: But it was *Hobſon*'s Choice, that or nothing.

That we may take all fair before us, let's now ſee the Fruits the *Dutch* had of their Ceſſation of Arms for ſix Weeks, to try if they could bring in the *Spaniard* to comply with the Terms which the *French* had impoſed upon *Beverning* and his Faction, for reſtoring ſix of the nine Towns to the *Spaniard*, which was agreed upon between the King and Prince, and alſo by the League which the King made with the States: The *French* King after he had taken *Ipre* and *Gaunt*, *Luxemburgh* proceeded to block up *Mons*, and *Schomberg* threatned to beſiege *Cologne*: And thus the *Dutch*, bound Hand and Foot, had no Body elſe to complain to, or expect any Relief from, but the Court of *England*.

The *Dutch* had a little before ſent over one *Van Lewen*, to treat with the King to enter into a War againſt *France*, which the King was obliged to by the

League

A. Reg. 30. League with them, and had received 1200000 *l.* of the Parliament for carrying it on; and by *Van Lewen* the States acquaint the King with the Terms upon which the *French* King would reſtore the ſix Towns in *Flanders* to the *Spaniards*: The King at firſt ſeemed not to believe it; but having ſent to the *French* Ambaſſador (*Barillon*) and he owning it, he ſeemed ſurprized and angry at this Proceeding, and next Morning ſent for Sir *William Temple* to the Foreign Committee, and there declared his Reſolution of ſending him immediately into *Holland* with a Commiſſion to ſign a Treaty with the States, by which they ſhould carry on the War, and the King to enter into it in caſe *France* ſhould not conſent to evacuate the Towns within a certain time limited; and the King took Pains to preſs *Van Lewen* to go over with Sir *William* to perſwade the States of the King's Sincerity and Conſtancy to purſue theſe Meaſures to the utmoſt of his Power.

Armed with theſe Powers, away goes Sir *William* and *Van Lewen*, and were received with all imaginable Joy by the *Dutch*; and Sir *William* by the Prince, hoping by his Errand and Succeſs of it, either to continue the War, or to recover ſuch Conditions of Peace for his Allies as had been forced out of his Hands by the power of a Faction begun at *Amſterdam*, and after ſpread into the reſt of the Provinces: All the Provinces, even thoſe which were ſo forward for the Peace upon the *French* Terms, were ſo forward in this Negotiation, that in ſix Days the Treaty was concluded; by which *France* was obliged to declare within 14 Days after the Date thereof, that they would evacuate the *Spaniſh* Towns, or in caſe of Refuſal, *Holland* was engaged to go on with the War, and *England* immediately to declare it againſt *France* in Conjunction with *Holland*, and the reſt of the Confederates. Here obſerve, that though Sir *William* was one of the Mediators of Peace at *Nimeguen*, yet whilſt this Negotiation was perfected, his Poſt was to be at the *Hague*, for a Tale depends upon it.

The Wiſdom, as well as the Integrity of the Prince in the whole Negotiation of this Affair, was now ſo conſpicuous, that the States owned the Prince had made

made a truer Judgment than they had done of the Meaſures which they were to expect either from *England* or *France*; and if it happens that *England* in this Buſineſs ſhall prove as fickle and looſe as before, yet this ſhall never be aſcribed to the Prince, who was always the ſame he was before. So now all Preparations were made for the Relief of *Mons*, and Ten thouſand *Engliſh* being arrived in *Flanders*, who were ordered to join the Prince, he reſolved to relieve *Mons*, or to die in the Attempt. A.D. 1678.

After the Treaty concluded, and ſignified to *France*, all Arts that could be were on that ſide employed to elude it by drawing this Matter into a Treaty, or into greater length; which had ſucceeded ſo well in *England*, that they offered to treat upon it at *St. Quintins*, then at *Gaunt*; but the States were firm, not to recede from their late Treaty made with the King, and ſo continued till about five Days before the Term was to expire.

You heard before how the King had ſolicited *Van Lewen* to accompany Sir *William Temple*, to aſſure and perſwade the States to purſue the Meaſures Sir *William* and he went upon, to their utmoſt: But, alas! now when Sir *William*, as well as the Prince, were out of Sight, they were out of Mind too; and now Sir *William* was gone, he forgot the Indignation which *Barillon* had put upon him in the Treaty for the *French* Money he was to receive for joining in the *French* Terms with the *Dutch*; which he then ſaid he would never forget ſo long as he lived. But now you ſhall ſee how abſolute a Dominion the *French* King had over him, and by what Inſtruments he governed him, *viz.* a *French* Man, a *French* Woman, and a *French* Monk, who had changed his Frock for a Petticoat: The *French* Man was *Barillon*, the *French* Woman was the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and the *French* Monk was one *Du Croſs*: Theſe three met the King in the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*'s Chamber, and in one Hour's time agreed, that *Du Croſs* ſhould carry Sir *William Temple* a Packet, wherein the King commanded him to go immediately to *Nimeguen*, and there endeavour all he could to perſwade the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, as from the

French *Intrigues in* England.

A. Reg. 30. the King, to let the *French* Ambaſſadors there know, That they would, for the Good of *Chriſtendom*, conſent, and even deſire the *French* King no longer to defer the Evacuation of the Towns, and conſequently the Peace, upon the ſole Regard and Intereſt of the Crown of *Sweden*; and Sir *William* was likewiſe commanded to aſſure the ſaid Ambaſſadors, that after the Peace his Majeſty would uſe all the moſt effectual Means he could for the Reſtitution of the Towns and Countries the *Swede* had loſt in the War. This was to get Sir *William* out of the way, who ſpirited the *Dutch* in the Action, that *Du Croſs* might play his Pranks in the reſt.

But before *Du Croſs* had brought his Packet to Sir *William*, he had gone about moſt induſtriouſly to the Deputies of the ſeveral Towns, and acquainted them with it, and that the Terms of Peace were abſolutely agreed upon between the two Kings: That he had brought Sir *William* Orders ſtraight to get to *Nimeguen*, and that upon his Arrival there he ſhould meet with Letters from my Lord of *Sunderland* (the King's Ambaſſador at *Paris*) with all the Particulars concluded between them.

Sir *William* followed his Inſtructions, and when he came to *Nimeguen* there were but three Days of the Term fixed by the late Treaty between the King and States at the *Hague*, either for the *French* Aſſent to the Evacuation of the Towns, or for carrying on the War in Conjunction of *Holland* with *England*, and conſequently with the reſt of the Confederates, but there found no Letters from my Lord *Sunderland* of the Particulars of the Peace concluded between the two Kings; but on the contrary, a *Manifeſto* to the *Dutch* by the *French* Ambaſſadors, why their Maſter could not conſent to it, without the previous Satisfaction of *Sweden*, whoſe Intereſts he eſteemed the ſame with his own; but yet declaring he was willing to receive any Expedients the States ſhould offer in this Matter either by their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, or ſuch as the *Dutch* ſhould ſend his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at *St. Quintin* or *Gaunt*.

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The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors gave an Anſwer in writing, declaring it was a Matter no longer entire, ſince upon the Difficulty raiſed about the Evacuation of the Towns, the States their Maſters had been induced to ſign a Treaty with *England*, from which they could not recede, nor from the Day therein fixed for the determining the Fate of War or Peace; and as there was no Time, ſo there could be no Deputation to *St. Quintin* or *Gaunt*, nor any other Expedient beſides the Conſent of *France* to evacuate the Towns. *A.D.* 1678.

The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors having blown off this Chaff, the *French* then declared to the *Dutch*, that they found the King their Maſter was reſolved, at the Deſire of the *Swedes*, to retard the Peace no longer upon their Conſideration, and would conſent to evacuate the Towns upon Condition the States would ſend their Deputies to treat upon the Ways of ſecuring the future Satisfaction to *Sweden*, which was by both intended: But the *Dutch* continued peremptory, there could be no Deputation made by their Maſters; and if the Term fixed by the late Treaty with *England* ſhould elapſe, there was no remedy but that the War muſt go on: To which the *French* Ambaſſadors replied, *That their Hands were bound up from further proceeding without ſuch a Deputation.*

Whilſt the *French* were thus wheedling with the *Dutch*, *Luxemburg* preſſed *Mons*, and *Schomberg* ſeemed to threaten *Cologne*; when the fatal Day came, whether a ſudden Peace or long War were to be reckoned upon in *Chriſtendom*, when *Boreel* came early that Morning from *Amſterdam*, to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, which were *Beverning* and *Haren*; and then *Boreel* went to the *French* Ambaſſadors, and after ſome Conference with them, the *French* Ambaſſadors and *Boreel* went immediately to thoſe of *Holland*, and declared to them that they had received Orders to conſent to the Evacuation of the Towns, and thereupon to ſign the Peace; and that very Day at Night, tho' late, *Beverning* ſigned a Treaty of Peace and Commerce, *Temple* and *Jenkins* refuſing to join in it, and the Confederates exclaiming againſt it. *Dutch make a ſeparate Peace.*

A. Reg. 30. The next Day came an Expreſs to *Temple*, with the Ratifications of the late Treaty between the King and States, with Orders immediately to proceed to the Exchange of them.

Now was *Holland* in as much Diſorder as the Confederates were at *Nimeguen*.

But the Deputies of *Amſterdam* with whom others joined, declared their Satisfaction of the Concluſion of the Peace made by *Reverning*, and argued the Weakneſs of their Confederates, eſpecially *Spain*; and the Unſteadineſs, and Irreſolution of *England*, had made the Peace abſolutely neceſſary to *Holland*: But however, this Confuſion, and indeed the Fate of *Chriſtendom*, were the Conſequences of *Du Croſs*'s Pacquet, and his acquainting the Deputies with a Peace made between the two Kings; yet how diſhonourable ſoever this was to the King, he was not at all concerned at it that I can find; but pleaſantly told Sir *William Temple*, *That the Rogue* Du Croſs *had outwitted them all*. Could this be believed, if the great Authority of Sir *William Temple* had not ſaid it?

P. of Orange *defeats the* French *near* Mons. During theſe Brawls, both at *Nimeguen*, and all *Holland* over, the Prince of *Orange*, upon the 14*th* of *Auguſt*, ſtormed *Luxemburg*'s Camp before *Mons*, wherein the brave Duke of *Monmouth*, and the noble Earl of *Offory*, were Partakers in the Glory of it; and notwithſtanding the *French Poſts* were fortified with all imaginable Art, and that the Prince's Army had under gone the Fatigue of a hard March, attack'd them with a Reſolution and Vigour that at firſt ſurprized them, and after an obſtinate Fight, ſo diſorder'd them, that though the Night prevented the further Proſecution of the Action; yet it was generally concluded, That if the Prince had been at liberty next Day to have purſued it, he might in all appearance not only have relieved *Mons*, but have made ſuch an Impreſſion into *France*, as had been often deſigned, but could not be done before: And I dare ſay, if *Luxemburg* had had the like Advantage over the Prince, the *Dutch* would have heard further of it; but the Prince was bound up by a limited Authority, and ſo could not purſue the Advantage he had acquired againſt the *French*.

Not-

Notwithſtanding this Succeſs at *Mons*, and the Hopes of ſome of the Allies upon it, the *French* cared little for the Confederates in Disjunction with the *Dutch*, and as little for the *Dutch* when he had obtained his Ends upon the Confederates; and therefore the *French* fall to their wheedling Trade again with the *Dutch*; and the *French* King ſent a Courier to *Nimeguen*, to ſatisfy the States in thoſe Claſſes of the Treaty, wherein they ſeemed juſtly to except againſt *Beverning*'s Conduct, thereby to cover the Credit of that Miniſter, who had been ſo affectionate an Inſtrument in the Progreſs of the Treaty; and gave them (the States) Liberty a little to ſoften the Rigour the *French* had as yet exerciſed in the ſmalleſt Points conteſted; but at laſt they diſpatched an Expreſs to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, with Power to remit all the Differences which obſtructed or retarded the Concluſion of the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, to the Determination of the States themſelves. This Bait theſe Gudgeons ſwallowed as if no Hook had been in it; ſo that ſeveral Towns and Provinces proceeded with a general Concurrence to the Ratifications of the Peace, that they might lie ready in their Ambaſſadors Hands to be exchanged, when that of *Spain*'s ſhould be ſigned; and ſo diligent was *Beverning* in carrying on the *French* Deſigns, now they were thus entertained in *Holland*, that they huddled up the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, and by the 20th of *September* the Ratifications of it were exchanged with the uſual Forms; and now the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors are become Mediators of (or Conſpirators in) this Treaty, whilſt Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, the King's Mediator, only ſtood ſtill looking on and having no hand in it; and all the Ambaſſadors of the other Allies, as well as the *Spaniard*, enraged and exclaiming againſt it. A.D. 1678.

During this Conſpiracy, the *French* Troops made Incurſions into the rich parts of *Flanders*, which had been covered in the time of the War; and there exacted ſo great Contributions, and made ſuch Ravages where they were diſputed, that the *Spaniſh Netherlands* were more ruined between the Signing of the Peace, and the Exchange of the Ratifications, than they had been in ſo much time during the whole Courſe of the

A. Reg. 30. War. At laſt the Outcries and Calamities of the poor *Flemings* moved the *Spaniards* out of their ſlow Pace, ſo that they were forced to accept of the Terms the *French* and *Dutch* would give them. And now the *Dutch* had done the *French* Work with *Spain*, they will do the reſt without the *Dutch*; and piece-meal made the Duke of *Lorain*, the Emperor, and King of *Denmark*, and all the Princes of the Empire, ſubmit to ſuch Terms as the *French* pleaſed.

And now the *French* King had by the help of the *Dutch*, made his Market by the Peace at *Nimeguen*, let's ſee how he improved it after: The *French* King ſets up a Court of Claims in *Alſatia* and *Flanders*, to determine the Dependencies upon thoſe Towns, which he kept by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, both in *Flanders* and *Alſatia*, where he is ſole Judge, and executes his Judgments by Military Execution: It's ſcarce credible the Ravages he made hereby, and what Titles he ſet up: I'll give but one Inſtance herein, mentioned by Sir *William Temple*, *p.* 370. The Town of *Tournay* was to have been given up to the *Spaniard* by the Agreement made between our King and the Prince: This was left out in the *French* Terms accepted by the *Dutch*; and *Aeth* was to be one of the ſix Towns to be delivered up to the *Spaniard* by the *Dutch* Terms with the *French*; and the *French* had diſmembred above ſixty Towns which were dependent upon *Aeth*, and added them to the *Chatellenye*, or Bailywick of *Tournay*; and were thus belonging to *Aeth*, when the *Spaniard* transferred *Aeth* to the *French* by the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*: but now *Aeth* muſt be reſtored to the *Spaniard* in the Condition they left it, and not what they found it: So that by theſe Acquiſitions which the *French* got by this treacherous Peace, he got more in conſequence than by the War.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

A Continuation of this Reign, to the End of the Oxford *Parliament.*

WHEN the Parliament had given the King 1200000 *l.* for carrying on an actual War againſt *France* in *January* laſt, the Popiſh Plot was then in *Embrio*; and the Parliament were ſo mortified by the Anſwer which the King made to them upon the Twenty Eighth of *May* before, for adviſing him to enter into a League with the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, againſt the Growth and Power of the *French* King, and Preſervation of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, &c. that they never durſt meddle more in it; and it may be concurred more readily in giving the King 1200000 *l.* for carrying on the War againſt *France*, upon the League which he had made at the *Hague*, by Mr. *Thyn*, though Sir *William Temple* refuſed to have any hand in it, as is ſaid before.

The Commons in Parliament for the firſt ten Years of this Reign, were *Tories*, and all their Buſineſs was againſt the Proteſtant Diſſenters from the Church, ſcarce taking notice of the *Papiſts*, till the Breach of the Triple Alliance; the ſecond Marriage of the Duke of *York*; the ſecond Indulgence for Liberty of Conſcience; the Attempt upon the *Smirna* Fleet; the Shutting up of the *Exchequer*; and the King's making War upon the *Dutch* in Conjunction with the *French*: Theſe thus ſucceſſively acted, opened the Eyes of the greater part of the Commons, that for their own and the Nation's Safety, they became more numerous in the Houſe than the *Tory* Party; yet retained their Loyalty to the King, I verily believe, as firm as any *Engliſh* Men before. And out of the Houſe the Feuds of the *Tories* and *Whigs* were as invenomed, as *Feuds between Whigs and Tories.*

A. Reg. 30. thoſe between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*, which for Three hundred Years involved *Germany* and *Italy* in inteſtine Wars: The *Tories* cry'd up the Court, and the Court countenanced them; and the *Tories* having the Dominion of the Preſs, printed all ſorts of Irritating Libels againſt the *Whigs*, and if the *Whigs* anſwered, they were proſecuted for printing *Illicits*; when the *Tories* could make no other Reply, but that the *Whigs* were running back to 1641.

The *Tories* had got a new invented Doctrine of inconſiſtible Terms, called, *Paſſive Obedience*: I would willingly be informed in the Grammatical Conſtruction of theſe two Words, how a Noun Adjective or Participle, can alter the Signification of a Noun Subſtantive; for if any one be ſubject to another, and be commanded or forbidden by this other, it is Diſobedience if he does not the Command of this other: How therefore Paſſive joined to Diſobedience, can make it Obedience, had need of a better Interpretation than what the *Tories* give; which is, if you can not obey, you muſt ſuffer: But this is another Propoſition; and ſo Diſobedience here is Diſobedience ſtill; and the true Conſtruction of *Paſſive Obedience* is Diſobedience, and be hang'd for it.

The *Tories* and *Whigs* in theſe Feuds, were apt to take fire and divulge, nay it may be invent Stories of one another, and the *Popiſh Party* nouriſhed Deſigns againſt both; and being countenanced by the *Tory Party*, in the Interval between the Prorogation of the Parliament which met by Anticipation in *January* 167⅞, made a great Outcry, which was blazed by the *Tories*, That there was a Deſign by the *Whigs* of killing the King: but it happened to be in ſuch a Place and Manner, as afterwards *Oates* diſcovered the *Papiſts* intended to have done it.

Hereupon Mr. *Cleypole* (*Oliver*'s Son-in-law) was impriſoned in the *Tower* for deſigning to kill the King; and in *Trinity-Term* 1678, Mr. *Cleypole* had an *Habeas Corpus* to the *King's Bench*, and was brought up in order to be bailed, and produced Perſons of Worth to bail him; but the Penalty of the Bail ſet by the Court was ſo high, that the Bail refuſed to ſtand, and Mr. *Cleypole* was remanded: But the Term after, when

the

the Matter of which he was accuſed appeared to be the Deſign of other People, he was let go; and therefore no further Inquiry was made on whoſe, or on what Evidence he was committed. *A.D.1678.*

The firſt who gave Light to the *Popiſh Plot* was *Titus Oates*, which if it had depended upon his ſingle Teſtimony, had not like to have gone any further, the Court and *Tories* being ſo induſtrious to ridicule it, if ſome other Accidents ſhould not make *Oates*'s Teſtimony more credible: *Oates* therefore refers himſelf to *Coleman*'s Papers, where the whole Deſign would appear to have been carried on for the laſt five Years. The Court could not but enquire into this, but proceeded ſo ſlowly in it, that *Coleman* had time enough to convey away all the Papers of his laſt two Years, with his Book of Entries of them, tho' his Servant *Bowman* upon his Examination depoſed, he ſaw *Coleman*'s Book of Entries but two Days before he was made Priſoner, and that he had uſually Letters every Poſt from beyond Sea: However, the Letters which were found, amazed the greater Part of the Council. *Popiſh Plot diſcover'd.*

But tho' theſe Letters began this Plot in the Year 1673, yet it is evident by the Teſtimony of *Florence Wyer*, who was a Roman Catholick, that a *Popiſh Plot* was carried on in *Ireland* in the Years 1665 and 1666, and brought to Maturity in the Year 1667. For Col. *Kelly* and Col. *Bourn* were ſent into *Ireland* from the *French* King, with a Commiſſion to muſter as many Men as they could, the *French* King promiſing to ſend an Army of Forty thouſand Men, to eſtabliſh the Roman Catholick Religion, upon St. *Lewis*'s Day in *Auguſt*: But the *F.* King had other Deſigns in his Head: The *Iriſh* hereupon complained to the Cardinal of *Bouillon*, of the Breach of Promiſe to them, and that he ſhould turn his Army againſt the Catholick King, and not redeem *Ireland* from its Heretical Juriſdiction, which you may read at large in *Plunket*'s Trial, and how it was carried on till the Diſcovery of that in *England*; and all this proved by Roman Catholicks, but without Redreſs.

A. Reg. 30. If thoſe Counſellors which were not engaged in the *Popiſh Plot* were amazed at this Diſcovery of *Coleman*'s Letters, thoſe who were engaged in it were not leſs ſurprized; and the Parliament being to meet ſome few Days after, the King hereupon, as aforementioned, took Counſel whether he might not prorogue it to a further Day; and 'twas [illegible] Chancellor *Finch* was of opinion he might; whereupon Mr. *Seymour* (now Sir *Edward*) then Speaker of the Commons, went out of Town: but upon Advice of *John Brown* Clerk of the Parliament, that ſo many Members of both Houſes muſt meet and ſit when a Prorogation was made, Mr. *Seymour* was recalled, and the Houſes met, and were prorogued accordingly.

Sir E. Godfrey *murder'd.* Between this Prorogation and the meeting of the Parliament, Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was murder'd; and if the Council were amazed at *Coleman*'s Letters, the whole Nation was not leſs at the Murder of Sir *Edmund*; and the time ſet for the meeting of the Parliament being about 9 or 10 Days after, the Court thought not fit to make another Prorogation to take new Counſel upon it.

Here I think fit to relate one Story concerning the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, which I find no where in Print, and the rather for that Sir *R. S.* ſo ridicules *Prance*'s Evidence, becauſe he recanted before the King in his Cloſet all that he had been examined and ſwore to about this Murder, which he again recanted after he came to Priſon: A *Papiſt* he was, and by Profeſſion a Silver-Smith, and wrought for the Prieſts and others in *Somerſet-Houſe*, and was aſſiſting at the Murder of Sir *Edm. Godfrey*, and alſo at the carrying the Body out of *Somerſet-Houſe*; and ſome time after the Murder of Sir *Edm. Godfrey* was diſcovered. Some of *Prance*'s Neighbours having obſerved that *Prance* did not come to his Houſe for ſeveral Days, they repreſented it to ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, that they had a great Suſpicion that *Prance* had a hand in the Murder of Sir *Edmund*; and thereupon they got an Order to ſeize *Prance*, and bring him before the Houſe, which they did, and the Houſe ordered Sir *Rich. Everard* and Sir *Charles Harbord* to examine him.

Before

Before the Murder, *Le Faire*, *Pritchard* and other Prieſts, treated with *Bedlow* to be aſſiſting in the Murder of Sir *Edmund*; but *Bedlow*, though he promiſed it, relented, and did not come; but the *Monday* after the Murder, *viz. Octob.* 14. he met *Le Faire* in *Red-Lyon-Court*, who charged him with not keeping his Word, but charged *Bedlow* to meet him at 9 a-Clock in *Somerſet-Houſe*; and there told *Bedlow* that though he was not aſſiſting as he promiſed in the killing of Sir *Edmund*, yet if he would be aſſiſting in the carrying him off, he ſhould have 2000 *l.* *Bedlow* then deſired *Le Faire*, if he might not ſee the Body; who told him, yes; which *Bedlow* did, and then they adviſed about the Diſpoſal of it, and *Bedlow* adviſed the ſinking the Body in the River with Weights, which was not agreed to; thus far *Bedlow* depoſes: But in ſeeing the Body, *Bedlow* ſaw *Prance* there in the Company too, but did not know him before. A.D. 1678.

Bedlow ſays, he was troubled in Conſcience, having twice taken the Sacrament to congeal the Buſineſs, and went to *Briſtol*, where God put it into his Heart, that ſome Murders were paſt, and greater to come; for Prevention whereof, he was convinced it was his Duty to come to *London*, to reveal this Wickedneſs, which he did, and came into the Lobby of the Houſe of Lords to make a Diſcovery, where I then ſaw him.

In the mean time Sir *Charles Harboard* and Sir *Rich. Everard* having examined *Prance*, and the Houſe being ſet, left *Prance* to the Care of the Conſtable of *Covent-Garden*; who brought him into the Lobby of the Houſe of Lords, where *Bedlow* ſeeing him, but never before he ſaw him in *Somerſet-Houſe*, *Bedlow* charged the Guards to ſeize him, for that he was one of thoſe he ſaw at *Somerſet-Houſe*, where the Body of Sir *Edm. Godfrey* lay: and by the ſame token he had then a black Peruke, but now none: Hereupon Search being made, the Peruke was found. Here I make a two-fold Remark, one of the Strangeneſs of the Diſcovery of *Prance* by *Bedlow*, who had never but once ſeen *Prance* before, and that by Candlelight, and in a Peruke, ſhould yet upon the firſt Sight of him know him again without a Peruke: The other, is the Clearneſs of *Godfrey*'s

A. Reg. 30. *frey*'s being murder'd, and the Body's being in *Somerſet-Houſe*, upon *Monday* after the Murder the *Saturday* before; and from hence it was that *Prance* became an Evidence in this Diſcovery.

The Parliament met *Octob.* 21*ſt*. It was but in *January* before that they had given the King 1200000*l.* for carrying on a War againſt *France*, in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, and their Allies: and now they found a treacherous ſeparate Peace made by a Faction of the *Dutch* upon *French* Terms, wherein the King had taken Money of the *French* to join with the *Dutch* Faction in it. Beſides the King's Guards, which he might encreaſe as he pleaſed, as well as keep up thoſe he had, there was another Army raiſed, which now it was of no further uſe abroad, they dreaded as much as they did the *French* Arms now he had ſubdued the Confederates, by the *Dutch* Disjunction from them; and the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot* carried on at home, whilſt theſe things were thus agitated abroad, was to them a Demonſtration the ſame Councils which governed abroad, did ſo at home.

Sir J. Williamſon *committed to the* Tower.

And if the Parliament were thus amazed at their Sitting, it was no way leſſened when they found that in this very Month no leſs than 57 Commiſſions were diſcovered for raiſing Soldiers, granted to ſeveral Romiſh Recuſants, with Warrants to muſter without taking the *Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy*, and the *Teſt*, counterſigned by Sir *J. W.* Secretary of State: whereupon the Commons committed him to the *Tower*; yet the King next Day diſcharged him, with a Reprimand to them: but upon the Commons Addreſs to the King about it, the King, as before in his Declarations of Indulgence, promiſed to recal them.

Commons reſolve about the Popiſh Plot.

However, the Commons appointed a ſecret Committee to enquire to the Bottom of the *Popiſh Plot*; who having made ſome Progreſs in it, upon *Friday* the 1*ſt* of *November* came to this Reſolution, *Nemine Contradicente, That upon the Evidence that has already appeared to this Houſe, this Houſe is of Opinion, That there hath been, and ſtill is, a damnable Helliſh Plot, contrived and carried on by Popiſh Recuſants, for aſſaſſinating and murdering*

murdering the King, ſubverting the Government, and rooting out and deſtroying the Proteſtant Religion. Which being the ſame Day communicated to the Lords, they unanimouſly and readily concurred with the Commons in it; and upon the 5*th*, the Commons impeached the Earl of *Powis*, the Viſcount *Stafford*, and the Lords *Arundel*, *Warder*, *Petre*, and *Bellaſis*, of High Treaſon. A.D. 1678.

The Commons having proceeded thus far in ſearching into the *Popiſh Plot*, upon the 27th of *November* proceeded in their next Fear of the Army raiſed, and voted, 1. That it is neceſſary for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, and preſerving the Peace of the Government, That all the Forces which have been raiſed ſince the 29*th* of *September* 1677, and all others which have been ſince that time brought over from beyond Seas from foreign Service, be forthwith diſbanded. 2. It is the humble Opinion of this Houſe, That the Forces which are now in *Flanders*, may be immediately called over in order to their diſbanding. 3. That the Houſe would to Morrow Morning reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider the Manner of diſbanding the Army.

The five Popiſh Lords had been impeached by the Commons about a Fortnight, and no Articles exhibited againſt them, when the King gave the Commons an Account, that he had given Order for ſeizing Mr. *Mountague*'s Papers, upon Information that he had held ſeveral Correſpondences, whilſt he was Ambaſſador in *France*, with the Pope's Nuncio, without any Direction or Order of his Majeſty. But *Mountague*, the ſame Day, produced two Letters from my Lord Treaſurer, whilſt he was Ambaſſador in *France*; which being read, the Houſe reſolved to impeach the Treaſurer, and the ſame Day ordered a Committee to draw up Articles againſt him; which on *Saturday* the Committee did, and on *Monday* following impeached the Treaſurer upon them: whereas the Commons had not yet exhibited any againſt the Popiſh Lords. This was upon the 23*d* of *December*. But if the Treaſurer was conſtant to himſelf, I do not underſtand how the Commons Impeachment of him in the 4*th* Article could conſiſt with the King's Diſpleaſure againſt him for the quite

A. Reg. 31. quite contrary, *viz.* That he ſuppreſſed the Evidences, and reproachfully diſcountenanced the King's Witneſſes in Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot: And Sir *William Temple* ſays, pag. 391. *That the Treaſurer was fallen into the King's Diſpleaſure for bringing the Popiſh Plot into Parliament againſt the King's abſolute Command.*

Money given to disband the Army.

However, the Parliament granted the King 633881. to disband the Army, and alſo an Additional Duty upon Wines for three Years: But no more Money being like to come this Seſſions, upon *Monday* the 30th of *December* he prorogued the Parliament to the fourth of *February* following, and then told them, *That it was with great Unwillingneſs that he was come to tell them that he intended to prorogue them; that all of them were Witneſſes he had not been well uſed, the Particulars of which he would acquaint them with at a more ſeaſonable time*, (but when will that be? for he never ſaw them after:) *In the mean time, he would immediately enter upon the disbanding the Army, and do what Good he could for the Kingdom, and Safety of Religion, and that he would proſecute the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, to find out the Inſtruments of it, and take all the Care that is in his Power to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion as it is now eſtabliſhed.* How well this was perform'd you'll ſoon ſee; and

Long Parliament diſſolved.

before the fourth of *February* he diſſolved the Eighteen-year-old Parliament. The Vogue went, it was upon the Account of my Lord-Treaſurer, though I believe, upon ſeverer Thoughts, it will ſeem rather to have been done upon the Account of the Popiſh Lords and Popiſh Plot. Theſe Feuds in the Nation, and Jealouſies between the King and Parliament, ſtifled the Apprehenſions of the dreadful growing Power of the *French* King, and made fair Weather for him to proſecute his boundleſs Ambition, without any Regard of his Faith or Honour, wherever he could extend it.

Never did one Parliament ſucceed another ſo early as the next did this; for the King by his Proclamation diſſolved the laſt upon the 25th of *January*, and the ſame Day iſſued out Writs for a new one to meet at *Weſtminſter* the ſixth of *March* following, which was juſt forty Days between the Teſt and Return.

In

In this Interval, the Blaze of the Parliament's Vote of their Apprehenſions of *a damnable and helliſh Popiſh Plot* had taken deep Impreſſions in the Minds of Men in general; and the *Whigs* taking Advantage of it, run down the *Tories* without Oppoſition: Nay, even the King himſelf apprehended there could be no Hopes of attaining his Ends in the next Parliament, but by ſeeming zealous in the proſecuting the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, and that he would not longer be governed by Favourites and ſingle Councils. A.D. 1679.

There had been ſeveral Debates in the Houſe of Commons, of the dangerous Conſequences in reference to the Duke of *York*'s Succeſſion to the Crown, and that the Bottom of the Popiſh Plot centred in the Duke's being a Papiſt, and the Preſumptive Heir to the Crown: But I do not find they came to any Vote about it, yet reſolved upon the eighth of *November* to make an Addreſs to the King, That the Duke might withdraw himſelf from his Perſon and Councils; and in Conformity therewith, the Duke went, or was ſent into *Holland*. And upon the Meeting of the Parliament, the King acquainted them how great things he had already done for the preventing the Progreſs of the Popiſh Plot; as the Excluſion of the Popiſh Lords from their Seats in Parliament, and the Execution of ſeveral Men upon the Score of the Plot, as well as the Murder of *Godfrey*; but above all, that he had commanded his Brother from him, becauſe he would not leave malicious Men Room to ſay, he had not removed all Cauſes which could be pretended to influence him toward Popiſh Counſels; and tells, *That as he had not been ſlack in putting the preſent Laws in Execution againſt Papiſts, ſo he was ready to join in making ſuch further Laws as might be neceſſary for the ſecuring the Kingdom againſt Popery*; and then demands a Supply, and concludes with his Deſires to have this a healing Parliament. D. of York goes to Holland.

The Houſe choſe Mr. *Seymour*, the Speaker of the laſt Parliament, to be their Speaker, but the King rejected him, which was no good Preſage; and ſo the Commons choſe Mr. Serjeant *Gregory*. They began where the laſt Parliament left, in proſecuting their

A. Reg. 31. their Impeachments againſt the Earl of *Danby*, and the Popiſh Lords in the Tower; but who ſhould be firſt tried, and what were the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops Right of Voting in their Impeachments, and their Judgments in Caſes of Blood, run quite through this Seſſions, wherein the Lords and Commons ſeldom agreed. There were two things which made the Earl of *Danby*'s Caſe more favourably ſpoken of; one, that though he was proſecuted ſeveral Weeks after the Popiſh Lords were committed, yet the Commons would not proceed in their Impeachment againſt the Popiſh Lords before the Lords had given their Judgments upon the Earl's Plea; The other was a Vote of the Commons upon the ninth of *May*, *That no Commoner whatſoever ſhould preſume to maintain the Validity of the Earl of* Danby's *Pardon without Leave of the Houſe firſt obtained; and that the Perſons ſo doing ſhould be accounted Betrayers of* England: And there was no Nobleman a profeſt Lawyer; ſo that tho' the Earl's Plea upon his Pardon was Matter of Law, yet no Commoner muſt preſume to plead his Cauſe.

Earl of Danby *ſent to the* Tower.

The King, beſides his ſending the Duke of *York* beyond Sea, that the World might now ſee how otherways he was become a new Man for the future, upon the 20th of *April* 1679, made a Declaration, how ſenſible he was of the ill Poſture of his Affairs, and the great Diſſatisfaction and Jealouſies of his good Subjects, whereby the Crown and Government became too weak to preſerve it ſelf, which proceeded from his uſe of a ſingle Miniſtry, and of private Advices; and therefore profeſſed his Reſolution to lay them aſide for the future, and be adviſed by thoſe whom he had then choſen for his Council in all his weighty and important Affairs, together with the frequent Advice of his great Council in Parliament: And indeed in this Council were many worthy Members; my Lord of *Shaftsbury* was Preſident of it, and the then Sir *Henry Capel*, and Sir *William Temple* Members of it. But this had not the King's deſired Effect; the Commons after the King had declared he would not alter the Succeſſion of the Crown in the right Line, were no ways ſatisfied with the Diſburſements

King appoints a new Privy-Council.

ments of the Money, nor the disbanding the Army, A.D.1679.
yet were reſolved it ſhould be done, and voted another Sum of 26462 *l.* for it; but it was not carried without ſome Difficulty, that theſe Monies ſhould be paid into the *Exchequer*, but *Chamber of London*. However, the Commons carried, that the Money ſo raiſed ſhould be appropriated to that Uſe, and to that End appointed Commiſſioners to disband the new rais'd Army, and ſo voted, *That the Continuance of any ſtanding Forces in this Nation, other than the Militia, to be illegal, and a great Grievance and Vexation to the People*, hereby meaning the King's Guards. They alſo ordered a Bill to be brought in, for annexing *Tangier* to the Imperial Crown of *England*, and voted, *That thoſe who did adviſe the King to part with* Tangier *to any foreign Prince or State, or were inſtrumental therein, ought to be accounted Enemies to the King and Kingdom.*

But how jealous ſoever the Commons were of the King, yet they conceived it was his Life which ſecured them from the Fears they dreaded of the Duke's coming to the Crown; and therefore upon the 11th of *May* voted, *Nemine Contradicente, That in Defence of the King's Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe does declare, that they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majeſty ſhall come to an untimely End (which God forbid) they will revenge it upon the Papiſts.*

It ſeems the Commons had more care of the King than he had of himſelf; for he not only countenanc'd the Plotters, but ridicul'd the Plot. In his Speech at the opening this Parliament, he told them he had not been idle in diſcovering the Plot; and in the laſt, told Sir *William Temple* he was diſpleaſed with the Earl of *Danby* for bringing the Popiſh Plot into Parliament, againſt his abſolute Command. *Oliver*'s Profeſſions and Actions never appeared more hypocritical and deceitful as this King's; and all this after the Parliament had voted *there was a helliſh Conſpiracy by the Papiſts againſt his Life*: And this proved by a Cloud of Witneſſes, agreeing in the Manner and Circumſtances of it, many of which had

A. Reg. 31. had never ſeen one the other before they gave their Teſtimonies.

Remarks about the Popiſh Plot.

Objection. *Theſe were Witneſſes of ſuſpected Fame, therefore no Credit ought to be given to them.* But admit this were true, which is not, for except *Dangerfield*, and while *France* was frighted with Terror, there was no Objection againſt *Oates*, *Bedlow*, *Mowbray*, and *Bolron*, it will admit of a twofold Anſwer.

1. Truth is one, and conſiſts in entire parts, whereas Error and Falſhood is infinite; and therefore it had been impoſſible that *Mowbray* and *Bolron*, who had never ſeen *Oates* and *Bedlow* before they gave their Teſtimonies, and *Bedlow* who had never known *Mowbray*, *Bolron* nor *Oates*, ſhould concur not only in the Deſign of killing the King, but in the Manner, Place, and Circumſtances of it.

2. Admit theſe Mens Evidences might not have been credited in other Caſes, yet it's fit to conſider Witneſſes in civil or criminal Caſes; in civil Caſes Men may make Elections of what Witneſſes they pleaſe, and it is their Fault if they make not uſe of Men of known Integrity and Repute, that more Credit may be given to their Evidence: and the End of Civil Actions and Contracts is, that they may be known; but immoral and wicked Actions are Deeds of Darkneſs, and contrived ſo as that they may not be known; ſo that the Knowledge of them comes to paſs either by Accident, or from the Conſpirators themſelves: As if only one Man ſees a Murderer or a Thief kill or rob another, if his Teſtimony ſhall not be taken, becauſe otherwiſe an ill Man, Multitudes of Murders and Thefts might paſs unpuniſhed. So if *Cicero*, when *Fulvia* firſt diſcovered *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy to him, had told her ſhe was a Whore, and no Credit could be given to any thing ſhe ſaid, *Rome* might have been in a Flame as *London* was, and all the Senators Throats might have been cut.

Mr. Jeniſon's Depoſitions.

But admit no Credit could be given to any or all theſe Mens Teſtimonies, who were all *Roman Catholicks*; I would know what Objection could be againſt Mr. *Jeniſon* (a Gentleman of Birth and Quality) who gave

gave no Evidence at *Ireland's*, *Wakeman's*, *Pickering's*, A.D. 1679.
or *Grove's* Trials, and changed his Religion when he heard that *Ireland*, who was his Father Confeſſor, at his Death denied that he was in Town, but in *Staffordſhire*, when *Oates* and *Grove's* Maid ſaid he was in *London* in *Auguſt* 1678, and printed it, and the Reaſons of it; and alſo at my Lord *Stafford's* Trial in open Parliament depoſed, That *Ireland* told him there was but one that ſtood in the way, and that it was an eaſy thing to poiſon the King, and that Sir *George Wakeman* might eaſily and opportunely do it; and that in *Auguſt* 1678, (*when* Ireland *at his Death declared he was in* Staffordſhire) *Ireland* told Mr. *Jeniſon* in *London*, when he was newly returned from *Windſor*, how eaſily the King might be taken off, and asked Mr. *Jeniſon* if he would be one of them who ſhould go to *Windſor* and aſſiſt at the taking off the King, and proffered Mr. *Jeniſon* to remit 200 *l.* which he owed *Ireland*, if he would: Then *Ireland* asked if he knew any ſtout *Iriſh-men*; who anſwer'd he knew Captain *Levallian*, Mr. *Kerney*, *Brohal* and *Wilſon*. *Ireland* told him he knew *Levallian* and *Wilſon*; and then *Ireland* ask'd him if he would go with them, and aſſiſt them in taking off the King: after this *Ireland* told Mr. *Jeniſon* he was going to the Club, where Mr. *Coleman*, Mr. *Levallian*, and *Kerney* would be, and he wanted 80 *l.* which he deſired Mr. *Jeniſon* to return him.

Mr. *Jeniſon* farther depoſed, That his Brother, Mr. *Thomas Jeniſon* (a Jeſuit) ſaid, *If* C. R. *will not be* R. C. which he interpreted to be, *Si* Carolus *Rex non eſſet Rex Catholicus, non diu foret Rex* Carolus; and that it was no great Sin to take him off: Mr. *Jeniſon* deſiring a new Commiſſion in the new rais'd Army, his Brother told him he would procure him one from the Duke of *York*, and that there was another Army to be raiſed, but this was not to be till the King was taken off; and this I ſay, that about this time there was a general Rumour of a Page being kill'd upon a Couch in the Night at *Windſor*, where the King was laid but a little before; and that the King, upon the Fright of it, came next Morning to *London*; and that it was Prince *Rupert* who, with much Importunity, got the King (having been drink-

A. Reg. 31. ing hard before) from the Couch, and put him to Bed; and that the Page who was killed aſleep upon the Couch, was wrap'd up in the Cloak the King was in.

The Commons likewiſe reſolved *Nemine contradicente, That the Duke of York being a Papiſt, and the Hopes of his coming as ſuch to the Crown, had given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement to the preſent Conſpirators, and the Deſigns of the Papiſts againſt the King and Proteſtant Religion.*

But the Deſigns of the King was, how to get Money for providing a Fleet for our common Security now in time of ſuch a Peace as the *French* King had granted *Chriſtendom*, but the Commons dreading how Monies given at this time of Day might be employed, took no more Care in it than the King did in the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot; ſo he prorogued the Parliament upon the Twenty ſeventh of *May* to the Fourteenth of *Auguſt*, and upon the Twelfth of *July* diſſolved them.

We ſhall better take a View of what followed the Prorogation in *England*, if we take a Step into *Scotland*. Upon the third of this Month of *May*, *John Balfour* of *Kinlock*, *David Hackſton* of *Rathilelet*, *George Balfour* of *Gilſton*, *James Ruſſel* in *King's Kittle*, *Robert Dingwall* a Farmer's Son in *Caddam*, *Andrew Guillon* a Weaver in *Balmerinoch*, *Alexander Henderſon* and *Andrew Henderſon* Sons of *John Henderſon* of *Killbrachment*, and *George Flemming*, Son to *George Flemming* of *Balbuthy*, murder'd Doctor *Sharp* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who before the King's Reſtoration, had held an exalted Place in the *Scotiſh Presbytery*, and was in high Eſteem among them, in as vindictive a manner as was that of the Marquiſs of *Montroſs*, about twenty one Years before, as being a perjured Apoſtate Prelate, a Villain, a Proſecutor of the Godly, a Betrayer of *Jeſus Chriſt and his Church*; and which augmented the Horror of the Fact, if my Author of the ſecond Addreſs to the Freemen of *England*, ſays true, That they ſeveral times beat down the Archbiſhop's Daughter upon her Knees, begging her Father's Life, and trampled upon her and wounded her.

Dr. Sharp Archbiſhop of St. Andrews murder'd.

This

This barbarous Act was a Prelude to what followed; for upon the 29th of this Month, a Party of about 80 of the Covenanters met at *Ragland* in *Scotland*, well mounted and well armed, and proclaimed the Covenant, and burnt several Acts of Parliament made against it, and for establishing Prelacy, since the Year 1660, and would have affixed their Declaration at *Glascow*, but were prevented by the King's Forces for that time. A.D. 1679.

This Rebellion of the Covenanters, initiated by so horrid a Fact, did not extend so far, as the Covenanters in their Frenzy and Zeal imagined; yet upon *Sunday* the 1st of *June*, they rendezvouz'd about fifteen hundred Men upon *Louden-Hill*; one *Wier* commanded the Foot, and the Horse was under *Robert Hamilton*, one *Patron*, with *Balfour* and *Hackston*. *Rebellion in Scotland.*

With this Force they took the City of *Glascow*; and to shew how all Crowns and Scepters must vail to them, they published two Proclamations. The first of which was,

We the Officers of the Covenanted Army, do require and command you the Inhabitants of the Burgh of Glascow, *to furnish us with 24 Carts and 60 Horses for removing our Provisions from this Place to our Camp, where-ever we shall set down the same, and to abide with us for that end during our Pleasure, under pain of being reputed our Enemies, and proceeded against accordingly.* The other runs thus,

We the Officers of the Covenanted Army do require and command the Magistrates of Glascow, *to extend and banish forth thereof all Archbishops, Bishops and Curates, their Wives, Berns, Servants and Families, and Persons concern'd in the King's Army, within* 48 *Hours after publishing hereof, under highest Pains.*

And then they published a long Declaration of their taking up Arms for a free General Assembly, and free and unlimited Parliament, to redress the manifold Grievances there enumerated, and humbly to request his Majesty to restore all things as he found them, when God brought him home to his Crown and Kingdoms; that was, *to the Dominion the Rump-Parliament in* England *had over them.*

A. Reg. 31. To theſe Declarations the ſaid Author adds, they barouſly treated the dead Body of one *Graham*, whom they had killed at a Conventicle: They committed inſufferable Inſolences in the Houſes of the regular Miniſters and Loyal Gentlemen as they march'd along to *Glaſgow*, ſtabbing and gaſhing his Majeſty's Picture where-ever they found it: They behaved themſelves barbarouſly in the Houſe of the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, where they burnt his Books, cut in pieces his beſt Furniture and Hangings, and almoſt kill'd a Gentlewoman with Blows who was left to keep the Houſe, for ſaying, *Gentlemen, I hope you'll remember you are in an Archbiſhop's Houſe.* They ſacrilegiouſly entred the Cathedral of *Glaſgow*, and finding a Tombſtone over two of the Children of the Biſhop of *Argile*, with an Inſcription of a Modern Date, they digg'd up their Bodies, run them through with their Swords, and left them lying above Ground.

In the mean time the Council of *Scotland* raiſed an Army, and quartered it at a place called *Blackborn*, to prevent the Covenanters Approach to *Edinburgh*, and gave the King an Account of theſe things; and expected his Majeſty's further Orders. And now I'll tell a wonder which will ſcarce be believ'd in future Generations.

Quelled by the Duke of Monmouth. The King ſent the Duke of *Monmouth* from *London* upon the 20th of *June*, the Duke rode above three hundred Miles on that Day and the two next, and upon the 23d ordered and diſpoſed of the King's Army raiſed by the Council, that he fought the Covenanters and routed them, killing about ſeven hundred, and took above eleven hundred Priſoners; and now it may be you will hear of a Wonder in Conſequence after this Fight as great as the Fight, and the Duke's Journey before it.

I do not queſtion but the Deſign of ſending the Duke of *Monmouth* into *Scotland* to ſuppreſs the Covenanters, was to make him odious to the *Presbyterians*, and other Diſſenters in caſe he ſuppreſſed them, which though the Duke did, yet the End deſigned did not ſucceed. For the dreadful Apprehenſion of the Duke of *York*'s Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, had taken a deep Impreſſion in another ſort of Men beſides Diſſenters, who might have their Eyes upon the

Duke

Duke of *Monmouth*, as the only means to prevent the Duke of *York*'s Succeſſion to the Crown; his Title to the Crown of *England*, if he could get an Act of Parliament for it, being as good as that of *John* alias *Robert Stuart*, the Son of *Elizabeth Moore*, from whom the King and the Duke of *York* were both deſcended, and in whoſe Right they claimed the Crown of *Scotland*. A.D. 1679.

However this gave the Lie to the *Tories*, that all thoſe were Commonwealths-Men, who would not ſubmit to the Illegal and Arbitrary Will of the King, and their Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience; and that Kings, *Jure Divino*, may do what they liſt. But how miſchievous theſe Doctrines have prov'd to theſe three Kings of the *Scotiſh* Nation has been already ſaid, and I ſay it has been ſuch flattering Doctrines as thoſe that ruined all thoſe Kings and Kingdoms (except the *Gibeonites*, the State of *Venice*, and that of *Geneva*, for *Du Salez* was a juſt and virtuous Prince) from which Commonwealths aroſe. Who ever, before King *James* and King *Charles* the Firſt's Reign in *England*, heard of talking of Commonwealths in *England*, and the ſeveral ſorts of Governments, *viz.* Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, Democracy, which two latter, though they have the ſame Names, yet no two of either in their Conſtitutions were like one the other? And as theſe Commonwealths took their Riſe from the Tyrannies of Kings and Princes; ſo the exploded Government of the *Rump*, if it were a Democracy or Commonwealth, gave Life to all thoſe Confuſions, Perjuries, Breach of Leagues, and deviliſh Practices of this Reign, which would have been intolerable in any other, and would have been oppoſed, if not by riſing in Arms againſt them, yet at leaſt in not ſo profuſely pouring out Money for not continuing and carrying them on.

The Popiſh Faction were more jealous of the Duke of *Monmouth*, than the *Tories* were of a Commonwealth, and the rather becauſe there was a Pamphlet printed, that the King was married to the Duke's Mother, and rumour'd abroad that Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* had a Black Box, in which the Marriage of the King with the Duke's Mother was fully proved and made

An. Reg. 31. out; and the fear of the Duke of *York*'s Succeſſion was ſo fix'd in Mens Minds, that the Story of the Black Box was generally divulged, and for ought I know, believed by thoſe who were fearful of the Duke of *York*'s Succeſſion. If this could have been done, the Popiſh Faction would loſe the *Tories* and *Paſſive-Obedience-Men*, who at preſent were their *deareſt Joys*, and without them they had not Means to carry on their Deſign of propagating the Catholick Cauſe; they were ſure of the King, who made three Delarations; the firſt of the Second of *June* 1679. wherein he calls the Report of his Marriage or Contract with Mrs. *Walters*, alias *Barlow*, *Monmouth*'s Mother, falſe and ſcandalous; and upon the Sixth of *January* following, declared, that they who ſhould ſay he was married, or contracted to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother, were neither his nor the Duke's Friends, and that he was never married nor contracted to any other Woman but his Wife Queen *Catherine*; and upon the Third of *March* following, declared in Council, and entred it into the Council-Books in the Preſence of Almighty God, that he was never contracted or married to any other Woman but his Wife Queen *Catherine*.

D. of Monmouth in diſgrace. And that the King might gratify this Faction, as well as he had done the Nation in ſending the Duke of *York* out of it, he ſends the Duke of *Monmouth* away: But the Duke being informed that Baniſhment is a Puniſhment which the King cannot inflict upon any Man unleſs he be convicted of ſome Crime, he returns again, and the Duke of *York* follows him, with this different Succeſs, that *Monmouth* had all his Places of Profit and Truſt taken from him, and *York* was ſent High Commiſſioner into *Scotland*, where *Monmouth*'s Victory at *Blackburn* had left a clear Field for him to play what Game he pleaſed; but how well this agreed with the King's Speech at the opening of the Parliament, *That he had commanded his Brother to abſent himſelf from him, becauſe he would not leave malicious Men room to ſay that he had not removed all Cauſes which could be pretended to influence him to Popiſh Councils*, a little time will ſhew.

The

The King by Proclamation diſſolved the Parliament upon the 12th of *July* 1679, and iſſued out Writs for the meeting of another the 17th of *October*; but when they met, he prorogued them to the 26th of *January*, then to the 5th of *April* 1680, and from thence to the next 17th of *May*: And when they then met, to the 1ſt of *July*, and thence to the 21ſt of *October*, when he graciouſly declared they ſhould ſit. And now let's ſee what's doing in the mean while for the Diſcovery and Suppreſſing of the *Popiſh Plot*. A.D. 1679.

To humour the Court, the Tory Party ſet their Wits to work to ridicule the *Popiſh Plot*, and *L'Eſtrange*, as Penſioner of the Party, comes Weekly, or oftner out in defiance of it, who is Party, Judge, Licenſer, and Rifler of the Preſs, whilſt his Antagoniſt *Care* (who wrote *The Weekly Packet of Advice from* Rome, wherein he diſcovered the Frauds and Superſtitions of that Court and Church) is not only thereupon arraigned, convicted and ſentenced, for printing *illicite*, or without Licence; but by an Order of the Court of *King's Bench*, it was ordained, *That the Book ſhall not from thenceforth be printed or publiſhed by any Perſon whatſoever.*

Then a Deſign was ſet on foot to throw the *Popiſh Plot* upon the *Presbyterians*, by leaving Papers in the Lodgings of the principal Perſons, who were active in the diſcovery of it, and then to ſearch their Houſes, and proſecute them upon it. Mrs. *Cellier* was a principal Agent herein, and *Dangerfield* as her Inſtrument, made an Attempt upon Colonel *Manſel*, who was proſecuted upon it; but the Examination of it being referred to Sir *William Jones*, then Attorney General, upon his Report of it to the Council, they voted *Manſel innocent*, *and* Dangerfield *guilty*, *and that this was a Deſign of the Papiſts to lay the Plot to the Diſſenters Charge*, *and a further Proof of the Popiſh Plot*. But this was ſuch a Crime in Sir *William Jones*, that he was ſoon after put out of his Place, and Sir *Robert Sawyer* put in, who would not venture the loſs of his Place for ſuch another Report. *Deſign to throw the Popiſh Plot on the Presbyterians.*

By this time my Lord Chief Juſtice's Zeal for diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot* was inverted into the quite contrary, and he was not of the Opinion of the Coun-

A. Reg. 32. cil: For after this *Dangerfield* procured his Pardon, and then diſcovered the whole Plot; hereupon *Cellier* was proſecuted, and tried before my Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs* upon the 11th of *June* 1680. and *Cellier* excepting againſt *Dangerfield*'s Evidence, he having his Pardon, the Caſe was ſent to the Court of *Common-Pleas* for their Judgment; who gave it, that *Dangerfield*'s Evidence was good: yet let any Man read the Trial, he will ſee how the Chief Juſtice rated and vilified him, ſo as *Cellier* was quit; and after the Trial, he committed *Dangerfield* to Priſon upon the account there was a Defect in his Pardon, tho' it was not then before him, whether there was any Defect in his Pardon or not. Then the Popiſh Party ſet another Deſign on foot, to ſuborn the Diſcoverers of the Plot, for which *Reading* was tried and convicted, and alſo to ſuborn, defame and ſcandalize the King's Evidence: for which *Knox* and *Lane* were convicted upon the 25th of *November* 1679, and *John Tasborough* and *Ann Price* upon the 3d of *February* following.

Another Step towards the Diſcovery of the Plot, and Subverſion of Popery, was to diſcharge thoſe in Priſon upon it; and in order to it, you may read in the Trial of Sir *George Wakeman*, *Corker* and *Marſhal*, what a Streſs *Scroggs* put upon *Oates* his not accuſing *Wakeman*, upon his Letter before the Council, when *Oates* was ſo tired, weak and confounded with his other Evidence, that he was ſcarce able to ſtand; and how the Chief Juſtice repeats this, and bids the Jury weigh it well, and not be amazed or affrighted at the Noiſe of Plots; and that *Wakeman*'s, *Corker*'s and *Marſhal*'s Blood lie at Stake, as did his and the Juries Souls, *&c.* And in my Lord *Caſtlemain*'s Trial, how he undervalued *Dangerfield*'s Evidence, and told the Jury that Treaſon muſt be proved by two Witneſſes, and if they doubted upon one, it was his Opinion it was but a ſingle Evidence.

Theſe Priſoners thus diſcharged, the next Deſign to crown the Work was to make a Precedent, That no future Proſecution ſhould be made for convicting *Roman Recuſants*; and to that end, in *Trinity-Term* 1680, before the Parliament met, *Scroggs* diſcharged the great Inqueſt of *Oſwaldſton*, before they had given

in

in their Preſentments of ſeveral Bills of Indictments againſt the Duke of *York* and other *Catholicks*. A.D. 1680.

I do not find that in all theſe Tranſactions, the King made uſe of the Council which he choſe the 20th of *April* 1679, nor when he diſſolved it, yet I am confident none of theſe things were done by their Advice: Yet this I find, that none of theſe were preſent when the King in Council the 3d of *March* 1679, declared againſt his Marriage with *Monmouth*'s Mother, and this was within the Year. In this Poſture things ſtood in *England* when the Parliament met the 21ſt of *October* 1680.

The King told them, *The ſeveral Prorogations he had made, had been very advantageous to our Neighbours, and very uſeful to him; for he had employed that time in making and perfecting an Alliance with* Spain, *ſuitable to that which he had before made with the States of the* United Provinces, *and they alſo had with* Spain, *conſiſting of mutual Obligations of Succour and Defence.*

So then it was not for the Tranſactions aforeſaid, and the ſending the Duke of *York* High Commiſſioner into *Scotland*, which no doubt but the Parliament, if they had been ſitting, would have boggled at, but for making and perfecting Alliances with the States of *Holland*; and if any ſuch Alliances were making, or made, what would the Sitting of the Parliament have hindred them? I'm ſure they might and would have advanced them.

It was in *November* 1677, that by the Agreement between the King and Prince of *Orange*, the *French* ſhould deliver up to the King of *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Valenciennes*, *St. Gillain*, and *Binch*; *Lorain* to that Duke, and the Towns which the *French* had taken in *Alſatia*, to the Emperor: And in caſe of Refuſal within two Days after by the *French* King, our King was to declare War againſt the *French* King, and join with the *Dutch* States and Confederates to compel the *French* to it; and at the Prince's Departure promiſed him never to depart from the leaſt Point of it.

It was not two Weeks before the King brake this Promiſe; and to amuſe and raiſe a Jealouſy among the Confederates by Mr. *Thyn*, (Sir *William Temple* refuſing

A. Reg. 32. fuſing to have any hand it) about the latter end of *December* following made a ſeparate League with the *Dutch* States upon the Parliament's giving him 1200000 *l.* to enter into an actual War againſt *France*.

In *May* following, *viz.* 1678, the King took *French* Money to join with a Faction in *Holland*, to make a ſeparate Peace with *France*, upon delivery of ſix of the nine Towns to the *Spaniard*, whereof two of the three not to be delivered to the *Spaniard*, were *Tournay* and *Valenciennes*, worth all the reſt; and the Duke of *Lorain* and the Emperor left looſe and uncertain.

In *July* following, upon the *French* refuſal to deliver up theſe ſix Towns to the *Spaniard*, the King would declare War againſt *France*, and join with the *Dutch* and the reſt of the Confederates in it.

Hereupon Sir *William* was ſent to the *Hague*, and in ſix Days time concluded a League with the States that if within 14 Days after the Date of it, *France* did not declare to evacuate theſe ſix Towns, *Holland* engaged to proceed in the War againſt *France*, and Sir *William* ſent over the Conditions to be ratified by the King.

During theſe Tranſactions in *Holland*, and it may be before the League came over to be ratified by the King, the King ſent *Du Croſs* with Inſtructions to Sir *William Temple* to remove from the *Hague* to *Nimeguen* and to divulge that the King and *French* King had abſolutely agreed and conſented to a Peace, and that he had brought Orders to Sir *William Temple* to go ſtraight to *Nimeguen*, where he ſhould meet with Letters from my Lord of *Sunderland*, the King's Ambaſſador at *Paris* with all the Particulars concluded between them: The 14 Days for the *French* Agreement to evacuate the Towns, running ſo faſt away in the mean time, that *Beverning* and his Faction, upon the laſt of the 14 Days, pleaded a petty Neceſſity of huddling up that treacherous Peace which left Chriſtendom to the Mercy of the *French*.

Would not one think it ſtrange now, that the *Dutch* and poor *Spaniard* ſhould have ſuch a mutual Confidence in our King's Faith, and to truſt to his mutual Obligation

Obligations of Succour and Defence? Or that the King should be ſo ſtaid in making this League? for it was above 18 Months after the Prorogation of the laſt Parliament, to the Meeting of this, and above 15 Months from the Diſſolution of it; and yet ſo haſty in all his other Leagues. A.D.1680.

After the Benefits which *Chriſtendom*, as well as *England*, may reap by theſe Alliances, if our Diviſions at home do not make our Friendſhip leſs conſiderable, the King thought fit to renew all Aſſurance that can be deſired for Security of the Proteſtant Religion, which he is reſolved to maintain againſt the Conſpiracies of our Enemies. "Can any Man who reads "the Tranſactions between the Prorogation of the "laſt Parliament, and the Meeting of this, force a "Belief of this?" And concur with any new Remedies which ſhall be propoſed, which may conſiſt with preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its due and legal Courſe of Deſcent; "That is, Let the Wolf "be Shepherd, and let the Sheep make what Laws "they pleaſe for their Preſervation.

Was it not known that the Duke of *York* was a Jeſuited *Papiſt*; whoſe Maxims are, That no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks, which he eſteemed all others in *England* but thoſe of his own *Romiſh* Faction, to be? Could the King believe that the Duke's Succeſſion could be any Security to the Proteſtant Religion (as the King calls it) which the Duke eſteemed Hereſy, and to be rooted out by Fire and Sword? or that any other but the Duke's Faction could be protected by him, when he eſteemed them Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, Church-Robbers, and no Chriſtians?

It's true, at this time the King of *Portugal* was made a Priſoner, to reſtrain him from his immoral and wicked Actions, whilſt his Brother in his Impriſonment acted as Regent of *Portugal*, in his Brother's Name: But upon the Duke's Succeſſion, how could a Regent act when the King was not a *Minor*, but of full Age double, and at large, in the King's Name, and contrary to his Will and Pleaſure, and this to conſiſt with the Security of the Proteſtant Religion or Laws?

In

A. Reg. 32. In the Debates in the Houſe of Commons, many Expedients were propounded, how the eſtabliſhed Government in Church and State could be preſerved, and none could be found in caſe the Duke ſucceeded: So the Country Party moved, that the Court Party would propound Expedients herein; but either they could not, or had no Inſtructions from the Court to warrant ſuch Expedients as they ſhould propound.

Digreſſion about the Deſcent of the Crown. But if the due and legal Deſcent of the Crown muſt be preſerved, though to the Deſtruction of the Church and State; they who adviſed the King to be ſo poſitive herein, ſhould have done well to have declared what Law in *England* declares the Deſcent of the Crown of *England*, or how this becomes due. I am ſure the Act of the Firſt of *Henry* the IV. entailed the Crown upon the King, and the Heirs of his Body; and ſo did that of the Firſt of *Henry* VII. before he married the Lady *Elizabeth*, *Edward* the IV's Daughter; and if *Henry* the VII's Title to the Crown had been good by inherent Birth-right, yet he had been an Uſurper: For his Mother, under whom he claimed, lived all his Reign, and ſo ſhe did ſome time after *Henry* the VIIIth became King. And how was the due and legal Succeſſion of the Crown of *England* obſerved in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth, when by his Will he might name what Succeſſor he pleaſed, as has been ſaid; or in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when it was in Parliament declared Treaſon to affirm the Parliament might not diſpoſe of the Succeſſion of the Crown in her Reign, and a *Premunire* at this Day? And let any Man ſhew that ever there were three Kings before theſe of the *Scotiſh Race*, in the *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, or *Norman Race*, which ſucceeded ſucceſſively by inherent Birth-right, I will ſubmit that all I have ſaid is not true: And why then muſt ſuch a Streſs be put for the preſerving the Deſcent of the Crown in its due and legal Courſe, without declaring what is that due and legal Courſe, to endanger the Subverſion of the Church and State of *England*?

King's Speech to the Parliament. Then the King recommends to the Parliament, a ſtrict Inquiry into the *Popiſh Plot*, and that the Lords in the *Tower* be brought to a ſpeedy Trial, without which he

he did not think himſelf or the Parliament ſafe. The conſtant Vogue was, " That the King diſſolved the " two laſt Parliaments to preſerve the Lords in the " *Tower* from being brought to Trial: " And I am ſure that you will ſoon hear that the King did not believe his and the Nation's Safety did conſiſt in the Trial of the Lords in the *Tower*. A.D.1680.

Then the King tells the Parliament what Danger *Tangier* was in, and what vaſt Expence he muſt be at to keep it: " And the Commons laſt Parliament drew " up an Act to ſettle it upon the Imperial Crown of " *England*, and that they who did adviſe the King to " part with *Tangier* to any Foreign Prince or State, or " were inſtrumental therein, ought to be accounted " Enemies to the King and Kingdom. " And what Care the King took to keep it, will ſoon appear, tho' 'twas ſaid, the Parliament (I think it was out of the Chimney-Bill) gave him 40000 *l. per Annum* towards the Preſervation of it to the Crown of *England*.

The King goes on and ſays, That above all the Treaſure in the World, which he was ſure would give him greater Strength both at home and abroad, than any Treaſure can do, is a perfect Union among ourſelves, *yet ſays not wherein he ſhould unite*. " Truth " and Unity are one, and conſiſt in entire Parts; but " Falſhood and Diſcord are infinite: What Truth or " Unity could be in the King's looſe and irregular " Actions, ſo confounding, and every Day varying " from what he had promiſed before? Or how is it " poſſible for the Nation to unite under Terms which " are inconſiſtible and impoſſible, *viz.* Unite to pre- " ſerve the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, and yet be " at no Diſcord with the King, who they were mo- " rally certain would make it his Buſineſs to ſubvert " them?

If we ſhould be ſo unhappy (the King ſays) as to fall into ſuch Miſunderſtanding among ourſelves as would render our Friendſhip unſafe to truſt to, it will not be wondred at, if our Allies ſhall begin to take up new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as may be fatal to us; and adviſed them not to gratify our Enemies, and diſhearten our Friends by any unreaſonable Diſputes, *viz.* to take all by an implicit Faith. " I do

" not

A. Reg. 32. " not underſtand what the King means by Miſunder-
" ſtanding among ourſelves, which may render our
" Friendſhip to our or his Allies unſafe; nor does
" he ſay wherein ſuch Miſunderſtanding conſiſts:
" I'm ſure the Parliament miſunderſtood him when
" they gave him 1200000 *l.* to enter into an actual
" War againſt the *French* King, in the Defence of theſe
" Allies; and when he had got the Money, to make
" a ſeparate Peace with a Faction of the *Dutch*, to
" the Ruin of his Allies; and take *French* Money for
" it: and to get the Parliament twice over to diſband
" this Army, for fear he ſhould turn it againſt them
" and the Nation; and now 'twas diſbanded, to give
" Money to raiſe another, upon Pretence of aſſiſting
" theſe Allies, now they were forced to ſuch a diſho-
" nourable Peace with the *French*; or that our Allies,
" as the King calls them, would ever truſt to any
" more of his Alliances.

If any ſhould ſo happen (the King ſays) the World will ſee it is no Fault of his, for he had done all that was poſſible for him to do to keep us in Peace while he lived, and to leave us ſo when he died.

" Can any Man believe the King believed himſelf
" herein? Or that any Man will be his Voucher for
" it? Even my Lord *C. F.* out of the Field of his
" ſweet liſping Eloquence, could not gather one Rhe-
" torical Flower to make a Flouriſh upon this Speech;
" nor aſſure the Parliament upon his Veracity, that
" Now, Now was the time to ſecure their Religion and
" Properties; nay, the Commons gave ſo little Credit
" to this Speech, that they would not deign to debate
" it, or one Paragraph in it.

Neither the Bait of *Tangier*, nor the King's making Alliances with the *Dutch* and *Spaniard*, (if any ſuch were in his Ramble of Prorogations of this Parliament) would make the Commons give more Money: This Parliament met in a contrary Humour to that of the Long Parliament, and that from contrary Cauſes; for that Parliament adored him as their Deliverer from the Rage and Perſecution of the late Times, whereas this Parliament met in Dread and Terror of the Nation at preſent, and were frighted at the Proſpect of the Conſequence of it after the King's Death.

The

The Commons heated by the Diſſolutions of the two laſt Parliaments, when they were ſearching into the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot*; and exaſperated againſt the *Tories*, for ridiculing the *Popiſh Plot*, and for abhorring petitioning the King to let the Parliament ſit, in order to proſecute and ſecure the Nation againſt it, &c. proceeded in another Temper, I think, than any other ever before: And in truth, I do not deſire the Proſecution of the Commons in the Long Parliament in the firſt ten Years againſt the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and of the Commons of this Parliament againſt the *Tories*, ſhould be taken for Precedents by any Parliament in time to come. A.D. 1680.

Remarks about the Privileges of Parliaments

When Parliaments met annually, or at leaſt frequently, I think Complaint cannot be found againſt any Man for Breach of Privilege: But when there were long Intervals of Parliaments, from whence the Conſequence reſolved into long Sittings of Parliaments, which began in the Reign of *Henry* VIII, then the Inconvenience of Privilege firſt began; nor do I find any before the latter end of *Henry* VIII, nor does Mr. *Petit*, in his *Precedents from Arreſts*, and other Privileges of Parliament-Men, cite any before the Thirty fourth of *Henry* VIII, in Caſe of Mr. *George Ferrers*, Burgeſs for the Town of *Plimouth*, being arreſted for Debt; and this was taken for ſuch a Novelty, that he takes up near ſeven Pages to recite the Proceedings of the Commons upon it; and how the King being advertiſed thereof, called the Chancellor, the Judges, the Speaker of the Commons, and the graveſt Perſons of them, wherein he commended the Wiſdom of the Commons in maintaining their Privileges, and that the Privileges of Parliament extend to the Servants of the Commons from Arreſts, as well as to the Perſons of the Commons. It's worthy Obſervation with what Sobriety and Juſtice the Commons proceeded herein: They ordered their Serjeant forthwith to repair to the *Compter* in *Breadſtreet*, wherein Mr. *Ferrers* was committed, with his Mace, to demand his Delivery; which the Serjeant did to the Officers of the *Compter*, who notwithſtanding refuſed to do it, and beat and hurt ſome of the Serjeant's Officers, and broke his Mace; and during the Brawl, the Sheriffs of *London*

A. Reg. 32. do] came in, who countenanced the Officers of the *Compter*, and refuſed to deliver Mr. *Ferrers*, and gave the Serjeant proud Language, and contemptuouſly rejected his Meſſage: Hereupon the Commons commanded the Serjeant to require the Sheriffs of *London* to deliver Mr. *Ferrers* by ſhewing them his Mace, which was his Warrant for ſo doing: Whereupon the Sheriffs delivered him accordingly; but then the Serjeant having further Command from the Commons, charged the Sheriffs to appear perſonally on the Morrow by Eight of the Clock, before the Speaker in the nether Houſe, to bring thither the Clerks of the *Compter*, and ſuch other of their Officers as were Parties in the Fray, and to take into Cuſtody one *White*, who had wittingly procured the ſaid Arreſt, in Contempt of the Privilege of Parliament.

Next Day the two Sheriffs, with one of the Clerks and *White*, appeared in the Commons Houſe; where the Speaker charging them with their Contempt and Miſdemeanor, they were compelled to make immediate Anſwer, without being admitted to Council; and in concluſion, the Sheriffs and *White* were committed to the *Tower*, and the Clerk (which was the Occaſion of the Fray) to a Place called *Little Eaſe*, and the Officer which did the Arreſt, called *Taylor*, with four other Officers, to *Newgate*, where they remained from the 28th to the 31ſt of *March*, and then were delivered at the humble Suit of the Mayor and their other Friends.

The next Breach of Privilege reported by *Petit*, is eight Years after, *viz.* the 4th of *Edward* VI, by one *Withrington*, who made an Aſſault upon the Perſon of one *Brandling*, Burgeſs of *Newcaſtle*; but the Parliament drawing towards an End, the Commons ſent *Withrington* to the Privy Council; but the Council would not meddle in it, and ſent the Bill of Mr. *Brandling*'s Complaint back again to the Commons according to the antient Cuſtom of the Houſe; whereupon the Bill was ſent to the Lords from the Commons, when *Withrington* confeſt he began the Fray upon Dr. *Brandling*, upon which he was committed to the *Tower*. This was in the Year 1550.

Mr.

Mr. *Petit* finds not another Breach of Privilege till the 14th of *Elizabeth*, which was done by one *Arthur Hall*, for ſundry lewd Speeches uſed as well in the Commons Houſe, as abroad; who was warned by the Serjeant to appear before the Bar of the Commons to anſwer for the ſame, and upon his Knees, upon the humble Confeſſion of his Folly, he was remitted with a good Exhortation given him by the Speaker. Here I obſerve theſe three Particulars: 1. The Rarity of theſe Breaches of Privileges of Parliament in former Times. 2. The Juſtice of the Commons in their Proceedings of Breach of Privilege, to cite the Perſon or Perſons to appear before them, to anſwer for themſelves before the Houſe paſſed any Cenſure upon them. 3. That in none of theſe Cenſures they enjoined the Delinquent to pay their Fees to their Serjeant, for the Serjeant is the King's Officer; and by the *26th Weſt.* 1. no Officer of the King's ſhall take any Fee or Reward for doing his Office, but what he receives from the King, upon Penalty of rendring double to the Plaintiff, and be further puniſhed at the Will of the King. And Sir *Edward Coke* in his firſt *Inſt. Lib.* 3. *Sect.* 701. *tit. Extortioners*, ſays, this was the antient Common Law, and the Penalties added by the Statutes; and that though ſome Statutes ſince have allowed the King's Officers in ſome Caſes to take Fees for executing their Offices, yet none other can be taken but what ſuch Statutes allow; and that all Officers of the King, who take Fees otherwiſe, are guilty of Perjury. I would know by what Law the Commons Serjeant takes his Fees, and how the Commons can abſolve him from Perjury for taking ſuch Fees. A.D. 1680.

Whereas in this Parliament rarely a Day paſſed wherein Men upon bare Suggeſtions, and abſent, were not judged, and Execution ordered for high and notorious Breaches of the Commons Privileges, yet moſt of theſe not foreknown, and ordered to be taken into Cuſtody, though in *Northumberland* and *Yorkſhire*: and rarely I think any of them were diſcharged without paying their Fees; nay, they outrun all that was ever thought of before: For on the 14th of *December*, having voted one Mr. *Herbert Herring* to be taken into

A. Reg. 32. Cuſtody, and *Herring* abſconding, the Houſe reſolved, "That if he did not render himſelf by a certain Day, "they would proceed againſt him by Bill in Parliament for endeavouring by his abſconding to avoid "the Juſtice of the Houſe.

It was ſtrange methought that the Commons ſhould be ſo zealous againſt any Arbitrary Power in the King, and take ſuch a Latitude to themſelves; which puts me in mind of a Story I have heard of an old Uſurer, who had a Nephew who had got a Licence to preach, and the Uncle having never done any thing for his Nephew, he reſolved to be revenged upon his Uncle in a Sermon which he would preach before his Uncle in the Pariſh where he lived, he made a moſt invective Sermon againſt Uſury and Uſurers; but after the Sermon was done, the Uncle thank'd his Nephew for his good Sermon, and gave him two Twenty-ſhilling Pieces: The Nephew was confounded at this, and beg'd his Uncle's Pardon for what he had done, for he thought he had given him great Offence: *No*, ſaid the Uncle, *Nephew, go on and preach other Fools out of the Conceit of Uſury, and I ſhall have the better Opportunity of putting out my Money.*

Bill of Excluſion. Yet ſo zealous were the Commons againſt Popery and Arbitrary Power, that upon the 15th of *December* they reſolved that one Mean for the Suppreſſion of Popery is, That a Bill be brought in to baniſh immediately all conſiderable Papiſts out of the King's Dominions. And that a Bill be brought in for an Aſſociation of all his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, for the Defence of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and for the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, againſt all Invaſions and Oppoſitions whatſoever, and for preventing the Duke of *York*, or any other Papiſt, from ſucceeding to the Crown.

And upon the 16th the Commons read another Bill the firſt time for Exempting his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of *England*, from the Penalties impoſed upon the Papiſts; and upon the 18th ordered a Bill to be brought in to unite his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects.

In

In this Ferment of the Commons this Parliament, they run counter to the Commons of the laſt; for then they choſe Mr. *Edward Seymour* to be their Speaker, and when the King refuſed him, they were much diſguſted: but in this Parliament the Commons, the 25th of *November*, impeached him upon four Articles, and a Motion was made for an Addreſs to be made to remove him from his Majeſty's Council and Preſence. In the laſt Parliament the Commons would not proceed to the Trial of the Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*, before the Lords ſhould give their Judgment upon the Earl of *Danby*'s Plea; whereas in this they proceeded to the Condemnation of my Lord *Stafford*, without taking any notice of having the Lords Judgment upon the Earl's Plea. A.D. 1680.

The Commons took care alſo to proſecute and impeach all thoſe that countenanced the *Popiſh Plot*, or were Abhorrers of petitioning the King for the Meeting of the Parliament in the manifold Prorogations of it; and voted, *That it is, and ever hath been, the undoubted Right of the Subjects of* England, *to petition the King for the Calling and Sitting of Parliaments, and Redreſs of Grievances. And that to traduce ſuch petitioning as a Violation of Duty, and to repreſent it to his Majeſty as tumultuous and ſeditious, is to betray the Liberty of the Subject, and contributes to the Deſign of ſubverting the antient legal Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, and introducing Arbitrary Power.*

Commons proſecute the Abhorrers of Parliaments

The firſt that fell under theſe Votes was Sir *Francis Withens*, (after made a Judge) a Member of the Commons, whom they voted to be a Betrayer of the undoubted Rights of the Subjects of *England*, and ordered him to be expelled the Houſe for this high Crime, and to receive the Sentence at the Bar of the Houſe kneeling. The next was Sir *George Jefferies*, then Recorder of the City; and ordered that an humble Addreſs be made to the King to remove him out of all publick Offices, and that the Members which ſerved for the City ſhould communicate this Vote to the Court of Aldermen.

Upon this Account they ordered Sir *Giles Philips* and Mr. *Coleman* to be ſent for into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, for deteſting and abhorring the petitioning

A. Reg. 32. for Sitting of the Parliament, and voted it a Breach of Privilege of Parliament: The like the Commons did by Captain *William Caſtle*, Mr. *John Hutchinſon*, Mr. *Henry Walrond*, Mr. *William Stavel*, Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, Sir *Thomas Holt* Serjeant at Law, and Mr. *Thomas Staples*: and becauſe Sir *Francis North* (Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*) adviſed, and was aſſiſting in drawing up a Proclamation againſt petitioning for the Sitting of the Parliament; the Commons voted, *That it was a ſufficient Ground for the Houſe to proceed againſt him for high Crimes and Miſdemeanours.* The like Vote paſſed againſt Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, and Sir *Richard Weſton*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*. I do not find theſe Votes went further; but the Commons actually impeached Sir *William Scroggs* of High Treaſon, for diſcharging the Grand Jury of *Middleſex* before they had finiſhed their Preſentments, and for the Order made in the *King's-Bench* againſt *Care's Packet of Advice from* Rome.

The Lords agreed with the Commons in repealing the Act of 35 *Eliz. viz.* for Payment of 20 *l. per Menſem* for every Man who reſorted not to his Pariſh-Church, being ſo terrible a Law, that it lay *dormant* above 80 Years, and in the Feuds between the *Tories* and *Whigs*, it was begun to be put Execution; which the Commons apprehending would make a Breach ſo wide as to let in Popery, which would make no Diſtinction between Diſſenters and the Sons of the Church, they brought in a Bill for repealing the ſaid Act of 35 *Eliz.* which paſſed the Commons upon the 26th of *November*, and was ſent up the Lords, who agreed to it.

As the Lords joined with the Commons in paſſing this Repeal, ſo did the Commons join with the Lords in their Vote the 4th of *January*, *viz.*

Reſolution of both Houſes of Parliament. *Reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That they do declare that they are fully ſatisfied, that there now is, and for divers Years laſt paſt there has been, a horrid and treaſonable Plot and Conſpiracy, contrived and carried on by thoſe of the Popiſh Religion* in Ireland, *for maſſacring the* Engliſh, *and ſubverting the Proteſtant Religion, and antient eſtabliſhed Governmen of that Kingdom.* To which the Commons added, *That*

the

the Duke of York *being a Papiſt, and the Expectation that* A.D. 1681.
Party had of his coming to the Crown, hath given the great-
eſt Encouragement to the Popiſh Plot, as well in Ireland *as*
here.

But the Lords ran counter to the Commons in the Bill entituled, *An Act for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion*, by diſabling *James* Duke of *York* to inherit the Imperial Crown of *England*, and Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; for after the Reading it the firſt time in the Houſe of Lords, and the Queſtion being put, whether it ſhould be read a ſecond time, it was reſolv'd in the Negative by above a double Majority of Votes.

If the Lords and Commons ran counter in ſome things, the King and Commons ran counter almoſt in every thing. The King's main End in calling this Parliament, was to get Money for the Preſervation of *Tangier*, and in perfecting the Alliance he had made with *Spain*. The Commons would not give any Money upon the account of *Tangier*, for three Reaſons: One was, For that as the State of the Nation ſtood, it might augment the Strength of the *Popiſh* Party, and encreaſe the Danger of the Nation: Another was, There were ſeveral Regiments beſides the Guards in pay in *England*, which might be tranſported to *Tangier* with little Charge, and be maintained there as cheap as here: And the third was, That that Garriſon was the Nurſery of Popiſh Officers and Soldiers.

The Commons would not give Money for the pretended Alliance of mutual Obligations of Succour and Defence of *Spain*, for three Reaſons: 1. The Jealouſy they had of the King's Sincerity in this Alliance, and the more, becauſe the King did not declare to them what manner of Alliance this was, and it might be more to the Prejudice than Benefit of this Kingdom; or if it ſhould have been to the Benefit of the Kingdom, they could have no more aſſurance of the Performance of it, than they had of the Triple League, that made with the Prince of *Orange*, or that made between the King and *States of Holland* by Mr. *Tyn* on the King's part, which were all broken almoſt as ſoon as made.

A. Reg. 33. The Impoſſibility of any Benefit which could ariſe to *England* and *Spain* by ſuch an Alliance; for if all *Chriſtendom*, after the ſeparate Peace which the King joined with the *Dutch* Faction in, could not uphold *Spain* and the *Spaniſh Netherlands* from falling under the Dominion of the *French*, how could the King, in the feeble and diſtracted State of the Nation, be in a condition to ſupport it without them?

3. The Unreaſonableneſs of giving Money upon this Account; for tho' oftentimes the Kings of *England* have demanded Supplies for maintaining vaſt Wars, yet never any King of *England* before demanded Supplies for making Alliances, and not declare what ſuch Alliances were.

But if any ſuch mutual Alliances of Succour and Defence were made between our King and the King of *Spain*, I am ſure they were ill obſerved by the King; for two Years after, *viz.* 1682, the *French* blocked up the City of *Luxemburgh*, and the next Year took *Courtray*, (one of the ſix Towns delivered back to the *Spaniard*, by *Beverning*'s ſeparate Treaty for the Confederates) and keeps to this Day; and ſo the *French* King does *Luxemburgh*, which he took by plain Force from the *Spaniard* the next Year after, *viz.* 1684. I wiſh I could find any mutual Succour of Defence the King gave the King of *Spain* in any of theſe, either by this Alliance, or as the King was Guarantee in the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, which in his Proclamation againſt the *Dutch*, in the ſecond *Dutch* War, he declared he would maintain.

Nor did the Commons only run counter to the King's Deſigns of getting Money, but conſidering the dangerous and weak ſtate of the Kingdom, as by the Debt the King had contracted by ſhutting up the *Exchequer*, and his ſquandring away almoſt all the antient Revenues of the Crown; and to prevent the like upon the Revenue ſettled upon the King ſince his Reſtoration, upon the 7th of *January* reſolved, 1. *That whoſoever ſhall lend or cauſe to be lent, by way of Advance, any Money upon the Branches of the King's Revenue, ariſing by Cuſtoms, Exciſe, or Hearth-money, ſhall be adjudged a Hinderer of the Sitting of Parliaments, and be reſponſible for the ſame.* 2. *That whoſoever ſhall accept or buy any*

Reſolves of the Commons againſt lending the King Money.

Tally

Tally or Anticipation upon any part of the King's Revenue; A.D. 1681. *or whosoever shall pay such Tally hereafter to be struck, shall be adjudged to hinder the Sittings of Parliaments, and be responsible therefore in Parliament.*

Now let's see wherein the King run counter to both Lords and Commons. After the Lords had agreed with the Commons in the Repeal of 35 *Eliz.* the Bill was taken from the Lords Table, and never heard of after, which no Man durst have done without the King's Command, at least Privity. Herein you may observe the Insincerity of the King's Indulgences, for dispensing with the Penal Laws against Dissenters, when he nourished those Ends by them which the Parliament dreaded; and now the Parliament would have legally eased them, the Bill must be ravished away.

Here is a greater Wonder yet to be told of this Parliament; for notwithstanding all these Discords between the Lords and Commons, and the King and the Lords and Commons, yet they all reconciled in making the Act against the Importation of *Irish* Cattel, &c. perpetual, thereby to perpetuate the Discords between the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, as much as those between *Whig* and *Tory*. And in this Posture of Affairs the King prorogu'd the Parliament from the 10th to the 20th of *January* 1681, and upon the 18th dissolved them. This Dissolution caused a great Amazement in the Nation; but in some measure to allay it, the King summons another to meet the 21st of *March* following at *Oxford*. This rais'd a Jealousy in the Nation and many of the Nobility, that there was some hidden Design nourished in the Court, which might have dangerous Influences upon the Nation and the Parliament too.

King petitioned against the Meeting of the Parliament at Oxford.

Hereupon 16 of the Nobility petitioned the King against the Meeting of the Parliament at *Oxford*; and my Lord of *Essex*, upon the Delivery of it, made a short Speech, which I believe was not forgotten afterwards.

The Lords in their Petition set forth, "That the "King, by divers Speeches and Messages to both "Houses of Parliament, declared to them the Dan"ger which threatned his Person and the whole King

A. Reg. 33. "Rom, from the miſchievous and wicked Plots of the "Papiſts, and the ſudden Growth of a foreign Power, "from which no Remedy could be provided, unleſs "by Parliament, and the uniting the King's Proteſtant "Subjects.

"That upon the 21ſt of *March* 1678, his Majeſty "having choſen a Council of many honourable Per- "ſons, declared to the Parliament and whole Nation, "That being ſenſible of the Evil of a ſingle Mini- "ſtry or private Advice, for the future he would re- "fer all things to that Council, with the frequent "Advice of his great Council of Parliament.

"That to their unſpeakable Grief, that Parliament "was ſoon after prorogued, and diſſolved before it "could perfect their intended Relief and Security to "the Nation; and though another were called, yet "they were not permitted to ſit till the 21ſt of *Oc- "tober* laſt, when his Majeſty declared, That neither "his Perſon nor the Kingdom could be ſafe till the "Plot was gone through; yet upon the 10th of *Ja- "nuary* following it was prorogued, whereby all their "pious Endeavours to ſave the Nation were over- "thrown, and the good Bills for uniting his Pro- "teſtant Subjects brought to nought, the Diſcovery of "the *Iriſh* Plot ſtifled, and the Witneſſes to prove "the ſame diſcouraged, whereby the Strength and "Courage of our Enemies both at home and abroad "are encreaſed, and ourſelves and Country left in "danger to be loſt and brought to Deſolation.

"That in theſe Extremities, under God they had "nothing to comfort them but the Hopes of the Par- "liament's meeting at the Day to which they were "prorogued; but that not only failed by their Diſ- "ſolution, but to call another at *Oxford*, where nei- "ther Lords nor Commons can be in Safety, but ex- "poſed to the Swords of Papiſts and their Adherents, "of whom too many were crept into his Majeſty's "Guards; the Liberty of Speaking deſtroyed, and "the Validity of their Acts left diſputable: That "the Straitneſs of the Place could not admit of the "Concourſe of People which follow the Parliament: "That the Witneſſes to give Evidence againſt the "Popiſh Lords and others, would be put to great

"Charge,

" Charges, which they cannot bear, nor truſt them- A.D. 1681.
" ſelves under the Protection of the Parliament, which
" itſelf is under the power of Guards and Soldiers;
" and therefore pray that the Parliament may meet
" and ſit at *Weſtminſter*. Sir *W. J. adds another Reaſon*;
" That the Meeting of the Parliament at *Oxford* would
" not have the Convenience of making uſe of the Jour-
" nals of the Houſes, and other Records.

I do not find what Anſwer the King gave the Lords, but he expreſſed his Diſpleaſure by a Frown: and how looſe ſoever he was in all his Promiſes to the Parliament, you'll ſee him ſteady in this of the Parliament's meeting at *Oxford*, yet not forget the Lords that petitioned him, whereof the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earls of *Bedford*, *Eſſex* and *Shaftsbury*, were four. But before we proceed to diſcover what was done in this ſhort Interval between the Diſſolution of this laſt *Weſtminſter* Parliament, and the Meeting of that at *Oxford*, it will not be amiſs to take the Reſemblance which was between the *Tories* and *Whigs* at this time, with the Prerogative-Men and Puritans during *Laud's* Regency in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt.

Heats between the Whigs and Tories.

In thoſe Times the Prerogative and high-flown Church-men, however they were countenanced and preferred by the Court, yet of all Factions were the leaſt conſiderable in the Nation, and had the leaſt Intereſt in it, even leſs than the Papiſts; and when they had by their Extravagancies and tyrannical Dominion, given ſuch a Reputation to the Puritan Party, as by Contradiction or Oppoſition of them to be able to raiſe a War in the Nation, they were not only leſs aſſiſting the King in it than the Papiſts, but generally ran counter, and they and their Sons joined with the Puritans againſt the King: So that the King being aſſiſted in the War by the Nobility and Gentry, who deſired to preſerve the Conſtitutions of the Church and State, and by the Papiſts, the Storm fell upon them without Diſtinction; ſo that theſe equally exaſperated againſt the Factions, upon King *Charles's* Reſtoration were eaſily reconciled to join againſt them: And thus it continued not only in the Body of the Nation, but in the Parliament for the firſt ten Years after the King's Reſtoration.

But

A. Reg. 33. But then the Popiſh Deſigns at Court beginning to appear almoſt bare-fac'd, the Commons began to talk about; but ſo did not the Lords, eſpecially the Lords Spiritual, who could not forget the Injury done, not only in their Perſons, but their whole Order, as well in throwing them out of the Lords Houſe, as extirpating Epiſcopacy: and the King having multiplied a Nobility of his Favourites, theſe joined with the Biſhops (who yet maintained the King's abſolute Power, under a new Title of *Paſſive Obedience* to it) had a great Majority oppoſite to the Commons.

As *Laud*'s Inſtruments had the Dominion of the Preſs, whereby they vented all their Spight againſt the *Puritans*, and perſecuted them if they made any Anſwer, ſo did the *Tories*; and as *Laud*'s Faction ſtigmatized all others (except Papiſts) which were not of their Faction, with the Name of *Puritans*, ſo did the *Tories* all other but Papiſts, with the Name of *Whigs*. But herein the *Tories* in this Reign had a great Advantage above the Prerogative-men in King *Charles* the Firſt's Reign; for this Prince was of a more parſimonious Nature, not at all becoming ſo great a Prince, and had not one third of the Revenue which his Son had, who profuſely ſcatter'd it amongſt his Minions and Favourites: And ſure it will ſet an ill Character upon his Memory, to have it left upon Record by what ſtrange ways to Honour and Juſtice, he made himſelf a Drudge to his Favourites to get Money from his Subjects to ſupport them; whilſt he became a Penſioner to the *French* King himſelf, and was ſo looſe in all his Leagues which he made with all other Princes and States.

After the *Popiſh Plot* broke out, and the King had diſſolved the Long Parliament, the whole Genius of the Nation became quite altered, as plainly appeared in their Election of the Commons in theſe two ſucceeding *Weſtminſter* Parliaments, who for their Quality were equal to any Houſe of Commons that ever was before; and the *Tories* have now as little an Intereſt in the Nation as the Prerogative-men had in K. *Charles* the Firſt's Reign in *Laud*'s Regency.

However

However the *Tories* were balked of the Expectation of their Penſions, by the Commons giving no Money in theſe two laſt Parliaments; yet they abated nothing of their Impudence in making all but themſelves and the Papiſts to be *Whigs*; and that all was now running back to Forty One, and into a Commonwealth. In this Diſguiſe, ſince the Meal-Tub Plot had no better Succeſs, one *Fitz-Harris*, the Son of Sir *Edward Fitz-Harris* (both *Iriſh* and *Papiſts*) ſets up another like that of the Meal-Tub, but was carried on with higher Countenance; for the Counteſs of [illegible] was the greateſt concerned in that. This *Fitz-Harris* was a great Correſpondent with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and her Woman Mrs. *Wall*, and the Confeſſor of the *French* Ambaſſador; and the Dutcheſs had ſeveral times ſupplied him with Money. He became acquainted with one *Everard* beyond Sea, where they were in the *French* King's Service: There was a ſtrange Story of this *Everard*, for after the King's Reſtoration he was for about three Years kept in a dark Dungeon in the *Tower*, where, 'tis ſaid, the Nails of his Fingers and Toes grew like the Talons of a Hawk. About the Beginning of *February*, after the Parliament was diſſolved, *Fitz-Harris* renews his Acquaintance with *Everard*, and repreſented to him the Advantages he might have by forſaking the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and ingratiating himſelf into the *French* and *Popiſh*. He told him he might be ſerviceable to this Intereſt if he would make a Pamphlet, which reflected upon the King, to alienate him from the People, and the People from him. *Everard* ſaid he would do any thing for his Intereſt, but did not underſtand this to be ſo; yet *Fitz-Harris*, upon the 21ſt of *February*, gave ſome Heads, by Word of Mouth, to draw ſuch a Pamphlet. A.D. 1681. Fitz-Harris's *Plot*.

Everard acquaints ſeveral with what *Fitz-Harris* had ſaid, and perſuaded one Mr. *Smith*, in a concealed manner, to hear the further Diſcourſe between them; *Everard* alſo perſuaded Sir *William Waller* to be there in like manner. On the 22d *Smith* came, but *Waller* did not: There *Fitz-Harris* gave *Everard* Inſtructions, that the King and all the Royal Family muſt be traduced

to

A. Reg. 33. to be Popiſhly and Arbitrarily affected from the Beginning; that *Charles* the Firſt had a Hand in the *Iriſh* Rebellion; and that *Charles* the Second countenanced the ſame by preferring *Fitz-Gerald*, *Fitz-Patrick*, and *Mont-Garret*, who were in the *Iriſh* Rebellion; that the Act forbidding the calling the King a Papiſt, was to ſtop People's Mouths, when he ſhould incline to further Popery, which appeared by his adhering ſo cloſely to the Duke of *York*'s Intereſt, and hindering him from being proceeded againſt in Parliament, and hindering the Officers put in by the Duke, to be caſt out; and for that the Privy Counſellors and Juſtices of the Peace which were for the Proteſtant Intereſt, were turned out of all Places of Truſt; and that it was as much in the Peoples Power to depoſe a Popiſh Poſſeſſor as a Popiſh Succeſſor; and ſeeing there were no Hopes the Parliament, when they ſhould meet at *Oxford*, could do any Good, the People were bound to provide for themſelves. They agreed to meet there the next Day; but *Everard* ſent a Letter to Sir *William Waller* to come concealed, to take notice of the Paſſages; Before Sir *William* was placed, *Everard* gave him two Copies of the Inſtructions *Fitz-Harris* gave him to draw up into a Libel, which Sir *William* marked.

Soon after *Fitz-Harris* came and enquired of *Everard* what he had done; who anſwered, he had drawn two Copies of the Buſineſs, and prayed *Fitz-Harris* to ſee how he liked them: *Fitz-Harris* altered one of them, yet thought it not full enough, but would have it fair wrote out for the *French* Ambaſſador's Confeſſor. After that, *Everard* deſired *Fitz-Harris* to give him his Inſtructions in Writing, in which Paper *Fitz-Harris* wrote, *That it was in the Peoples Power to depoſe a Popiſh Poſſeſſor, as well as a Popiſh Succeſſor*, and other treaſonable Heads. Next Day *Fitz-Harris* came to *Everard* for a Copy fair writ, which was delivered to him, who promiſed *Everard* a Recompence; but *Everard* ſhould be brought into the Cabal, where ſeveral Proteſtants and Parliament-Men were to give an Account to the *French* Ambaſſador of what was tranſacted. But before *Fitz-Harris*

was

was to receive the Libel back, he was to go to my A.D. 1681.
Lord *H*——— of *Eſcrick*.

Before this, *Fitz-Harris* had received of the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* 250 *l.* to bring my Lord *H*——— to the King's Intereſt, Mrs. *Wall* ſaid; which *Fitz-Harris* purſued ſo well, that my Lord waited ſeveral times upon the Dutcheſs, and found the King there; and the Night before my Lord *Stafford*'s Sentence, *Fitz-Harris* came to my Lord from the King, and told him, that the King would take it as a great Reſignation of my Lord to his Will and Pleaſure, if my Lord would go vote for my Lord *Stafford*.

This Deſign was to be carried on in the Name of the Non-conformiſts, and put upon them, and to be diſperſed by the Penny Poſt to the Proteſting Lords, and leading Men in the Houſes of Commons, who were to be taken and ſearched ſo ſoon as they received it. *Everard* ſaid the Court had a Hand in it, and that the King had given *Fitz-Harris* Money, and would give him more if it had Succeſs; the King told Sheriff *Corniſh*, that *Fitz-Harris* had three Months before his Apprehenſion been with the King, and acquainted him that he was in purſuit of a Plot, which much related to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government.

Sir *William Waller* acquainted the King with the Particulars he had taken; the King thank'd him, and commanded Secretary *Jenkins* to iſſue out a Warrant for apprehending *Fitz-Harris*, and Sir *William* to take care for the Execution of it. Sir *William* was no ſooner gone, but Sir *William* ſaid he was informed by two worthy Gentlemen, that the King was highly offended with him; and the King ſaid he had broken all his Meaſures, and that he would have taken him off one way or other.

Sir *William* having apprehended *Fitz-Harris*, he was committed to *Newgate*, where he was examined by Sir *Robert Clayton* and Sheriff *Corniſh*, to whom *Fitz-Harris* declared his Willingneſs to diſcover the whole Deſign the next Day after: But next Day he was removed to the *Tower*, which was not done to Sir *Thomas Gaſcoign*, and the Popiſh Lords.

Upon

A. Reg. 33. Upon the 21ſt of *March* the Parliament met at *Oxford*; the Members of the Commons were generally the ſame as the laſt Parliament, and thoſe which were not, were of the ſame Kidney; ſo that they proceeded where the laſt Commons left, and ſat but ſeven Days, wherein they had theſe four Things under Debate; firſt, the preparing a Bill againſt the Duke of *York*'s Succeſſion; the ſecond, taking the Bill of the Repeal of the Act of 35 *Eliz.* out of the Houſe of Lords; the third, an Inquiry into *Fitz-Harris*'s Buſineſs; the fourth, a Proſecution againſt the impeached Lords in the *Tower*.

It was *Thurſday* the 24th of *March* before they entred upon any Buſineſs; and being diſſolved upon the *Monday* following, they could make but little Progreſs upon the four Particulars aforeſaid; and each of them was ſo green, that the Court would not endure much Enquiry into any of them.

Upon the Debate of *Fitz-Harris*'s Buſineſs, one of the Members reported how that one *Hubert* confeſſed, that he had fired the City of *London*, upon which the Houſe reſolved to examine him next Morning, but before the Houſe ſat next Morning, *Hubert* was hanged to prevent it: And they remembred there was a Deſign to have tried the Popiſh Lords in the Tower by Indictment, to prevent which the Commons exhibited general Impeachments againſt them, with that Succeſs that the Lords were never tried upon Indictments, and the Judges gave their Opinions they could not.

Impeached by the Commons. Hereupon the Commons ordered an Impeachment of him on *Friday* the 25th, and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* to carry it up to the Lords, who at firſt refuſed it, ſaying, *The ſending of me upon this Meſſage reflects upon my Maſter the King, and do what you will I will not go.* Upon which ſeveral moved to call him to the Bar, and ſeveral Speeches were made of his Offence; but at laſt he relented, and carried it to the Lords, who threw it out. And the Commons next Day ran high in their Debates upon it: One ſaid, this was to have no further uſe of a Parliament, but to ſerve a preſent Purpoſe: Another, Indictments were brought againſt the Lords in the *Tower*, yet that was no Impediment

pediment againſt their Impeachment in the Lord's House; and the laſt Day of the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, the Lords accepted an Impeachment of the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*; and that this Denial of Juſtice by the Lords, was greater than *Scroggs*'s Denial of taking Preſentments from the Grand Inqueſt of *Middleſex*, by how much the Commons of Parliament are the great Inqueſt of the Nation. Another, this is a new Plot againſt the Proteſtants, of which *Fitz-Harris* is accuſed, and the Commons impeach him, and the Lords ſay, *We will not bear it*; and that if it were not for the Lords, *Fitz-Harris might have diſcovered all the Conſpiracy, and the Proteſtant Religion might have been ſaved*; and therefore moved, *That the denying this Impeachment, tends to the Subverſion of the Conſtitution of the Parliament, and of the Proteſtant Religion.* A.D. 1681.

Another ſaid, That this was a Confirmation of the Deſign to murder the King, and the Duke conſenting to deſtroy his own Brother, and our King; and therefore moved, "That if any Judge, Juſtice, or "Jury, proceed upon *Fitz-Harris*, and he be found "Guilty, that the Houſe would declare him guilty "of his Murder, and Betrayers of the Rights of "the Commons of *England*:" To which was added upon the Motion of Sir *W. J.* "or that any in-"ferior Court ſhall proceed, *&c.* which was paſſed."

The Reaſon of theſe Votes were, That if *Fitz-Harris* were tried upon an Indictment, he muſt have been tried ſingly upon the Fact, whether he were guilty or not of contriving and diſperſing the Libel, but upon an Impeachment the Commons might enquire into the whole Conſpiracy.

Monday 28, in the Morning, the King came ſuddenly and unexpectedly to the Houſe of Peers, ſent for the Commons and diſſolved the Parliament, and immediately took Coach, and drove to *Windſor*, leaving both Houſes in Amaze, and the City of *Oxford* in a Hubbub. Oxford *Parliament diſſolved.*

If it were Sir *William Jones* who wrote the *juſt and modeſt Vindication of the two laſt Parliaments*, he ſays, *The Peers at* Oxford *were ſo wholly ignorant of the Council, that they never thought of a Diſſolution, till they heard*

A. Reg. 33. *heard it pronounced*; yet the Dutcheſs of *Mazarine* publiſhed the News at St. *James*'s many Hours before it was done.

If the Nation, as well as the Parliament and City of *Oxford*, were amaz'd at this Diſſolution, and Manner of it; they were not leſs with the Declaration that followed it; which, though the King did not communicate to the Council till *Friday* the eighth of *April*, yet the next Page ſays, Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, read it to a Gentleman upon the fifth of *April* before, and demanded his Opinion of it, which the Ambaſſador might better remember, becauſe of the great Liberty the Gentleman took in ridiculing it to his Face.

King's Declaration upon it. It's obſervable, that that Declaration was printed in *French* as well as *Engliſh*, and had many *Galliciſms* in it, and particularly, *That it was a Matter extremely ſenſible to us*, which was a Form of ſpeaking peculiar to the *French*, and unknown to any other Nation.

The Subſtance of the Declaration contained the Diſſatisfaction the King took at the two *Weſtminſter* Parliaments, that they gave him no ſuitable Return to ſupport the Alliances which he had made for the General Peace of *Chriſtendom*; nor for the further Examination into the Plot; nor for the Preſervation of *Tangier*; and for their Votes, " That no Man ſhould " lend any Money upon any Branches of the Re- " venue, or buy, or pay, any Tally of Anticipation " of any part of the King's Revenue. (This was " not ſo, for the Commons reſtrained them to the " Cuſtom, Exciſe, and Chimney-Money given for " other Ends; ſee the Votes.) That they paſſed a " Vote, *That the proſecuting of Proteſtant Diſſenters* " *was a Grievance to the Subject*, &c. by which they aſſumed to themſelves a Power of ſuſpending Laws. " So the Commons might do any other Law found " by Experience to be grievous and dangerous to " the Subject, and muſt do ſo in order to repeal " ſuch Laws; and did not the King do ſo twice be- " fore by his Declaration of Indulgence, though to a " contrary End to what the Commons intended?"

That theſe Proceedings cauſed him to diſſolve that Parliament, and to aſſemble another at *Oxford*,

who had warning given them of the Errors of the former, and were required to make the Law of the Land their Rule; and adding, that he would not depart from what he had formerly declared concerning the Succeſſion, yet ſaid he was ready to hearken to any Expedients by which the Religion eſtabliſhed might be preſerved, yet the Monarchy preſerv'd, *viz. How to preſerve Fire and Water mingled together.* A.D. 1681.

That no Expedient would be entertained but a total Excluſion; *nor could be, nor did the King ever propound any, how otherwiſe the eſtabliſhed Religion might be preſerved.* That the Buſineſs of *Fitz-Harris* was carried to that Extremity, that there were no Hopes of a Reconciliation, *&c.* and put the Houſes out of a Capacity of tranſacting Buſineſs.

However the King ſays, that notwithſtanding the Malice of ill Men, who laboured to perſuade the People that he intended to lay aſide the Uſe of Parliaments, he declared that no Irregularity in Parliament ſhould make him out of love with them, and that he was reſolved to have frequent Parliaments *(yet lived near four Years after, and never called another)* and in the Intervals would uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to extirpate Popery, and redreſs the Grievances of his Subjects. (The Truth of this will beſt appear hereafter.)

This Declaration, which carries the Title of, *His Majeſty's Declaration to all his Loving Subjects*, was ordered to be read in all the Churches of *England*; but if the Matter of it were ſo ſurprizing and amazing to the Nation, the Manner of it was not leſs. For never any King of *England* before, as King, no not this King's Father or Grandfather, ever ſpake to his Subjects, but either perſonally in Parliament, or under the Broad Seal of *England*: Whereas this Declaration is only ſigned *Francis Gwyn*, it might have been as well *Edward Coleman*, and the Subjects as much obliged to have taken notice of the one as of the other. *Remarks on the Declaration.*

And the Reaſon is twofold: one, That the Chancellor, or Keeper, is reſponſible if he puts the Seal to any Declaration or Proclamation not warranted

A. Reg. 33. by Law; and therefore my Lord Chancellor *Finch*'s *Sagacity*, in not putting the Seal to this Declaration, was as apparent as his *Veracity*, which he would not expose in seconding the King's Speech at the opening the last *Westminster Parliament*: And the other is to avoid all Impostures and Cheats, which might otherwise be imposed upon the Nation, under the Name of the King.

It's fit now we look into *Scotland*, and see what's doing there for the Discovery of the Popish Plot. When the Duke of *York* came into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Argyle* was one of the first that waited upon him.

Earl of Argyle's Case. He was Son of the Earl of *Argyle*, after made Marquess by King *Charles* the First, who so preferred him, to take him off from heading the *Kirk-Party*, and thereby to oblige him to become of the King's side; which had no Effect, for the Marquess above any other of the *Scottish* Nobility, was a most zealous Assertor of the *Kirk*'s Power, and was the Head of them when *Montross* took up Arms against them; but though the Marquess was most unfortunate in it, yet it no ways abated his Zeal to the *Kirk*, nor was he less esteem'd by them.

After *Cromwel* had overthrown Duke *Hamilton* in *Lancashire*, the Marquess of *Argyle* was the principal Agent to call him into *Scotland* to suppress the *Hamiltonian Faction*, and to establish the *Kirk*, which *Cromwel* then did; and for this the Marquess was, the first Year after the King's Restoration, condemned and executed for High-Treason, upon which he lost all his Honours as well as his Estate. But his Son, the Lord *Lorn*, run counter to him, and when this King *Charles* was in *Scotland*, he was of all other the most obsequious to him; and afterward when *Middleton* made some Incursions thither for the King, *Lorn* was most assisting in them. Hereupon, after the Marquess was attainted and executed, King *Charles* restored his Son to all his Father's Estate and Honours, except that of Marquess.

Afterward the Earl of *Argyle* continued constant in his Integrity to the King in all his Civil Affairs, and was most zealous and forward in suppressing Tumults, and Field-Conventicles; so that before

the Duke came into *Scotland*, the King had ſo entire a Confidence in him, that he gloried that in thirty Years he never received one Frown from him. A.D. 1681.

The Earl of *Argyle* was one of the Lords of the Articles, and by the Duke made one of the Committee for the Articles of Religion, which by the Cuſtom of *Scotland*, and by the King's Inſtruction was the firſt thing treated of. In this Committee an Act was prepared for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, which approved the Confeſſion of Faith; and alſo the Act containing the Coronation-Oath, to be taken by all the Kings and Regents of *Scotland*, before their Entry to exerciſe their Government. This was drawn leſs binding to the Succeſſor, as to his own Profeſſion; yet obliged as ſtrongly the Maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion in the publick Profeſſion by all others; and added a Teſt to be taken by all in publick Employments, to exclude the Popiſh Party out of them: And becauſe in a Popiſh Succeſſor's Reign all Fines and Forfeitures by Papiſts would be inſignificant, *viz.* remitted, it ordain'd, that ſuch Fines and Forfeitures, one half ſhould be to the Informers, the other to charitable Uſes. But the Act being ſo contrary to the Duke's Deſign, the Committee of Religion was diſcharged from meeting again; and another ſhort Act brought into Parliament, ratifying all former Acts for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion: So that in this firſt Act the Duke purſued not his Inſtructions, but went contrary to them, and to the Cuſtom of *Scotland*.

At the paſſing this Act the Earl of *Argyle* propoſed that all Acts againſt Popery might be added, which was oppoſed by the King's Advocate, and ſome of the Clergy; yet ſeconded by Sir *George Lockhart*, and the Preſident of the Seſſions, it paſſed without a Vote: But ſuch was the Jealouſy of the Parliament, that this did not ſecure the Eſtabliſhed Religion, that ſeveral of the Members deſired other Additions and Acts, which the Duke in open Parliament promiſed, when Time and Opportunity offered, ſhould paſs; but when at any time this was propoſed, the Teſt was obtruded.

A. Reg. 33. If the Parliament were ſo zealous to ſecure the Eſtabliſhed Religion, the Duke was not leſs to ſecure the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Scotland*, ſhrewdly ſtruck at in *England*, in his very Perſon. And to that end a Bill was brought in and paſſed, wherein it was declared High-Treaſon to affirm that the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Scotland* can be altered from the next of Proximity of Blood.

This Act was not only thus contrary to the Laws and Uſages of *Scotland*, but equivocal, if not contradictory to the Duke's Deſign: For there is a Difference between the next Heir and the next in Proximity of Blood; as if a Man had ſeveral Sons, and the eldeſt has a Son or Daughter, his Father living, and after his Father dies, his eldeſt Son's Son is Heir, and his other Sons and Daughters are next in Proximity of Blood; the Heir being a degree in Blood further removed from the common Anceſtor, than his Uncles or Aunts. And this was the Caſe of *Richard* II. of *England*, Son of the Black Prince, *Edward* the Third's eldeſt Son, who ſucceeded to the Crown of *England*, though his Uncles the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Lancaſter*, *York*, and *Cambridge*, were nearer of Blood to *Edward* the Third.

This Act for the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Scotland*, was ſucceeded by another called the Teſt, as contradictory to it ſelf, as contrary to the Act of Succeſſion, to be taken by all Perſons in publick Truſt, wherein they ſolemnly ſwear, in the Preſence of the Eternal God, whom they invoke as Judge and Witneſs of their ſincere Intention of this their Oath.

" That they own and profeſs the true Proteſtant " Religion contained in the Confeſſion of Faith, re- " corded in the firſt Parliament of King *James* the " Sixth, and believe the ſame to be founded on, " and agreeable to the written Word of God: That " they will adhere thereto, and endeavour to edu- " cate their Children therein, and never conſent to " any Change or Alteration contrary thereto; and " renounce all Popiſh and Fanatical Doctrines in- " conſiſtent with the ſaid Proteſtant Religion and " Confeſſion of Faith. And by this their ſolemn

" Oath

" Oath they ſwear, That King *Charles* the Second is A.D. 1681
" the only Supreme Governor of this Realm, over
" all Perſons, and in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſti-
" cal as Civil; and renounce all Foreign Juriſdic-
" tion of the Pope, or any other Perſon; and pro-
" miſe to bear true Faith and Allegiance to the King,
" his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, and to their Power
" to defend all their Rights and Prerogatives. And
" by this their ſolemn Oath they ſwear, they judge
" it unlawful for Subjects, upon Pretence of Refor-
" mation, or any Pretence whatſoever, to enter into
" any Covenants or Leagues, or to convene, &c. in
" any Council to treat of any Matter of State Ec-
" cleſiaſtical or Civil, without his Majeſty's ſpecial
" Command, or expreſs Licence; or to take up
" Arms againſt the King, or thoſe commiſſionated by
" him: That they will never riſe in Arms, or enter
" into ſuch Covenants or Aſſemblies: That there lies
" no Obligation upon them by the National Cove-
" nant, or the ſolemn League or Covenant, or any
" other way to endeavour any Change, or Altera-
" tion of the Government, either of Church or
" State, as by Law eſtabliſhed; and promiſe and
" ſwear to the utmoſt of their Power, to maintain
" the King's Juriſdiction againſt all deadly, and as
" they ſhall anſwer it before God: And that they
" took this Oath in the true and genuine Senſe and
" Meaning of the Words, without any Equivoca-
" tion, Mental Reſervation, or Evaſion, and never
" to accept of any Diſpenſation from any Creature.
" So God help them.

By theſe two Acts you may obſerve the *Scottiſh* Temper (whether it were natural, or in Contradiction to the *Kirk Party*, I will not ſay, nor how much higher it flew than the *Tory* in *England*) but becauſe of the Extraordinarineſs of them, it's fit to make ſome Reflections upon them. Such another Law as that of the Succeſſion, was made the twenty firſt of *Richard* the Second, in the Caſe of *Roger Mortimer*, which laſted not longer than the next Year, when the Law was not only repealed, but *Henry* the IVth ſucceeded contrary to it; whereas this continued for above eight Years after, when it not only loſt its

A. Reg. 33. Force, but another Face appeared in *Scotland*, and ſo continues in ſpight of this Law.

We have ſaid elſewhere, that all Oaths are aſſertory of the Truth of Things, Speech and Actions in time paſt, or promiſſory to do or forbear to do ſome Act in time to come: And now let's conſider what is Truth, and the End of an Aſſertory Oath.

Truth is proper to intellectual and reaſonable Creatures; and is either the Apprehenſion of intelligible Beings, as God, a Law, the Soul, Time, *&c.* which can never be the Objects of Senſe, and of the Cauſes and Conſequences of Intentions, Speech and Action, for Senſe is not of Futurity, but of preſent Things and Actions; the Conſequence or Inference will be whether good or bad, juſt or unjuſt, *&c.* However all intelligible Beings, and the Cauſes of Things and Actions are ever aſſumed, not ſworn to; and if another does not, nor will aſſent to them, ſwearing to the Truth of them will be to no purpoſe: So it is of the Conſequence of Speech and Actions; and if another be not convinced from the Reaſon of ſuch Conſequence or Inference, ſwearing it to be ſo will never do it.

But though ſenſible Things, Speech and Actions, are perceived by the Senſes, and underſtood to exiſt or be, yet theſe are known to be by ſome, and not by others; and in Juſtice and Judgment, the End of an Aſſertory Oath is to inform the Judge of the Truth of what a Man knows, which otherwiſe might be concealed: And here I ſay, that as God's Name in Religion, Piety and Juſtice, is to be invoked, when it is not in vain, but for God's Honour; ſo otherwiſe to uſe or abuſe his ſacred Name in vain, is diſhonourable to God, and makes it vile and contemptible. Now to the Teſt.

I ſolemnly ſwear in the Preſence of the Eternal God, whom I invoke as Judge and Witneſs of this my ſincere Intention of this my Oath, that I own and profeſs the true Proteſtant Religion contained in the Confeſſion of Faith, recorded in the firſt Year of King James *the Sixth.*

Here is a moſt horrible Swearing, and Invocation of God's ſacred Name, and yet neither an Aſſertory nor Promiſſory Oath; for an Aſſertory Oath, is of ſome

ſome Act or Speech in time paſt, which was tran- A.D. 1681.
ſient, and not when the Oath was taken; and a Promiſſory Oath is of time to come: Whereas in this Oath the Taker ſwears in the preſent time he does own the Proteſtant Religion recorded in the Confeſſion of Faith in the firſt Year of King *James* the Sixth. I believe there is ſuch a Record, intituled, *The Confeſſion of Faith*, in the firſt Year of King *James* the Sixth, becauſe *Spotiſwood*, and other *Scotiſh* Authors ſay ſo: But to ſwear by the Eternal God, that it contains the true Proteſtant Religion (when the Name is not in it) is ſuch an implicit Faith as can ſcarce be found in the moſt ſuperſtitious in the Church of *Rome*. Chriſtian Faith is a Belief of God's Revelations in the Scriptures; to which if any add or diminiſh, his Name ſhall be blotted out of the Book of Life, *Rev.* xxii. 18, 19. But where the *Scots* found their Confeſſion of Faith in the firſt Year of King *James*, *Knox* no where tells, though he was the Founder of it.

And I believe the ſame to be agreeable to the written Word of God. But what need you ſwear by the Eternal God you do ſo? If you demonſtrate or give the Reaſon of your Belief, which you do not, this might convince another, which your ſwearing never will.

That I will adhere thereto, and endeavour to educate my Children therein. The more obſtinate Man you, and ſo much the worſe for your Children.

And never conſent to any Change or Alterations thereto. This might have been left out; for if you adhere to it, you cannot conſent to any Change or Alteration.

And renounce all Popiſh and Fanatical Doctrines inconſiſtent with the ſaid Proteſtant Religion, and Confeſſion of Faith. I take a Renunciation to be a Diſclaimure of what was before; ſo that if you renounce all Popiſh and Fanatical Doctrines, &c. it ſeems before you owned them; yet you neither tell what theſe Popiſh and Fanatical Doctrines are, or wherein they are inconſiſtent with the Proteſtant Religion and Confeſſion of Faith; or how you come to know ſo; and if

A.Reg. 33. you do not, it ill becomes you to proſtitute God's ſacred Name, to ſwear to what you do not know.

And by this my ſolemn Oath I ſwear that King Charles *the Second is the only Supreme Governor of this Realm over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.* By which of your Senſes do you know this, by your ſeeing, ſmelling, touching or taſting? Or if it be by another's having told you ſo, will you ſwear to whatever another tells you? Or if another ſhould tell you that King *Charles* the Second is not the only Supreme Governor, &c. will you ſwear by the Eternal God he is not ſo? Or if King *Charles* ſhould be dead when you are ſwearing this, which he may, for ought you know, how long will you hold of this Mind?

And that I renounce (what, again?) *all Foreign Juriſdiction of the Pope, or any other Perſon.* If I cannot take your Word, I'll not think the better of it for your ſwearing to it.

And promiſe to bear true Allegiance to the King, his Heirs, and Lawful Succeſſors. 'Tis well if you hold long in this Mind; but before you renounced all Foreign Juriſdiction of the Pope, ſuppoſe (and be not affrighted at it) King *Charles* the Second, and his Lawful Succeſſor, ſhould now be contriving the bringing in this Foreign Juriſdiction; how by the Eternal God, would you bear Faith and Allegiance to them herein?

And to my Power defend all their Rights and Prerogatives, &c. Yet you neither declare what theſe Rights and Prerogatives are, which you ſwear to defend; and 'tis twenty to one you do not know theſe Rights and Prerogatives; and ſo you ſolemnly ſwear to you know not what: Or ſuppoſe the King and his Lawful Succeſſor ſhould ſay it was one of his Prerogatives to bring in the Papal Juriſdiction; how would this conſiſt with your ſolemn Faith and Allegiance to the King and his Lawful Succeſſor, and your renouncing all Foreign Juriſdiction?

And I judge it unlawful for Subjects, upon Pretence of Reformation, or any Pretence whatſoever, to enter into any Covenants or Leagues, or to convene, &c. in any Council,

Council, to treat of any Matter Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, with- A.D.1681
out his Majeſty's ſpecial Command, and expreſs Licence, or to take up Arms againſt the King, or thoſe commiſſionated by him. So that here you judge without any Reaſon of your Judgment, and muſt have your Judgment paſs for current becauſe you ſwear to it.

That I will never riſe in Arms, or enter into ſuch Covenants or Aſſemblies. For all your ſwearing to this, yet I believe my Lord Commiſſioner will not truſt to your Oath, and the rather becauſe you were ſo looſe to it in obſerving your ſolemn League and Covenant.

That there lies no Obligation upon me by the National Covenant, or ſolemn League and Covenant, or any other way to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government, either in Church or State, as now eſtabliſhed. Does there lie no Obligation upon you by the ſolemn League and Covenant, &c. to endeavour any Change or Alteration in Church or State? Why, you as ſolemnly ſware that as this; and by that you ſware to extirpate Prelacy, and here you ſwear never to endeavour any Change of it. Or do you think you pleaſe his Highneſs my Lord Commiſſioner herein, whoſe Buſineſs it is, not only to make Alterations, but to ſubvert your Church and State? And if you will make no Alterations in either, it will not be long before you ſhall ſee Alterations made in both without you.

And I promiſe and ſwear to maintain the King's Juriſdiction againſt all deadly, as I ſhall anſwer it before God. Why this again? For before you ſware to maintain all the King's Rights and Prerogatives, and what does the King's Juriſdiction add to them? However you are very prodigal of your Swearing; and if his Highneſs will not believe you for your Swearing before, you'll try how far he'll believe you now.

And that I take this Oath in the plain and genuine Senſe and Meaning of the Words, without any Equivocation, Mental Reſervation, or Evaſion, and never to accept of any Diſpenſation from any Creature. So God help me. This is well ſworn to interpret your Truth and Sincerity, eſpecially when the whole Oath is Confuſion, Equivocation or Contradiction, and not one plain and intelligible Sentence in it.

In

A. Reg. 33. In the Debates in Parliament for paſſing this Teſt, the Earl of *Argyle* declared his Opinion, That as few Oaths as could be ſhould be impoſed; and that the Oath of Allegiance and Declaration had effectually debarred all Fanaticks of getting into Places of Truſt; and though ſome Papiſts had ſwallowed the Oath, yet a Word or two of Addition to guard againſt them, was all he judged neceſſary.

The Earl oppoſed the diſpenſing with the King's Sons and Brother's taking the *Teſt*, for that the King and People were of one Religion, and hoped the Parliament would do nothing to looſe what was faſt, nor open a Gap for the Royal Family to differ in Religion; for their Example, if it once appeared to the People to be honourable, would have more Followers than a Thouſand others would have; and therefore wiſhed, if any Exception were, it might be particular to his Highneſs: Which the Duke oppoſing, the Earl concluded, if it did paſs, it would do more hurt to the Proteſtant Religion, than all the reſt of the Acts, and many other Acts would do good.

This Plainneſs of the Earl was the Cauſe of all that befell him, as he was afterwards told by the Biſhop of *Edinburgh*; but the firſt Appearance of the Duke's Diſpleaſure, was two Bills given in againſt him, one by the Earl of *Errol*, the other by the King's Advocate, who acknowledged it to be done by Commandment, otherwiſe it was without his Line. Theſe ſtruck at the Earl's Eſtate and Honours; only that of *Errol* was, that the Earl's Eſtate might be liable to pay him and others for the Debts contracted by his Father: The Advocate's Claim was to all his Heritable Offices.

But the Duke being informed that a Judgment in this Caſe, would have expoſed the Marqueſs of of *Huntley*'s Eſtate, (who was a zealous Papiſt) he of his own accord put a full Stop to it; for he found, he ſaid, it did plainly impugn the King's Prerogative, and might be of ill Conſequence.

After this the Parliament was adjourned, and a new Deſign was to get a Commiſſion from the King, to review all the Earl's Rights and heritable Offices, and

and to charge his Eſtate for more than 'twas worth: A.D. 1681.
hereupon the Earl applied himſelf to the Duke againſt ſuch a Commiſſion, and intreated him, that if any quarrelled his Right, his Caſe might be remitted to the ordinary Judicatories; but this was not granted, yet the Duke was pleaſed to allow the Earl time to go into the Country to bring his Evidence, with a Promiſe no Commiſſion ſhould paſs till the Earl's Return.

But the Earl was no ſooner gone, but he and the Preſident of the Seſſions were turned out of it: Hereupon he wrote to the Earl of *Murray*, the King's Secretary, praying leave to wait upon the King, which he was pleaſed readily to grant; and upon his Return to *Edinburgh*, beg'd the ſame Favour of the Duke, who told him he might not kiſs the King's Hand till he had taken the *Teſt*.

Here you may obſerve, the Teſt was not to be taken by any but thoſe who bear Office, nor to be impoſed upon any before the Firſt of *January*, 1680, and this was about the beginning of *November*: And the Earl being acquainted, that one of the Clerks of the Council was appointed to ſummon the Earl to the Council the next Day, which he conceived to be to take the Teſt, he asked the Duke, if, with his Favour, he might not have the Allowance by the Act? The Duke told him no; the Earl urg'd it again in vain; all the Delay he could obtain was but till *Thurſday* the Third of *November*, the next Council-day of courſe: Then the Earl ſaid he was the leſs fond of the Teſt, becauſe he found ſome who had refuſed it, were ſtill in favour, and others, as the Regiſter, who had taken it, were turned out; at which his *Highneſs laught*. But how comes your Highneſs, ſaid the Earl, to preſs the Teſt ſo haſtily? Sure there are ſome things in it which your Highneſs does not overmuch like. To which the Duke anſwer'd angrily and in a Paſſion, moſt true, that the Teſt was brought into Parliament *without the Confeſſion of Faith*; but the late Preſident cauſed the *Confeſſion* to be put in, which makes it ſuch as *no honeſt Man can take it*; (which is a greater Contravention and depraving the Teſt, than the Perjury and Treaſon charg'd upon the Earl

A. Reg. 33. Earl for them;) then the Earl replied he had the more Reaſon to adviſe.

In this Interval the Earl ſpake with the Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, and ſaw his Explanation of the Teſt, and that of the Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, and the Synod's Explanation of the Teſt, and the Explanation of it by the Synod and Clergy of *Perth*, and that of the Earl of *Queensbury*; which as they differ all from one another, ſo were they printed and made publick; and which you may read at large in the Earl of *Argyle*'s Caſe.

It's obſervable, that tho' by the Teſt they ſwear the Confeſſion of Faith, recorded in the firſt of King *James* VI. *To be founded upon and agreeable to the Word of God, and that they will never conſent to any Change or Alteration thereto; and at laſt ſwear they take it in the plain and genuine Senſe and meaning of the Words without any Equivocation*; yet the Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, and the Synod, in the Second Article of their Explanation, ſay, *We do not hereby prejudge the Churches Right to, and Power of making an Alteration in the ſaid Confeſſion, as to the Ambiguity and obſcure Expreſſions thereof, or of making a more unexceptionable Frame*: And having made ſeveral other Exceptions, the Sixth Article concludes, *When we ſwear that we take the Teſt in the plain and genuine Senſe of the Words, &c. we underſtand it only ſo far as it does not contradict the Exceptions.*

And the Synod of *Perth* makes Four explanatory Exceptions to the Teſt; and the Fifth concludes, when we ſwear in the genuine and literal Senſe, we underſtand it *ſo far as the Teſt is not oppoſite or contradictory to the aforeſaid Exceptions*; and before they ſubſcribed this, they were allowed to inſert after the Oath, *We underwritten, do take this Oath, according to the Explanation made by the Council, approved by his Majeſty's Letter, and do declare we are no further bound by it.*

Thus things ſtood with others, when *Argyle*, upon the Second of *November* waited upon the Duke, and humbly beſought him to decline his preſent taking the Teſt: but if his Highneſs would have a preſent Anſwer, he beg'd that he would accept of the Earl's refuſing it in private, which the Duke denied; then the Earl deſired he might go home and conſider,

and

and he would either give Satisfaction, or the time prescribed by the Act of Parliament would elapse, and then he would go off in Course and without Noise, which the Duke absolutely refused: Upon which the Earl asked what good his appearing in Council to refuse there would do? to which the Duke answered, he need not appear, but employ some Friend to speak for him; and named one. A.D. 1681.

Hereupon the Earl drew a Letter to the Person the Duke named, wherein he expresst his constant Resolution to continue a true Protestant and loyal Subject, which were the true Ends of the Test: But the Letter concluding a Delay of taking the Test, and the Duke having given some Indication how little pleasing that Office would be to him; neither the Person named by the Duke, nor any Friend of the Earl's would by any means accept of it.

But the Earl being advised that an Explanation of the Test would be more acceptable, he drew a short one, and put it into his Pocket, but would not offer it till he knew the Duke's Pleasure; and being told by the Bishop of *Edinburgh*, it would be very kindly accepted, the Earl went into the Council-Chamber, and with an audible Voice, read his Explanation of his taking the Test, close by the Duke, whereupon it was administred to him, which the Duke accepted with a Smile, and commanded him to take his Place, which at that time was next the Duke; and the Duke spake several times privately to him, and always pleasantly: However, the Earl was so cautious, that after he had made the Explanation of the Test in Council, he would not communicate it to any other.

The Earl's Explanation was, *I have considered the Test, and I am desirous to give Obedience as far as I can. I'm confident the Parliament never intended any contradictory Oaths, therefore I think no Man can explain it but for himself; accordingly I take it as far as it is consistent with itself, and the Protestant Religion; and I do declare that I mean not to bind up my self in my Station, and in a lawful Way, to wish and endeavour, in a lawful Way, any Alteration I think to the Advantage of the Church and State, not re-*

A. Reg. 33. *repugnant to the Proteſtant Religion and my Loyalty; and this I underſtand as part of my Oath.*

And as the Earl was ſo cautious in not communicating his Explanation of the Teſt, ſo was it never ſo much as charg'd upon him that he ever diſwaded the Teſt, or diſſwaded any other from *taking it:* However, this muſt be the Ground-work for his, and only his Deſtruction; for, as was ſaid, many others had explained their taking the Teſt, much more contradictory than the Earl had done, and printed and publiſhed their Explanations.

Next Morning the Earl waited upon the Duke, expecting his Yeſterday's Countenance, and beginning to ſpeak, the Duke interrupted him, and ſaid he was not pleas'd with his Explanation: The Earl anſwered, he did not give it till the Duke allowed him: the Duke acknowledged the Biſhop of *Edinburgh* had told him, that he intended an Explanation; but the Duke ſaid, he thought it would have been a ſhort one, ſuch as the Earl of *Queensbury*'s: To which the Earl anſwered, he heard what he ſaid, and that the Earl ſaid the ſame thing in private to him; and the Earl going on to ſay more, the Duke interrupted him, ſaying, *It's paſt with you, but it ſhall paſs ſo with no other.*

The next Day after, the Earl was ſummoned again to the Council, to take the Teſt as one of the Lords of the Treaſury; and an extraordinary Council was held at the Abbey: Where, ſo ſoon as they were met, the Teſt was tender'd to the Earl, ſaying as before, when the Earl of *Roxburgh* ſtanding behind the Duke, and never heard to ſpeak in Council before, with Clamour, asked what the Earl of *Argyle* had ſaid? which the Duke told him; upon which *Roxburgh* deſired that what the Earl had ſaid the Day before, might be repeated, which at firſt he declined, till he was peremptorily commanded by the Duke; the Earl then ſaid, he had a Note of what he had ſaid in his Pocket, which the Duke commanded him to produce, which he did, and was willing to ſign it; but the new Lord Preſident (now made Chancellor) and the new made Regiſter, did not agree whether the Earl ſhould then ſign it, the Treaſon

not

not appearing, as when they talked of it in private: So the Earl was bid to withdraw, and when he was called in, he was poſitively required to ſign the Paper he had given in; to which the Earl anſwered, that if the Words did pleaſe them, as when they were given in, he wou'd; but if there were the leaſt Matter of Diſpleaſure in them, he would forbear: Whereupon he was removed, and being called in, he was told he had not given the Satisfaction required in the Act of Parliament, in taking the Teſt, and therefore could not ſit in Council: To which the Earl anſwered; that he judged all the Parliament meant, was to exclude the Refuſers among the Takers of the Teſt from their Places, to which he ſubmitted, and that as he had ſerved his Majeſty faithfully within doors, ſo he was reſolved to do without doors; and ſo made his Obeiſance and went out. But now the Earl ſaw his Eſtate, Life and Honour was ſtruck at, he communicated theſe Secrets to ſome for his own Vindication. A.D. 1681.

Upon the Fifth of *November*, the Earl waited upon the Duke again; and told him he was ſtrangly ſurprized, that the ſaying *he could not bind himſelf up in a lawful Way*, &c. as contained in the Paper, was looked upon as a Crime, whereas he had ſaid the ſame to him before without any Offence, and then the Duke then ſaid *they were unneceſſary Words; that the Earl ſcrupled needleſly; and that he was not tied up by that Oath as he imagined*; and that, after a little Pauſe, the Duke told him, *you have cheated yourſelf, you have taken the Teſt*: To which the Earl anſwered, then he hoped his Highneſs was ſatisfied: But the Duke, after ſome other Expoſtulations, told the Earl, *That he and ſome others had a Deſign to bring Trouble upon a Handful of poor Catholicks, that would live peaceably however they were uſed, but that it ſhould light upon others.*

Now the Deſign appears barefac'd: for, would you think it, the Earl having delivered the Explanation of his taking the Teſt, by the Duke's peremptory Command, this is interpreted a publiſhing of it. And upon the Eighth of *November*, a Council was called, and an Order ſent by one of the Clerks to the Earl; that before twelve a Clock next Day, he

A. Reg. 33. he ſhould enter himſelf a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and a Warrant was ſent to the Deputy Governor to keep him Priſoner; wherein the Word *Surfirmance*, tho' fairly writ, was ſtruck out: The Earl obeyed, and by himſelf alone, in a Hackney Coach, rendred himſelf a Priſoner accordingly: And now you'll ſee how abſolutely, in this deputed Authority, the Duke demeaned himſelf without Reſerve; What then might be expected from him in caſe he ſhould become King? And the Earl, ſome Days after he had rendered himſelf Priſoner, wrote to the Duke, how he had obeyed his Highneſs and the Council's Order, in rendring himſelf a Priſoner; and how that he wrote no ſooner, leſt he might be thought too impatient of Impriſonment, which appeared to be the Effects of high Diſpleaſure, which he hoped he no ways deſerved; and was reſolved to continue all Duty and Obedience to his Majeſty and Highneſs; and beg'd to know what Satisfaction was expected, where and how he might live in his Highneſs's Favour: to which no Anſwer was returned, but a Summons, charging the Earl with *leaſing making, and depraving of Laws:* And after another Summons came out, and publiſhed, with ſound of Trumpet, charging the Earl with Perjury and Treaſon; but when it was told the Duke that ſuch a Proceſs threatned the Earl's *Life and Fortune*; the Duke ſaid, *Life and Fortune! God forbid.*

The very Day, *November* the Eighth, that the Council ordered the Earl to render himſelf a Priſoner, the Council ſent a Letter to the King, wherein they ſent the Earl's Explanation of his taking the Teſt; and how they had commanded his Majeſty's Advocate to raiſe a Purſuit againſt the Earl upon it; yet expecting his Majeſty's Commands for their further Proſecution of it.

But the King might command what he pleaſed, his Commiſſioner and Council would do what they would with it: For before any Return of their Letter, they cauſed the King's Advocate to exhibit an Indictment againſt the Earl, upon the Points of *Slandering and Depraving:* And after the return of the King's Letter, they ordered a new Indictment againſt the

the Earl; containing, beſides the former Points, the Crimes of *Treaſon and Perjury*, before they acquainted the King with it. A.D. 1681.

The Earl thus mew'd up, that he might not give any Offence, twice petitions the Duke and Council, that Sir *George Lockhart* might be his Advocate to plead his Defence, yet both times refuſed. The Reaſon of theſe Petitions were; that without Leave none would dare to plead the Earl's Cauſe, for fear of the King's Diſpleaſure: However, by the Act, 11 *Jac.* 6, *Cap.* 90. *It is the undeniable Privilege of all Subjects accuſed for any Crimes, to provide themſelves Advocates, to defend their Lives, Honours, and Lands, againſt whatſoever Accuſation*: So by the 11 *Jac.* 6. *c.* 90. it is declared, *That in caſe Advocates refuſe, the Judges may compel them.* Hereupon the Earl drew up a Letter of Attorney, conſtituting *Alexander Dunbar* to require Sir *George Lockhart* to plead for him; which the Duke no ſooner heard, but ſaid, *If Sir* George Lockhart *plead for the Earl, he ſhall never plead for my Brother nor me.*

Earl of Argyle try'd.

But the Earl might ſet his Heart at reſt, for whatever Council he had, his Caſe was fore-judged, before heard: However, for Form's ſake, upon the Twelfth of *December* 1681, the Earl was brought by a Guard of Soldiers before the Juſtice Court, the *Earl* of *Queensbury* was Chief Juſtice General, and the Lords *Narin*, *Collingtoun*, *Newtoun*, and *Hirkhouſe*, Lords Juſticiary ſitting in Judgment.

The Earl, in his Defence, only claims the Privilege of the meaneſt Subject, tho' under an ill Character, to explain his own Words in the moſt benign Senſe; and how ſtrange and impoſſible it would be to believe he intended any thing, but what was ſuitable to the Principles of his Religion and Loyalty, though he did not expreſs himſelf at all. Then he enlarged, how from his Youth he had made it his Buſineſs to ſerve his Majeſty faithfully, conſtantly, and to his Power, eſpecially in all times of Difficulty; and never joined nor complied with any Intereſt or Party contrary to his Majeſty's Authority; and ſo, that he never received a Frown from his Majeſty theſe Thirty Years; and that even in this Parliament, how

A. Reg. 33. he had ſhewed his Readineſs to ſerve the King and Royal Family, in ſo vigorouſly aſſerting the Lineal Succeſſion of the Crown, and in offering Supplies to his Majeſty and Succeſſor; and that he had always kept his Tenants in Obedience to his Majeſty.

How ſtrange then is it, that Words ſpoken for the clearing his own Conſcience, ſhould be wreſted into Treaſon, eſpecially where the ſame was done before by many *Orthodox Clergy*, whole Presbyteries, Synods, and ſome Biſhops? ſo that an eminent Biſhop took the Pains to write a Treatiſe that was read over in Council, and allowed to be printed, and a Copy given to him, which contains all the Expreſſions he is charged for, and many more may be ſtretched to a worſe Senſe; and having wiſhed all Happineſs to the King, and a Continuance of the Lineal Succeſſion, left his Defence to his Advocates, Sir *George Lockhart* and Sir *John Dalrymple*: Then ſeveral Letters from General *Middleton* and the Earl of *Glencarn* were read, which teſtifyed the Earl's Loyalty and Services to the King.

The Treaſon charged upon the Earl in the Indictment, conſiſted of theſe ſix Heads. 1. *That the Earl conſidered the Teſt, and was deſirous to give Obedience to it, as far as he could*; clearly inſinuating thereby he was not able to give full Obedience. 2. *That he was confident the Parliament never intended contradictory Oaths*; thereby to inſinuate to the People, that the Parliament did impoſe contradictory Oaths. 3. *That every Man muſt explain for himſelf, and take it in his own Senſe*; whereby that excellent Law loſt its Obligations. 4. *That he took the Teſt ſo far as it was conſiſtent with itſelf and the Proteſtant Religion*; which depraved the Teſt, and miſrepreſented the King's Parliament's Proceedings in the higheſt Degree. 5. *That he did not mean, by taking the Teſt, to bind up himſelf from wiſhing and endeavouring any Alteration in a lawful Way which he ſhall think fit for advancing the Church and State*: where, by his Example, he invited others to be looſe from the Teſt, and to make Alterations. 6. *That he underſtood this as part of his Oath*; which was a Treaſonable Invaſion upon the Royal Legiſlative Power,

as

as if it were lawful for him to make to himſelf an Act of Parliament. A.D. 1681.

For the better underſtanding the Earl's Caſe, it's fit to conſider, Firſt, the Teſt was not to be impoſed upon any but thoſe who bear Office; and the Earl was deſirous to have laid down all his Offices, which was denied him. Secondly, it was not to be impoſed before the 1ſt of *January*; whereas all theſe Proceedings againſt the Earl upon the Teſt, were not only unwarrantable, but the Council uſurped the Royal Legiſlative Authority by impoſing the Teſt upon the Earl before. Thirdly, that this Explanation of the Teſt by the Earl, was by the Duke's Command and Allowance of the Council one Day, and the next Day made Treaſon for publiſhing it, the Earl being peremptorily commanded by the Duke to deliver the Explanation he had drawn in Writing to the Council.

1. The Earl's Council inſiſted, that the Earl having before always dutifully and loyally behaved himſelf to the King, his Words and Intentions ought to be interpreted in the beſt Senſe, and in his Favour.

2. That the Act againſt Leaſing-making, and depraving the King's Laws, were for plain Words and Speeches, tending to make Diſcords between the King and People, and were never intended againſt a Perſon in Judicature, required to give the true Senſe of a Law to the beſt of his Skill and Conſcience; and that it would be ſtrange in ſuch a Caſe that this ſhould be a Crime, if one Man differ from another; whereas oftentimes not only learned Lawyers, but the Judges themſelves differ about the Interpretation of Laws.

3. That the Act of Parliament does not impoſe the Teſt generally, but as a Qualification for thoſe who ſhall bear publick Office; and therefore it is juſt and commendable in any Perſon who has a Scruple of Conſcience upon him, to declare his Meaning in taking of it how he underſtands it; for matters not whether he errs or not, for *Conſcientia etiam erronea obligat*, eſpecially where a Man's Conſcience is oppoſite to his Intereſt, as in this Caſe, to loſe his Preferment; nor

A. Reg. 33. was this any Reflection by the Earl upon the Act of Parliament, nor their Prudence in impoſing the Teſt.

4. Tho' the Earl could not take the Teſt otherwiſe than he explained it; yet by the Act, there was no greater Penalty than that *Habetur pro recuſante*, he ſhould not hold his Places of Truſt.

5. That the Council allowed the Earl's Explanation, by bidding him take his Place, after he had made his Explanation.

6. The Earl's Explanation could not be treaſonable, *viz. Animo defamandi*, when as he only made it to the Council when required, whereas ſome Biſhops, whole Presbyteries and Synods had made Explanations of the Teſt, and in downright Terms charged it with Inconſiſtencies and Contradictions, and theſe allowed to be printed, before the Earl made his; and even the Council themſelves had made an Explanation of it, before the Earl was tried, tho' the Parliament was then in being, and this made publick. Q. *If this were not more Treaſon than the Earl's, tho' his Council durſt not ſay ſo?*

7. *That the Earl by making his Explanation, has aſſumed a Legiſlative Power:* To which it was anſwer'd, The Legiſlative Power extends to all, but the Earl's Explanation refers only to himſelf, how he underſtood he might take the Teſt; and this was done without any Diminution to the Legiſlative Power of making or interpreting Laws; and if the Legiſlative Power be not ſatisfied, it cannot extend any further than that the Earl ſhall be a Refuſer of the Oath, which is neither Treaſon nor Perjury, as was charged upon the Earl.

8. *That the Earl was ready to give Obedience as far as he could*, did not import the Parliament had impoſed an unlawful Oath: for here is no Impeachment of the Juſtice or Prudence of the Lawgiver; nor can any Law be ſo plain, eſpecially affirmative Laws, as this is, that every Man ſhall underſtand it alike; and if one Man declare one Senſe of it, and another otherwiſe, how does this become Treaſon in one or the other, or import the Injuſtice or Illegality of the Law?

9. *That*

9. *That the Earl was confident the Parliament never intended contradictory Oaths*; which was ſo far from being treaſonable, that, conſidering the plain downright Objections ſpread abroad of the Inconſiſtencies and Contradictions of the Teſt, it was a high Vindication of the Parliament. A.D. 1681.

10. *Therefore he thinks no Body can explain it but for himſelf*; which having no reference to any other, this cannot be taken for a diminution of the Parliamentary Authority, or depraving of the Law.

11. *That he takes it ſo far as it is conſiſtent with it ſelf, and the Proteſtant Religion*: If this be a Crime, the Earl is neither the Beginner nor Promoter of it; ſo many Biſhops, Synods, and Presbyteries having before printed it with Allowance from the Council: not the Promoter of it, for the Earl ſaid this only for himſelf, and was paſſive in it, being required by the Council to make his Explanation, and if they divulged it, 'twas their Fault.

12. *That he did not bind up himſelf in his Station, and in a lawful Way, to wiſh and endeavour any Alteration, he thinks to the Advantage of the Church or State, nor repugnant to the Proteſtant Religion and his Loyalty.* This has reference to the Earl in his Station, as he is a Peer of *Scotland*, who has not only a Right in Parliament to debate freely of any Law in being, but is a Member which has a Legiſlative Right and Vote to repeal as well as make Laws; and herein can no more bind up himſelf, than one Act of Parliament can bind another Parliament.

Note, The Earl does not ſay this is part of the Teſt-Oath, but part of his Oath in the Senſe he takes the Teſt, which makes no alteration of the Teſt.

The King's Advocate, Sir *George Mackenzy*, being one of the Conſpiracy in contriving the Earl's Deſtruction, you need not fear but he'll ſtrain his Wit to make good his Indictment of the Earl. *He begins with a long Invective againſt the juglin Covenant; and this excellent Law, the Teſt, was eſtabliſhed to prevent the like for the future: and that no Law is of private Interpretation, and if it were, Men would be looſe from Obedience to all Law; and concludes with a Lie, that there was no Force upon the*

A.Reg. 33. *Earl to take the Oath, that he took it for his own Advantage.*

It's true, no private Interpretation of any Law is of force to bind another; and whatſoever Interpretation another makes of any Law, it makes no Alteration in the Law: but if a Man be asked his Opinion of any Law, or Point in Law, and he gives it according to the beſt of his Skill, ſhall this be taken for Treaſon and depraving of the Law, and a Man be in danger of his Life for it? This was the *Earl*'s Caſe; he was called upon by the Duke to take the Teſt, with his Explanation before he did it; and whereas *Mackenzy* ſays there was no Force upon the Earl, I'm ſure, if my Author ſays true, the Earl refuſed to give in the Paper, whereof he is indicted, and proffered to lay down his Offices upon it, till the Duke peremptorily commanded him to do it: If this were not Force, I would know what *is*; I'm ſure there was no Force, but Corruption and Bribery upon the Advocate, to enter into this villainous Conſpiracy againſt this Noble Earl, to murder him under the Pretext of Juſtice, which is to be eſteemed ſacred. And let any Man read his whole Harangue, and ſee if there be any thing in it but forced and ſtrained Inferences; or any one Proof againſt the Earl, within the Act 60 *Parl.* 6. *Mary*, or the 9 *Act. Par.* 20. *Jac.* 6. which makes it Treaſon to make falſe Conſtruction of Laws to others, with a Deſign to raiſe Sedition and Diſſenſion among the King's Subjects; ſo that ſome Overt Act or Speech to others with a Deſign to raiſe Sedition, &c. muſt be proved; and not what is ſaid in the Council, or any Court of Judicature.

However, as was the Advocate, ſuch were the Aſſizers, whereof the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* (the Earl's Father's moſt bitter Enemy) was the Foreman, and the reſt of the Pack of the ſame Stamp; who, with one Voice, found the Earl guilty of *Treaſon*, *Leaſing-making*, and *Leaſing-telling*; but like conſcientious Men, having made the Earl to have forfeited his Life, Honour and Eſtate, by a Majority they find the Earl innocent of Perjury, which they could get nothing by.

Found guilty.

S3

So that the Noble Lord *Lorn* is become the *Forlorn* late Earl of *Argyle*; yet the Earl, not to be wanting to himſelf in this deplorable State, next Day but one, *viz. December* the 15th, by a Friend humbly intreated to ſpeak with the Duke: Who returned Anſwer, *It was not ordinary to ſpeak with Criminals, except with Rogues on ſome Plot, where Diſcoveries might be expected.* By this you may ſee what Spirit governed this Prince, and what might be expected from him, if he became King. A.D. 1681.

The next Day after the Earl's Sentence, *viz. December* the 14th, the Council gave the King notice of it, and expected his further Pleaſure, now the Work is done to his hand: But it ſeems his Highneſs was very impatient till he had the Earl's Blood; for he ſaid, *If the Expreſs from the King came not timouſly, he would take upon himſelf what was to be done*; by which you may ſee what an Aſcendency the Duke had over the King: However, the Earl upon the 16th, petition'd the Duke that he might ſend a Petition to the King, which was refuſed.

Things brought to this Extremity, and the Earl hearing that ſome Troops and a Regiment of Foot, were to be brought down from the Caſtle to the Common Goal, from which Criminals were uſually brought to Execution, he reſolved to try to make his Eſcape; and the rather, becauſe about Seven at Night he had notice, that new Orders were given for further ſecuring him, and that the Caſtle Guards were to be doubled, and that none were ſuffered to go out without ſhewing their Faces, and therefore a Friend adviſed him not to attempt it; *No*, ſaid the *Earl*, *now is the Time*; and ſo he attempted it, and it pleaſed God he eſcaped. *Makes his Eſcape.*

Hereupon the Lords of Aſſize, upon the Twenty third of *December*, pronounced the *Earl* guilty of the Crimes of *Treaſon, Leaſing-making, and Leaſing-telling*; for which, being detained in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, out of which, ſince the Verdict, having made his Eſcape, therefore they adjudged the ſaid Earl to be executed to Death, and his *Name, Memory and Honours to be extinct*; *and his Arms to be riven forth, and delete out of the Book of Arms, ſwa that his Poſterity may never*

A. Reg. 33. *have Place, nor be able hereafter to bruck or joyse any Honour, Offices, Titles or Dignities within this Realm in time coming; and to have forefaulted all his Lands and Tenements*, &c.

Mr. *Hawles*, in his Remarks upon *Fitz-Harris*'s Trial, out of *Tully*'s *Offices*, lays this down for a Rule, *That nothing is profitable but what is honeſt*; for which *Tully* gives many Reaſons, but nothing ſo convincing as the Examples he brings in publick and private Matters; and though the Empire was vaſt, and he bore a great Figure in it, and was very knowing in the *Greek* and *Roman Hiſtories*, yet was he not able to bring a Hundredth Part of Examples to prove his Poſition, as had been in this little Iſland in the ſpace of eight Years: And in his Preface, gives ſix Reaſons for the Diſaffection to the late Government, *viz. Exorbitant Fines, cruel and illegal Proſecutions, outragious Damages, diſpenſing with the Teſt and Penal Laws, and undue Proſecutions in criminal, but more eſpecially in capital Matters.* But theſe I take to be the Effects of thoſe Councils which governed in *England* ever after the King's Reſtoration, though they did not ſo manifeſtly appear till the Duke was ſent into *Scotland*, and after the Diſſolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*; and for the firſt ſix Years after the Diſſolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, the *Tories* in *England* as well as in *Scotland*, were the Tools which the Popiſh Faction made uſe of for carrying on their Deſigns, then they were laid by, and the *Whigs* ſet up, as they thought, to finiſh the Work.

The *Tories* were ſo far from being ſuppreſſed by the Proceedings of the Commons againſt them laſt *Weſtminſter Parliament*, that they only ſo much more irritated them againſt the *Whigs* after the Diſſolutions of the laſt *Weſtminſter* and *Oxford Parliaments*, and this was what the Popiſh Party deſired.

The King's Declaration, ſigned *Francis Gwyn*, was not only obeyed by the *Tories*, but entertained with unexpreſſible Joy, and celebrated with manifold Returns of Thanks to his Majeſty; and now nothing but *Halcyon Days* were expected, and an abſolute Dominion over the *Whigs*: And the King, to gratify the *Tories* in their Jealouſy, and after the Bill for repealing the Act of 35 *Eliz.* was taken out of the Houſe of Lords

Lords before it was paſſed, which little ſorted with the King's Declarations of Indulgence, has this Law now put in force againſt the Diſſenters, and proſecuted with that Violence, that many Thouſands of Families were undone by it, yet little of the Money levied upon them was brought into the *Exchequer*; and you may be ſure the Proſecutors would take their own ſhare, and it was no difficult Matter to get a Grant, or at leaſt a Pardon for the King's. Among the reſt of the Worthies in this pious Buſineſs, one *Jenner* a Lawyer was one, who for this and other meritorious Acts, was after knighted, and made one of the Honourable Barons of the *Exchequer*; and Sir *Dudley North*, the Keeper's own Brother, was another: and though theſe Men were excepted out of the Act of Indemnity made by this King, and Informations againſt them in the *Exchequer*, and among the reſt, againſt this *Jenner*, yet upon pleading their Pardons, I do find no great matter came of them. And now ſince the Meal-Tub Plot, and that of *Fitz-Harris* had no better effect, the Court ſets up another to throw the Popiſh Plot upon the *Nonconformiſts*. A.D. 1681.

You have heard before how there appeared to be a *Popiſh Plot* carried on in *Ireland*, ever ſince the Year 1665, for eſtabliſhing the Popiſh Religion, and that ſeveral Witneſſes were brought out of *Ireland* to prove it; and how that the Lords in Parliament having throughly enquired into it, did upon the 6th of *January* laſt, *viz.* 1681, ſend this Meſſage to the Commons;

Reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That they do declare that they are fully ſatisfied that there now is, and for divers Years laſt paſt, hath been an horrid and treaſonable Plot, continued and carried on by thoſe of the Popiſh Religion in Ireland, *for maſſacring the* Engliſh, *and ſubverting the Proteſtant Religion, and the antient Government of that Kingdom, to which they deſire the Concurrence of this Houſe:* To which the Commons agreed.

The Evidence by which the Lords diſcovered this Plot, were generally *Iriſh*, and of the Popiſh Religion, and it's probable, were Partakers of the Deſign of this Maſſacre, and had not their Pardons; or if they had,

A. Reg. 33. had, they were poor, and had no means to ſubſiſt, now the *Oxford Parliament* was diſſolved, and no Proſpect of another, eſpecially having now loſt their Friends and Dependance for having given their Evidence of the Diſcovery of the Plot, and were in a ſtrange Country. In this State the Court employed a ſort of Men, partly by Terror, and partly by their Neceſſities, to work upon the *Iriſh*, to pervert their Evidence another way.

And the Cauſe being the ſame, it had the ſame Effect upon others as well as the *Iriſh*: For the *Oxford Parliament* being diſſolved, and all Hopes of Enquiry further into the Popiſh Plot, growing deſperate; *Dugdale*, *Turbervile* and *Smith*, not having (that I can find) gotten their Pardons, and having loſt their Dependencies upon their having given their Evidence, and being reduced to the ſame Neceſſities the *Iriſh Witneſſes* were, were eaſily wrought upon to ſmother the Popiſh Plot, and to ſwear another upon the principal Inquirers into the Popiſh; nay, even my Lord *Howard* (though not in the like Circumſtances) could not procure his Pardon till his Drudgery of Swearing was over.

The Foundation thus laid, now we proceed to ſhew how the King made good his Declaration for calling frequent Parliaments, and in uſing his utmoſt Endeavours of extirpating Papacy; and it is without any Precedent, that ever any King before did truckle to ſuch vile and mean things, to invert his Declaration, and his manifold repeated Promiſes to the Parliament.

The 28th of *March* the Parliament at *Oxford* was diſſolved, and upon the 27th of *April* following an Indictment of High Treaſon was preferred againſt *Edward Fitz-Harris* to the Grand Jury at *Weſtminſter* for the Hundred of *Oſwalſton*; but the Grand Jury having the Vote of the Commons of the 27th of *March* ſo freſh in their Memories, deſired the Opinion of the Court, whether they might ſafely proceed upon it: and you need not doubt but the Court gave their Opinion they might. So the Grand Jury found the Bill.

From

From the time that *Fitz-Harris* was removed from *Newgate* to the *Tower*, which was 10 Weeks before this Indictment, he was kept ſo cloſe Priſoner, that his Wife, nor any others, were permitted to come at him; whereas the Lords impeached in Parliament had the liberty of the *Tower*, and for any Man to viſit them. *A.D.* 1681.

Yet *Fitz-Harris*'s Wife, foreſeeing the Deſign of the Trial of her Husband, had gone to Council, and had a Plea drawn to the Juriſdiction of the Court; to which the Attorney General demurred, and *Fitz-Harris*'s Council joined in the Demurrer.

It were Vanity and extream Arrogance in me, to judge of the nice Pleadings on both ſides, concerning the Form and Subſtance; or to give a Reaſon why the Court over-ruled *Fitz-Harris*'s Plea, ſince the Court did not.

Yet, I ſay, the Reports of *Coke*, *Dier*, *Plowden*, and others, would have proved dry Buſineſſes, if the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall* had given ſuch Judgments as the *King's-Bench* did in *Fitz-Harris*'s Caſe.

And I ſay alſo, That no Man lives out of Society and Commerce; and that in every Country there are Laws for the Preſervation of Mens Lives, and to protect them in Society and Commerce; and that in every Country there is a Power which is looſe from theſe Laws, and gives Laws to all the Subjects of thoſe Countries.

But becauſe all Laws are vain unleſs they be executed, every Country has Judicatories wherein theſe Laws are executed, which differ in different Countries. The Supreme Power of this Nation reſides in a Parliament, whereof the King is the Head; and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Repreſentatives of the Commons, are the Body.

Theſe Courts of Judicature have their diſtinct Juriſdictions, and are reſtrained to certain Rules and Methods: The higheſt of theſe Courts are the Body of the Parliament, *viz.* the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, which have diſtinct Juriſdictions, but are not bound up in their Judicatories by ſuch ſtrict Rules as other Courts are

Other

A. Reg. 33. Other Courts take Cognizance of Civil and Criminal Caſes between particular Men; but theſe Courts of Parliament take Cognizance of the State and Grievances of the Nation, where only they find Relief: And tho' no other Courts take Cognizance of Matters tranſacted in Parliament, yet either of theſe Courts take Cognizance of all Proceedings in other Courts; and not only reverſe all illegal Proceedings in them, but puniſh the Judges of all other Courts for any Errors or Abuſes committed by them: So if any Perſon or Perſons ſhall grow ſo great as to be dangerous to the Publick, tho' they be out of the reach of other Courts, yet they are ſubject to theſe Courts of Parliament; and by theſe Courts the *Engliſh* Nation have preſerved their Liberties and Laws, now *France* and *Spain* have loſt them, which before had their Aſſemblies of the States, (all one with our Parliaments) and in loſing them, have loſt their Liberty and Laws to the Arbitrary Will of their Princes.

The Juriſdiction of Parliaments hath been, in all Ages in *England* eſteemed ſacred; ſo that other Courts rarely preſumed to take Cognizance of Caſes which were in the Juriſdiction of, or depending in Parliament; for this was to depoſe the Parliament, and uſurp their Juriſdiction: Nor do we read that ever any other Court aſſumed this Authority, but in the Reigns of Kings affecting Tyranny and Arbitrary Power.

The firſt Judges which (I think) gave their Opinion, That the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall* might take Cognizance of Cauſes determinable in Parliament, were *Treſilian* and *Belknap*, in 11 *Rich.* II. for which they were impeached by the Commons in Parliament of no leſs than High Treaſon; and for which, by Judgment of the Lords in Parliament, *Treſilian* was hanged, and *Belknap* baniſhed. Mr. *Williams*, in his Pleadings for *Fitz-Harris*, cites another Caſe in 20 *Rich.* II. of a Perſon who exhibited a Petition in Parliament, which ſuggeſted ſomething which amounted to High Treaſon (which it may be was determinable by Common Law.) This Perſon was after indicted at Common Law, found guilty, and pardoned; but becauſe the Buſineſs was depending in Parliament, the Proſecution

Proſecution and Judgment were made void in Parliament. A.D. 1681.

The next Caſe, I think, (but of an higher Nature, for *Treſilian* and *Belknap* only gave their Opinion) was that of Sir *John Elliot*, my Lord *Hollis*, &c. 5 *Car.* I. when an Information was exhibited againſt them in the *King's-Bench*, they pleaded to the Juriſdiction of the Court, being for Matters tranſacted in Parliament: The Court over-ruled their Plea, and gave Judgment againſt them, and Reaſons (ſuch as they were) for their Judgment: But in the 19 *Car.* I. upon a ſolemn Debate in the Commons Houſe, and upon their Reaſons given at a Conference with the Lords, the Judgment of the *King's-Bench*, Reaſons and all, were reverſed by a Writ of Error in the Lords Houſe; and after, the Judges who gave the Judgment, were impeach'd of High Treaſon by the Commons for endeavouring to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom.

This Caſe of *Fitz-Harris* I take to be the fourth of this kind, yet ſhall open a Gap for a fifth: But that this Caſe may be better underſtood, it will be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between an Indictment or Information, and an Indictment by the Commons in Parliament.

An Indictment or Information is at the Suit of the King, and the Judges and Jury are tied up to ſome ſingle Iſſue; as in this Caſe of *Fitz-Harris*, the Trial was, whether he was guilty or not of the Treaſon whereof he was indicted.

But an Impeachment of the Commons is at their Suit, and of all the Commons of *England*; nor are they tied up to one ſingle Iſſue, but impeach for Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors, in the ſame Impeachment; they aſſume to themſelves, That all the Commons in *England* have a Right in the King, and all the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation, and therefore can impeach where none of the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall* can take any Cognizance at the Suit of the King, either by Indictment or Imformation.

You

A. Reg. 33. You have heard before how the Commons impeached *Fitz-Harris*, thereby to enquire into the Bottom of the Plot, which no Court in *Weſtminſter-Hall* could do; and this I take to be the Reaſon of the Commons Vote of the 27th of *March* 1681, *That if any inferiour Court ſhould proceed upon* Fitz-Harris, *and he be found guilty, the Houſe will declare them guilty of Murder, and Betrayers of the Rights of the Commons of* England: And ſo it fell out, that *Fitz-Harris* being indicted upon the ſingle Iſſue of contriving and publiſhing the Libel, was convicted and executed upon it, tho' he deſired to proceed upon the Diſcovery of this Plot to the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Shaftsbury*, and to Sir *Robert Clayton*, and to make an End of his Evidence againſt my Lord *H*----, which was denied. So that whether *Fitz-Harris* was murder'd in his Perſon or not, it's no Queſtion but his Evidence for further Diſcovery of this and the Popiſh Plot, was murder'd by this Trial.

I will make theſe Remarks more upon this Trial, that in the Caſe of *Treſilian* and *Belknap*, the Nation was in no other Danger than the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall*'s invading the Juriſdiction of Parliament; and the Caſe of my Lord *Hollis*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Selden*, &c. was only for Miſdemeanor; whereas the King's Perſon, and the Safety of the Nation, were concerned in the Diſcovery which *Fitz-Harris* might have made, (ſee Mr. *Hawles*'s fine Remarks upon the Practices and Illegalities of the Judgment of the Court no warranted by the Common or any Statute Law) and that the Conſequences of this Trial were manifoldly more miſchievous to the Nation than if *Fitz-Harris*'s Deſign had taken effect.

Fitz-Harris *try'd and condemn'd.* The Fright of *Fitz-Harris*'s Diſcovery of this new Popiſh Plot being ſeemingly allayed by his Death, Revenge, with winged Haſte, purſues the Diſcoverers of the old. It was in *Trinity-Term* that *Fitz-Harris* was tried and executed; and after this Term, an Indictment of High Treaſon was exhibited to the Grand Jury of *London* againſt *Stephen Colledge*, a mean Fellow but a great Talker againſt the Popiſh Plot, who was more known by the Name of *Proteſtant Joiner* than

Stephen

Stephen Colledge. The Foreman was one *Wilmer*: This Indictment would not down, but the Grand Jury returned an *Ignoramus* upon it, for which *Wilmer* was forced to fly his Country. *A.D.*1681.

The Deſign not ſucceeding in *London*, the Scene againſt *Colledge* is laid at *Oxford*; the Judges were Chief Juſtice *North*, Juſtice *Jones*, Juſtice *Raimond*, and Juſtice *Levins*: To make ſure of a Bill to be found there againſt *Colledge*, the King's Council had prepared Witneſſes at the Aſſizes to poſt thither; and there, to make ſure Work, the King's Council are privately ſhut up with the Jury till they had found the Bill, which Mr. *Hawles* ſays was a moſt unjuſtifiable and unſufferable Practice.

Whilſt theſe things were contriving, *Colledge* had the Honour, as well as *Fitz-Harris*, to be committed and continued a cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*, yet the Lords impeached in Parliament had the Liberty of it, and free Acceſs was permitted to them: It's true indeed, *Colledge* was permitted to have a Solicitor and Council, which was Mr. *Weſt*, I think a Plotter or Setter in the *Rye*-Plot, as dark as *Fitz-Harris*'s, and as like it as two Apples are one to the other.

But this was not out of Favour to *Colledge*, but to betray him; for when the Bill againſt *Colledge* was found at *Oxford*, *Murrel* a Goaler, and *Sewel* a Meſſenger, were ſent to bring *Colledge* to Trial; who, after they had taken him out of Priſon, run him into a Houſe, and by Order of the King's Council, took from him all his Inſtructions for his Defence, and carry'd them to the King's Council, as well to diſable him to make his Defence, as to enable the King's Council how to proceed againſt him by ſome Way he was not provided to make his Defence. *Trial of* Colledge.

Upon *Colledge*'s Arraignment, he demanded his Papers taken from him by *Murrel* and *Sewel*; which were denied by the Court till he had pleaded guilty or not to his Indictment. Here take notice, that Sir *Francis Pemberton*, Sir *Thomas Jones*, and Juſtice *Raimond*, having done the Court's Job in *Fitz-Harris*'s Trial, a new Set of Four is made to do this of *Colledge*'s: The chief of theſe was Sir *Francis North*, (a Man cut out to all Intents and Purpoſes for ſuch a Work,

A. Reg. 33. Work, and as if born to do it, his Father was a Committee-Man in all the late Times againſt K. *Charles* I. and his Grandfather one of the Seven who condemn'd (Archbiſhop *Laud*) it's no matter who were the other three, for *North* was the Mouth of the Court.

This was the firſt time that ever any Priſoner had his Inſtructions taken from him to make his Defence, and at a time when there were ſuch Contrivances to take away his Life. My Lord Chief Juſtice told *Colledge*, he took not away his Papers; but *Colledge* reply'd, they were taken from him upon pretence of bringing them to his Lordſhip.

The Court and Council had a twofold Deſign upon *Colledge* in ſeizing his Papers; one, to trapan *Colledge* to plead guilty or not before they deliver'd the Papers; which having done, it was too late to plead either to the Juriſdiction of the Court, or that the Indictment was erroneous, as it was, it being of different Natures, as, for Treaſon and Miſdemeanors.

Here I leave it to the Learned to judge whether the Court and King's Council did not in this Indictment endeavour to depoſe the Parliamentary Authority, and uſurp it themſelves; for tho' the Commons may impeach generally for Treaſon and Miſdemeanors in the ſame Impeachment, yet neither by the Common, or any Statute Law, any ſuch Indictment can be.

The other Deſign was to diſable *Colledge* to make his Defence after his pleading not guilty: *Colledge* finding himſelf thus beſet, tho' a mean Man, yet with a *Roman* Courage ſaid, *This was a horrid Conſpiracy, not only againſt his Life, but againſt all the Proteſtants of* England: And herein he proved a true Prophet.

The Courage of the Man put the Court and King's Council to the Whiſper, which was never before done in any Court of Common Law; and now the Court muſt be adjourned, the Pretence being for Dinner, though they had breakfaſted but a little before: And before their Return, the King's Council altered their Method of Proceeding againſt the Priſoner; and ſo ſorted their Evidence, that they might not contradict one another, and ſo would not examine ſome of his Evidence.

Yet

Yet upon the Return of the Court, the Attorney Sir *Robert Sawyer* moved, the King's Evidence might be examined in the hearing of one another; which though over-ruled, yet 'twas not obſerved: And to ſatisfy the Jury, the Court told them in ſumming up the Evidence, they would inform the Jury what part of it was Treaſon, and what Miſdemeanor, which they did not. A.D. 1681.

The Court and Council thus armed *Cap-a-pe*, and the Priſoner bound Hand and Foot, you need not doubt of a glorious Victory over him. The firſt Champion againſt *Colledge* was *Steph. Dugdale*, who ſwore, that in a Barber's Shop and a Coffee Houſe he had ſpoken vilifying Words of the King; that *Colledge* had ſhewed him ſeveral ſcandalous Libels and Pictures, of which he was the Author; that *Colledge* had a ſilk Armour, a Brace of Horſe-Piſtols, a Pocket-Piſtol, and a Sword; that he had ſeveral ſtout Men would ſtand by him, that he would make uſe of them in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and that the King's Party were but a handful to his. Now let's ſee what Credit could be reaſonably given to any of the Evidence againſt him.

1. *Dugdale*'s Evidence was confronted by Dr. *Oates*, who teſtified that *Dugdale* ſaid, *He knew nothing againſt any Proteſtant in* England; and being taxed by *Oates*, that he had gone againſt his Conſcience in the Evidence he gave to the Grand-Jury at *London* againſt *Colledge*, *Dugdale* ſaid, *It was long of Colonel* Warcup (a worthy Perſon, who, for this and ſuch like Services, is ſince Knighted) *for he could get no Money elſe. Elizabeth Hunt* teſtified, That after *Colledge* was in Priſon, *Dugdale* told her, *He did not believe* Colledge *had any more hand in conſpiring againſt the King, than the Child unborn; and that he had rather have given an* 100 l. *than have ſpoken what he had; and that he had nothing to ſay againſt* Colledge *which would touch his Life:* And *Yates* teſtified, *that when he ſaid* Colledge *was an honeſt Man, and ſtood up for the King and Government*; Dugdale *anſwer'd, I believe he does, and I know nothing to the contrary.*

Haynes ſwore *Colledge* ſaid, *Unleſs the King would let the Parliament ſit at* Oxford, *they would ſeize him, and*

A. Reg. 33. *bring him to the Block*; and that he ſaid, *The City had fifteen hundred Barrels of Powder, and ten thouſand Men ready at an Hour's Warning.*

2. To confront this Evidence, *Hickman* teſtified that *Haynes* ſwore, *God damn him he cared not what he ſwore; for it was his Trade to get Money by Swearing.* Mrs. *Hall* ſaid ſhe heard *Haynes* own, *That he was employed to put a Plot upon the Diſſenting Proteſtants.* And Mrs. *Richards* ſaid, *She heard him ſay the ſame thing. Whaley* ſaid, *Haynes ſtole a Silver Tankard from him:* And *Lun* ſaid, *Haynes* ſaid, *The Parliament were a Company of Rogues for not giving the King Money; but he would help the King to Money enough out of the Fanaticks Eſtates. Everard* teſtified that *Haynes* ſaid, *His Neceſſity and hard Pay drove him to ſay any thing againſt the Proteſtants. Turberville* ſwore *Colledge* ſaid at *Oxford, That he wiſhed the King would begin; if he did not they would begin with him, and ſeize him; and that he* (Colledge) *came to* Oxford *for that purpoſe.*

3. *Oates* ſaid, *Turbervile* ſaid, a little before the Witneſſes were ſworn at the *Old-Baily, That he was not a Witneſs againſt* Colledge, *nor could give any Evidence againſt him; and that after he came to* Oxford, *he had been ſworn before the Grand Jury againſt* Colledge; *and that the Proteſtant Citizens had deſerted him, and God damn him he would not ſtarve.*

John Smith ſwore, *Colledge*'s ſpeaking ſcandalous Words againſt the King, and of his having Armour, which he ſhewed *Smith*, and ſaid, *Theſe are the things that will deſtroy the pitiful Guards of* Rowley; and that he expected the King would ſeize ſome of the Members of Parliament at *Oxford*, which if done, he would be one ſhould ſeize the King; that *Fitz-Gerald* had made his Noſe bleed, but before long he hoped to ſee a great deal more Blood ſhed for the Cauſe: That if any, nay *Rowley* himſelf, came to diſarm the City, he would be the Death of him.

4. To confront this Evidence, *Blake* teſtified that *Smith* ſaid, *Haynes*'s Diſcovery was a Sham-Plot to a Meal-Tub-Plot. *Bolron* ſaid, *Smith* would have had him ſwore againſt Sir *John Brooke*, my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and *Colledge*, things of which he knew nothing, and told him what he (*Bolron*) ſhould ſwear, leſt they

they ſhould diſagree in their Evidence. *Oates* teſti- A.D. 1681.
fied, *Smith* ſaid, *God damn him, he would have* Col-
ledge's *Blood:* And *Mowbray* teſtified that *Smith* tempt-
ed him to be a Witneſs againſt *Colledge*, and Sir *John Brooke*, and ſaid, if the Parliament did not give the King Money, and ſtood on the Bill of Excluſion, that was Pretence enough to ſwear a Deſign to ſecure the King at *Oxford*. And *Everard* and others teſtified, *Smith* ſaid he knew of no Presbyterian or Proteſtant Plot; and ſaid, Juſtice *Warcup* would have perſuaded him to ſwear againſt ſome Lords a Presbyterian Plot, but he knew of none.

Theſe were the material Evidences thus confronted, which ſhould prove *Colledge*'s Treaſon and Miſdemeanor for taking away his Life: But this Evidence was ſo baffled, that for Shame the King's Council never play'd them after againſt any other but my Lord of *Shaftsbury*, but were forc'd to ſet up for new againſt my Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, &c.

Objection. *In Criminal Caſes, eſpecially of Treaſon, if Evidence did not ariſe from the Conſpirators, who are ſuppoſed to be ill Men, ſcarce any other means can be found for preventing or puniſhing theſe; and that* Dangerfield *was of an ill Fame, and* Dugdale, Smith, *and* Turbervile, *were Witneſſes in Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, and ſo their Evidence is to be credited as well in this as in the Popiſh Plot.*

Anſwer. Nor would the Popiſh Plot have been believed, if it had no Foundation but the Credit of the Witneſſes; but *Coleman*'s Letters, Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*'s Murder, and *Harcourt*'s Letters of it that Night to *Ewer*, my Lord *Aſton*'s Confeſſor, &c. gave more than ſufficient Evidence of the Popiſh Plot; beſide, the Evidence in the Popiſh Plot did ariſe from their Evidence of their own accord, not hired and ſought to give it, as in this. And can any Man believe that *Colledge*, ſo zealous a Proteſtant, ſhould deſign the Deſtruction of the King, and contrive it by Papiſts, to whom he was ſo averſe? And it were Madneſs to think *Colledge* could do this alone; for none of all the Evidence ſwear any other to be concerned with him in it.

A. Reg. 33. There were other Evidences againſt *Colledge*, *viz.* Mr. *Maſters*, Sir *William Jennings*, about Words which he ſhould ſpeak; and *Atterbury*, *Seywel*, and *Stevens*, concerning finding Pictures in his Poſſeſſion when they ſeized him. But, as Mr. *Hawles* obſerves, theſe, by no Law in *England*, could be made Treaſon, admitting all they ſaid to be true: But though at *Colledge* this Scene began, and he was executed as a Traitor, it did not end in him, as he propheſied.

For *Colledge's* Blood was too mean a Sacrifice to appeaſe the offended Ghoſts of the martyred *Roman* Saints, and was but an Inlet to ſpill nobler Blood; therefore upon the 31ſt of *Auguſt* he was executed; and upon the 24th of *November* following 1681, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had a Bill of High-Treaſon at the Seſſions of the *Old Baily*, *London*, prefer'd againſt him.

Upon the 20th of *April* 1679, the King after he had ſent the Duke into *Holland*, diſſolved his old Privy-Council, and choſe a new one, whereof the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was Preſident; and in Parliament declared the ill Effects he had found of ſingle Councils and Cabals, and therefore had made Choice of this Council; which, next to the Advice of his great Council of Parliament (which he would often conſult in all his weighty and important Affairs) he would be adviſed by this Privy-Council; and to take away all Jealouſy that he was influenced by Popiſh Councils, he had ſent his Brother beyond Sea.

But now, *quanto mutatus!* No more Parliaments ſo long as this King lives. The Council, whoſe Advice, next the Parliament, he would take, is now diſſolved, and the Preſident's Life is ſought for; the Duke of late ſent away, that he might not influence the King Councils, is now returned, and governs all, and made High-Commiſſioner of *Scotland*, where, at this time, he is contriving the Deſtruction of the noble Earl of *Argyle*, whilſt his Brother is doing that of my Lord of *Shaftsbury*, and both act their Parts under the Veil of ſacred Juſtice. But how to bring the Earl of *Shaftsbury* upon the Stage, was a Matter of great Inquiry; other Evidence beſides *Iriſh*, and thoſe *Colledge* had ſo baffled, could ſcarce be found;

found; and this Evidence, 'twas feared, would no more prevail upon a *London* Grand Jury, than before it did when the Bill was prefer'd againſt *College*. A.D. 1681.

Captain *Henry Wilkinſon* was a *Yorkſhire* Gentleman, who having ſerved King *Charles* I. in his Wars, and been very inſtrumental in the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. being fallen into Decay (a Fate uſually attending the Cavaliers who ſerved either of thoſe Kings) was for his Sufferings, Integrity and Honeſty, prefer'd by the Earls of *Craven* and *Shaftsbury* to be Governor of *Carolina*, and one of his Sons to be Surveyor-General of it, and another a Regiſter. Captain *Wilkinſon* made uſe of the little Stock he had left, and ſuch Credit as he could procure, to fit himſelf upon this Account, and hired a Ship called the *Abigail*, and victual'd her for the Maſter and ten Men, and ſuch other Paſſengers as he ſhould take in. Wilkinſon *tampered with.*

In this Number, one Mr. *John Booth* deſired that he and his Family might accompany the Captain to *Carolina*, which was agreed to; but the Captain being under ſeveral Diſappointments, and the Charges of the Ship's lying in the River four Months, inſupportable, he was arreſted and thrown into the *Compter*; from whence he removed himſelf to the *King's-Bench*. The Captain's Neceſſities were equal, or more than thoſe of the *Iriſh* Evidence; but the Captain (at leaſt as he ſuppoſed) had no need of a Pardon for any thing deſigned againſt the King and Government, as the *Iriſh Evidence* had; ſo the firſt Attempt upon him was to hire him to give Evidence againſt my Lord of *Shaftsbury*.

If *Empſon* and *Dudley* were ſo zealous to fill *Henry* the Seventh's Coffers, by ſtraining the Penal Laws to utmoſt Rigour, as the Vogue went, *Graham*, *Baynes*, and *Burton*, were as zealous to pack Juries, and procure Evidence for carrying on this black Deſign.

Upon the eighth of *October*, *Baynes* made his firſt Attack upon the Captain, and told him that he had been lately with Mr. *Graham*, who had a great Intereſt with my Lord *H.* and that the Captain could not but know much of my Lord *Shafisbury*'s Deſigns, and that he had now a deſired Opportunity to diſ-

A. Reg. 33. cover them; and urged the Captain not to deny the Proffer, and that he need not fear his getting a Pardon; but the Captain was conſtant that he knew nothing of any ſuch Deſign. By this time *Booth* was a Priſoner in the *King's-Bench*, as well as the Captain; and upon the eleventh, *Booth* attack'd the Captain, and told him he might have 500 *l. per Annum*, or 10000 *l.* if he would diſcover what he knew of my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Deſign againſt the King, and that the Captain ſhould appear at Court, and have Aſſurance of it from Perſons of Honour; but this wrought not upon the Captain neither. Upon the 13th *Baynes*, *Booth*, and *Graham* renewed the Promiſes *Baynes* and *Booth* had made, and that he ſhould have the King's Promiſe for the ſame, and his Royal Word for a Reward for his Sufferings; and that *Graham* was ſent by ſome of the Council to bring the Captain to the King, and that he had an Order for it: But all would not do; for the Captain was reſolved not to go to *White-Hall* if he could help it. Upon the 14th *Booth* told the Captain, that Mr. *Wilſon* my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Secretary, (who was a Priſoner in the *Gate-Houſe*) had ſent to the Council, that he would come and diſcover all he knew; and therefore he urged the Captain to have the Honour of being the firſt Diſcoverer, and that to the former Promiſes the Captain ſhould have 500 *l. per Annum* ſettled on him in *Ireland* by the Duke of *York*: But all to no purpoſe.

Upon the fifteenth, *Booth* and *Baynes* attack'd the Captain again: The Captain ask'd *Baynes* why he was ſo urgent for his Teſtimony; *Baynes* anſwered, That as yet they had none but *Iriſh Evidence*, which would not be believed; but if the Captain came to it he was not blemiſhed in his Credit; and then *Baynes* told him, if he would not go, he had a *Habeas Corpus* from my Lord Chief Juſtice *Pemberton*, to carry him to *White-Hall*.

In the Afternoon the Captain was carried by the *Habeas Corpus* to *White-Hall*, and examined in the Secretary's Office by my Lord *Conway*, and Secretary *Jenkins*; and in his Examination, in comes the King into the Office, as before he had done into the Dutcheſs

Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*'s Chamber, when my Lord *H*—— came to kiſs her Hand; and there the King told the Captain he had ſerved his Father and him faithfully, and hoped he would not now decline his Obedience; to which the Captain anſwered he never deſerved to be ſuſpected. Then the King told him he had not the Opportunity to ſerve his Friends, but hoped he might: Then the King examined him what he knew of my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s having a Deſign againſt his Perſon; but the Captain upon his Oath denied he knew any thing, ſo the King left him to the farther Examination of Secretary *Jenkins*. *A.D.* 1681.

But this Buſineſs did not ſtay here; for the Captain was carried into another Room, where were preſent the King, my Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Pemberton*, and ſeveral other of the Nobility, with *Graham*, *Baynes* and *Booth*; where my Lord Chancellor was very ſharp upon the Captain, and put ſeveral Queſtions to him, which he could not anſwer, and told the Captain, there were two ſorts of Advancements, and that the Captain was like to come to his Trial before the Lord *Shaftsbury*.

The Buſineſs was, *Booth* had ſworn that the Captain had a Commiſſion from my Lord *Shaftsbury*, for a Troop of fifty Men, to be my Lord's Guards againſt the King; and that *Booth* was liſted in it: This *Booth* had ſworn, but was ſo unfortunate in it, as to ſwear this was when the Parliament was at *Oxford*, at which time the Captain was making his Preparations for his intended Government of *Carolina*: But whether the King believed the Captain or *Booth*, is unknown; but it ſtop'd here, and the Captain was no higher advanced upon *Booth*'s Oath, nor could be prevailed upon to be a Witneſs againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury*, tho' his Wife was as much tempted to have it ſo, as the Captain was; ſo the Captain's only Advancement was, to be remanded to Priſon.

However, it was reſolved that my Lord *Shaftsbury* ſhould be proſecuted, and ſo upon the 24th of *November* a Bill of High-Treaſon was prefer'd againſt him to the great Inqueſt at the *Seſſions-Houſe* in the *Old-Baily*: And *Baynes* proved a true Prophet, though *Booth* ſware to the Captain's Command of fifty Men,

A. Reg. 33. to be a Guard to my Lord; for the Jury neither believed him nor the Evidence ſo baffled at *Colledge's* Trial, nor the *Iriſh* Evidence added to that, and ſo returned an *Ignoramus* upon it.

Suetonius, in the Life of *Tiberius*, ſays, he could never have made ſuch Ravages upon the *Roman* Empire, and exerciſed ſuch Cruelties, if he had not been back'd by an officious and flattering Senate, which carried the Face of Juſtice in it: And though it be evident, that for near eighty Years, theſe three Kings of the *Scottiſh* Race had been endeavouring to eſtabliſh an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government over this Nation, yet, except King *James* the Firſt, who, if his Neceſſities had not forced him, would have never had a Parliament after the firſt; and who by his own Authority created ſo many Monopolies, and Benevolences, and in the Parliament of the 12th and 18th Years of his Reign, without any Colour of Juſtice, impriſoned ſo many worthy Gentlemen, without the Benefit of *Habeas Corpus's*, for their Debates in Parliament; yet theſe other two pretended to raiſe their Tyrannies under the Form of Juſtice: And therefore *Charles* the Firſt, after he for fifteen Years together, had not only exceeded his Father in granting Monopolies, and raiſing Money by Loans, Benevolences, Coat, and Conduct Money, but alſo in taking the Cuſtoms without Grant of Parliament, and ſuch as were never granted by Parliament; and in further raiſing Ship-Money, and impriſoning the Members of Parliament without Benefit of their *Habeas Corpus's*; yet he thought beſt to do it by ſuch Judges as he ſhould make: So this he King, in the Executions of *Fitz-Harris* and *Colledge*, would have the Colour of Juſtice by a Form of Law, for which there was no Law.

But as the Knights of *Malta* could make Knights of their Order for Eight Pence a piece, yet could not make a Soldier or Sea-man: So theſe Kings though they could make what Judges they pleaſed, to do their Buſineſs, yet could not make a Grand-Jury, from whom the Judges in all Criminal Caſes between the King and Subject muſt take their Meaſures: Theſe Grand-Juries in *London* are returned by

the

the Sheriffs, and the Sheriffs are choſen by the Livery. *A.D.*1681.

This Difficulty after my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Caſe, put the Court to their Trumps, and at preſent a Stop to their Proceedings: The Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *York* was neceſſary, but at this time he was buſy in *Scotland*, as before ſaid.

The City, upon the Diſſolution of the Four laſt Parliaments, were aware of the Deſigns of the Court, and choſe Sheriffs accordingly. When *Colledge*'s Bill was prefer'd, Mr. *Corniſh* and Mr. *Bethel* were Sheriffs, and now another ſuch was prefer'd againſt my Lord of *Shaftsbury*, Sir *Thomas Pilkington* and Mr. *Shute* were Sheriffs; who, though at other times Sheriffs would rather fine than ſerve, yet at this time none refuſed to ſerve; ſo that unleſs Sheriffs of another Stamp were choſen, all would be to no purpoſe. It's ſcarce credible what a Noiſe the not finding my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Bill made; all Juſtice, now the *Tory Party* cried, was ſtop'd, if theſe *Ignoramus Juries* were not ſet aſide. *R. L. S.* proclaimed Forty One would inevitably return; and this countenanced by the Court, flew out of the City, all the Country over; ſo that ſcarce any other thing was to be heard but of *Ignoramus Juries*, and what would follow from them.

It was the latter End of *Michaelmas Term*, the great Inqueſt returned an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill of High-Treaſon prefer'd againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and in the Vacation all Wits were ſet on Work how to take the Election of the Sheriffs of *London* out of the Power of the City, and no other Expedient could be found out but by taking away their Charter; which, if it could be done, would not only entitle the Court to making of Sheriffs, but open a Gap to their making a Houſe of Commons, for near ⅔ of the Commons are Burgeſſes and Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, who would not dare conteſt their Charter, if the City of *London* could not hold theirs. So that in *Hilary Term* following, a *Quo Warranto* was brought againſt the City for two heinous Crimes, *viz.* That they had made an Addreſs to the King for the Parliament to ſit for Redreſs of Grievances, and to ſettle the Nation; and that the City had raiſed

Quo Warranto againſt the City Charter.

Money

A. Reg. 34. Money towards repairing *Cheapſide-Conduit*, ruined by the Fire of *London*.

The City pleaded their Right, and the King replied; upon which there was a Demurrer, but Judgment was not given upon it till *Trinity-Term* 1683. However, the Novelty of the thing cauſed an Amuſement upon the Generality of the City and Nation too, whereto this tended. In the mean time the Duke having done his Work in *Scotland*, was returned to *London*, and his Zeal for promoting the Catholick Cauſe, outwent his Patience for the Court's Judgment upon the Demurrer to the *Quo Warranto*; ſo that Courtiers of the firſt Magnitude appeared barefaced for the next Election of Sheriffs, and Sir *Dudley North* and Sir *Peter Rich* were returned, one by a ſhameleſs Trick, the other by open Force. Though the Court had gained this Point, they thought not fit to puſh it further till the Demurrer to the City Charter were determined; in which ſuch Haſte was made, that only two Arguments were permitted on either Side, one in *Hillary-Term* 168$\frac{2}{3}$, and the other in *Eaſter-Term* following, and ſo Judgment was given in *Trinity-Term* next after, againſt the City.

The Judgment againſt the City was as ſtrange as the Election of the Sheriffs, for it was without any Reaſon, and by two Judges only; one was Sir *Francis Withens* (who had heard but one Argument, and I believe underſtood but little of that) and who after, in the Abſence of Sir *Edward Herbert*, delivered that for his Opinion which Sir *Edward*, when preſent, diſowned; and Sir *Thomas Jones*. However, they ſaid Juſtice *Raimond* was of their Opinion, and ſo was *Saunders*, the Chief Juſtice, though he was paſt his Senſes, and only had Senſe enough to expoſtulate with them for then troubling him, when he had loſt his Memory.

Rye Houſe Plot. But the Court of *King's-Bench* were not ſo ripe for this haſty Judgment, as that at *White-Hall* was for Diſcovery of Plots againſt the Government and Juſtice of the Nation; of which they ſet three on Foot: *viz.* A Plot to ſurprize the Guards; the *Rye* Plot, to murder the King and Duke as they ſhould come from *New-Market*;

Market; and the *Black-Heath* Plot, for the People to rise upon a Foot-Ball Match. A.D. 1682.

In all these Plots, for ought I can find, the Fox was the Finder; my Lord *H*—— and *Rumsey*, in that of the Guards; *Lee* and *Goodenough* in that of *Black-Heath*; *Keeling* and *West* in that of the *Rye* Plot. *Lee* was set to trapan *Rouse* and *Baker* in the *Black-Heath* Plot. *Rumball* (at whose House 'twas said the *Rye* Plot was to be acted) upon his Death denied he ever knew of any. But the great Design was upon my Lord of *Essex*, and my Lord *Russel*, one the most eminent of the Nobility, for his great Honour, and all eminent Virtues; the other of the Commons; and both zealous Protestants, and Opponents to the Design of introducing Popery and Arbitrary Power.

I must observe, whether my Lord of *Essex* killed himself, or was to be killed; the King and his Brother were both in the *Tower* when the Act was done, and immediately Notice was sent to the *Old-Baily*, that in the worst Sense Use might be made of it by the King's Council against my Lord *Russel*. E. of Essex dies in the Tower.

The Blaze of the Earl's having murder'd himself, having had its designed Effect upon my Lord *Russel's* Trial, *July* 13, 1683. the next Step was to satisfy the Nation the Earl murdered himself; and to this Purpose the Coroner's Inquest must necessarily sit, and give their Verdict; but so the Business was ordered, that before the Jury was impannelled, the Earl's Body was taken out of the Closet, (where 'twas pretended he murdered himself) and stript of his Clothes, which were carried away, and the Closet washt; and when one of the Jury insisted upon seeing my Lord's Clothes in which he died, the Coroner was sent for into another Room; and upon his Return, told the Jury it was my Lord's Body, not his Clothes, they were to sit upon: And when it was moved that the Jury should adjourn, and give my Lord's Relations Notice, That if they had any thing to say on my Lord's Behalf; it was answered, The King had sent for the Inquisition, and would not rise from the Council-Board till it was brought. A.D. 1683.

I do

A. Reg. 35. I do not find, that when the like Practices were uſed, and when the Coroner's Inqueſt found Sir *Thomas Overbury* died a Natural Death in the *Tower*, that two Years after, when *Reves*, the Apothecary's Servant, made the firſt Diſcovery of Sir *Thomas* his being poiſoned, that *Reves* was proſecuted for flying in the Face of the Government, and queſtioning the Juſtice of the Nation, as Mr. *Speke* and Mr. *Braddon* were for endeavouring to diſcover the Murder of my Lord of *Eſſex*. I'm ſure their Inducement for the Proofs of it was manifoldly more than *Reves*'s were of Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s; and I wiſh I underſtood what their Crimes were more than *Reves*'s: but that being for the King and *Juſtice of the Nation*, they ought to have been encouraged, if there had been no foul dealing in the Earl's Death.

Trials and Executions. After the Death of theſe Noble Perſons, the reſt of the Game was play'd without ſcarce any Rub: Colonel *Sidney*, *Bateman*, *Walcot*, *Hone* and *Rouſe*, followed for Treaſon all, and all of different Complexions; and where Treaſon could have no colour, actually to take away the Lives of the Opponents of Popery and Arbitrary Power, Miſdemeanors are ſet on foot to take away their Means of living; Fines from 10000 to 100000 *l.* for Words againſt the Duke; tho' by *Magna Charta*, a *Salvo Contenemento* is reſerved for Miſdemeanors againſt the King. *Graham* and *Burton* would find Juries for all, and the Sheriffs would return them to do the Work.

But the Rage and Tyranny againſt the Opponents of Popery and Arbitrary Power, was not more illegal than the Indulgence to the Lords impeached by Parliament; for the King reſolving to have no more Parliaments upon the preſent Conſtitution, made Judges to take Bail for them to appear next Parliament: Hereby as much invading the Rights and Juriſdiction of Parliament, as the Judgments againſt *Fitz-Harris*, *Colledge*, my Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, &c. were illegal; which though at Common Law they might have been Treaſon, yet by the Statute of the 25th of *Edward* the Third, the Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall* were prohibited to take Cognizance of them, and by the

the Act of 13 *Car.* 2. *c.* 51. wherein the Proſecution ought to be within Six Months after the Fact, and the Indictment within Three Months after. *A.D.* 1683.

Though the City of *London*, and many other Cities in *England*, choſe their Sheriffs; yet the Sheriffs of all other Shires and Counties of *England* were named by the King: So that the King's next care was how to ſubvert the Conſtitution of *Parliament*, and like *Oliver Cromwel*, have a Houſe of Commons of his own making: For the Houſe of Commons is compounded of Five hundred and thirteen Members, whereof but Ninety two are Knights of Shires; ſo that near ⅞ are Burgeſſes, Citizens and Barons of the Cinque Ports: The Generality of the Corporations which ſend theſe Members are poor decayed Places, and ſo not able as the City of *London* to conteſt their Charters; or if they could, they had little Hope to keep them, now *London* could not hold theirs. Yet this would coſt the Court a great deal of time to bring *Quo Warranto's* againſt above Two hundred Corporations; and now all Hands are ſet at Work to prevail upon theſe poor Inhabitants, and mighty Rewards are promiſed to thoſe who ſhould ſurrender them: But becauſe Money was ſcarce, Bargains were made with Multitudes of them, to have Grants of Fairs for ſurrender of their Charters, and thoſe which refuſed had *Quo Warranto's* brought againſt them.

Quo Warranto's againſt other Corporations.

To humour the Court, and in perfect hope that in time the Mountains would bring forth, a Multitude of Corporations (or rather ſome looſe vain Men, who aſſumed the Names of the Corporations) by Heaps ſurrendred their Charters; and at exceſſive Rates (I cannot ſay renewed, but) took new ones, whereby the King reſerved to himſelf the Power of diſpoſing of all Places of Profit and Power, which at preſent was intruſted in their Hands who had betrayed their former Truſt: nor did theſe Men care for the Expence of purchaſing their new Charter, though it were to the ſtarving the Poor of their Corporations, who ſhould have been fed with the Monies expended in the Purchaſe.

But

A. Reg. 35. But a Multitude of lewd Fellows, who in meaner Corporations, were all as willing to betray their Charters as the Richer, yet had not Money to purchaſe new ones, and without it nothing could be had, and never was King furniſhed with ſuch a Lord Keeper, (for by this time *North*, who had drawn the King's Declaration againſt petitioning for a Parliament, and for which he was impeached in Parliament, and had ſo highly merited in *Colledge*'s Trial, was made Lord Keeper) and Attorney General, for taking Money with both Hands; though by their Oaths they ought to have, to the beſt of their Skill, informed the King of the Juſtice and Lawfulneſs of all thoſe things which were to paſs the Seals: and this put ſome ſtop to the Hurry of the Surrender of Charters.

But in theſe Corporations there were ſome Members, who made a Conſcience of their Oaths, and betraying their Truſts, and according to the Obligation to both, performed their Duties; but theſe were proſecuted as Rioters and Tumultuous Perſons, and fined extravagantly, even to their undoing, and impriſoned till Payment, and bound to their Good Behaviour.

Theſe things were not carried on with that Security, but ſome Umbrages of Fear there were, that ſome Diſturbances might ariſe before they could be brought to Perfection: To quell them, if they ſhould happen, *The Duke had ſecured* Scotland, *and had* 20000 *Foot and* 2000 *Horſe, and a Year's Pay, to be aſſiſting upon all Occaſions; a greater Liberty was given to the* Iriſh *than ever; and to crown the Work,* Tangier *is demoliſhed, and the Garriſon, which was a Nurſery of Popiſh Officers and Soldiers, is brought over and placed in the moſt conſiderable Parts of* England.

Whilſt the King is framing this goodly Structure, the *French* King, againſt his Faith at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, by foul and baſe Treachery, ſeizes upon *Strasburgh* on the *Rhine*, (the moſt conſiderable City of *Germany*) and by plain Force took *Courtray*, and the City of *Luxemburgh* from the *Spaniard*, notwithſtanding the late Treaty of Mutual Aſſiſtance between the King and *Spain*, and had encreaſed his Men of War

War at Sea to be more and greater than thoſe of the King's; and his *Newfoundland* Fiſhery, to be twenty fold more than it was in 1660, and the *Engliſh* fallen not to ⅕ of what it was: Yet in this dreadful State, the Feuds of *Whig* and *Tory* no ways abated, and both ſo ſtupid as if neither were concerned in this Deſign common to them both. A.D. 1684.

But though this moſt religious and gracious King, (for ſo the *Tories* will have him) had by their Help and indefatigable Induſtry laid the Foundation for the Ruin and Deſtruction of this Church and State; yet he lived not to compleat this goodly Structure, for he died upon the Sixth of *February* 168⅘. (it may be the ſooner, becauſe he made no more haſte to do it) in the Thirty ſeventh Year of his Reign, computing it from his Father's Death, after he had lived Fifty four Years, eight Months and eight Days.

HIS Perſon was of a very well compoſed Structure, tall above the ordinary Stature of other Men, not much; much more reſembling his Grandfather *Henry* IV. of *France*, by his Mother, than his Father, or his Grandfather King *James*: So did he alſo in his Humours; for both had lively and pleaſant Wits, and would be wondrous facetious with thoſe who humour'd them in their Pleaſures, and were of free Acceſs; whereas King *Charles* the Father, was grave and ſevere in his Way, hard of Acceſs, and that by ſuch ſtrained Terms of Submiſſion as were never heard of before in *England*; and King *James* was ſlovenly in his Behaviour, and more ſervile to his Favourites than they to him. Like his Grandfather *Henry*, *Charles* gave himſelf up to all ſenſual Pleaſures, without any Controul; but unlike his Father, who was temperate and chaſte: Like his Grandfather *Henry* in Profeſſion of his Religion, for both ſeemingly profeſſed that which neither believed; Unlike his Father, who while he did what he would, was ſeverely addicted to what he profeſſed: Unlike to his Father and Grandfather *Henry* in Covetouſneſs, but like his Grandfather *James* in profuſe Prodigality to his Favourites, but unlike his Father and Grandfather *K. Charles IId's Character.*

A. Reg. 37. father *Henry* in Parſimony, ill becoming ſo great Kings: Like his Father and Grandfather *James*, in laying the Foundation of the Ruin of the Grandeur of *England* abroad, and the Church and State at home; unlike his Grandfather *Henry*, who laid the Foundation of the Grandeur of *France*.

Tho' *Henry* and *Charles* were eſteemed clement and merciful Princes, till the Rage of the latter end of *Charles*'s Reign, yet both were moſt vindictive againſt any who reproached their licentious Liberty in their luſtful Pleaſures; as appears by *Henry*'s putting the Duke of *Biron* to Death, (more, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* obſerves, for the Taunt he gave when *Henry* brought Madam *Gabriel* to the Siege of *Amiens*, *That ſhe was the Fortune of* France, than for *Biron*'s Conſpiracy with the Duke of *Savoy*) and by that of cutting off Sir *John Coventry*'s Noſe for the Report which was of Sir *John*, that he asked the Queſtion, *Which of the King's Favourites, Men or Women?* Unlike to both Father and Grandfather *James*, *Charles* was to his own Couſin-German, the *Elector Palatine*, for they both, at leaſt ſeemingly, endeavoured to have reſtored the Prince's Father to his Country after he was diſpoſſeſſed of it by the Emperor and King of *Spain*; whereas after this Prince was reſtored to a Part of it by the Treaty of *Munſter*, this King, without any Offence or Provocation given him by the Elector, aſſiſted the *French* to ruin and deſtroy it.

But he's gone, God knows by what means, and the Poſſeſſion of the Crown takes away all Attainders: And now he's gone, he left the Nation more vitiated and debauched in their Manners, than ever it was before by any other King; having not only ſquander'd away the antient Revenues of the Crown, which were eſteemed ſacred, and which ſhould have ſupported it againſt foreign Force and inteſtine Diſcord, but left ſuch a Debt upon it as never before was heard of, nor contracted by ſuch means, having proſtituted the Majeſty of his Crown in becoming a Penſioner to *France*, and advancing that Intereſt to be as formidable and dangerous to the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, as to his own Dominions; and embroiled his Subjects in inteſtine Feuds

and

and Diſcords, as if thereby he deſigned them an eaſy Prey to the *French* and Popiſh Intereſt; and having by Bribery and Corruption ſo vitiated all publick Offices, both Sacred, Civil and Military, that they became habitual, and ſo fix'd, that it would become difficult, if poſſible, to reform them. A.D. 1685.

And as this King's Actions were little and dark, ſo was his Funeral, for never any King, who died poſſeſt, was ſo obſcurely and meanly buried; hurried in the dead of the Night to his Grave, as if his Corps had been to be arreſted for Debt, and not ſo much as the *Blue-Coat-Boys* attending it; his Brother, then King, ſhewing as little Gratitude to him for all his Favours, as he had done to the Nation for all their Loyalty, and incredible Sums of Money poured upon him: And as his Father and Grandfather had not a Stone to cover their Graves, thereby to preſerve their Memories in future Generations; ſo neither had he, nor any of his Name hereafter is like to have, as King of *England*.

But now he is gone, all the dreadful Preſages of the four laſt Parliaments are come upon the Nation; and nothing left to ſecure the Nation's Fears, unleſs that the Crown being ſo in Debt, and the Exciſe for the King's Life dying with him, the Parliament would not be ſo prodigal of their Bounty, as to grant this King's Succeſſor ſuch a Revenue, which might enable him to attain his Ends by the Ruin of the Church and State of *England*.

The Good Deeds of King Charles II. *were*,

1. HIS diſpenſing with the Act of Navigation in the firſt *Dutch* War, whereby he was enabled to continue the War againſt the *Dutch* two Years longer than he did, and the *Dutch* otherwiſe might have fired the Ships in our Harbours a Year ſooner, and forced the King to a more inglorious Peace than that he made in the Year 1667, whilſt the Parliament, in the Temper it was, ſat ſtill, and took no notice of theſe things. *His good Deeds.*

Objection. *If the King has Power to diſpenſe with the Act of Navigation, by the ſame Reaſon he may diſpenſe with*

A. Reg. 37. *other Laws; and ſo the Laws of the Nation will be looſe, and ſubject to the King's Will at his Pleaſure.*

Anſwer I. I wiſh all Legiſlators in paſſing Laws, would be of another Temper than when the *Rump* made this Law, which was in ſpight of the *Dutch*, without any Conſideration of the dreadful Conſequences it has brought upon the Nation both within and without; or in another Temper than the Parliament was in the 12th Year of the King, when they paſſed or confirmed this Law without any conſideration of Times, whether in War or Peace.

II. If the Act of Navigation had been in general a good Law, yet Times muſt be diſtinguiſhed; and in War, Civil Laws are ſilent: So that for the Preſervation of the Publick, the King may deſtroy particular Mens Intereſt, as in caſe of firing the Suburbs of a City to preſerve the City, and deſtroy the Fruits of the Ground rather than theſe ſhall ſuſtain an Enemy to the endangering the whole Nation: but it was much more reaſonable for the King to grant Liberty, without any Deſtruction or Wrong to his Subjects, to diſpenſe with the *Act of Navigation*, and give all Foreigners Liberty to import Gunpowder, and all ſorts of Naval Stores, *&c.* for the Nation's Preſervation in the time of War with the *Dutch*. And, I ſay, it was Prudence in *Oliver*, tho' in time of Peace, to diſpenſe with the *Act of Navigation* in reference to the Trade to *Norway* and *Sweden*, after the *Norway* Merchants had repreſented to him, how grievouſly the *Norwegians* by this Act impoſed upon not only the *Engliſh* Subjects, but upon *Oliver* himſelf, in building and fitting up his Men of War.

2. The ſecond better Act of King *Charles*, was his diſpenſing with the Law againſt Foreigners partaking the Benefits of the Natural-born Subjects of *England*, by permitting *Brewer* and his *Walloons* (tho' Papiſts) after they fled from the Rage of the *French* Ravages in *Flanders* in 1667, to plant and ſettle themſelves in the *Weſt*; whereby the *Engliſh* became inſtructed how to make and dye fine Woollen Cloths 30 *per Cent.* cheaper than they could before: And herein the King imitated two of his moſt glorious Predeceſſors that ever reigned

reigned in *England*, I mean *Edward* III. and Queen *Elizabeth*, Princes who no ways affected Tyranny or Arbitrary Power. A.D. 1685.

I ſay the King might juſtly and legally do this; for tho' the King cannot diſpenſe with Laws which have a complicated Intereſt with himſelf and Subjects, to the Wrong of his Subjects; yet the King may diſpenſe with thoſe Penalties which properly belong to him, even in Criminal Caſes, as to the Life and Eſtate of an Offender, and therefore much more where there is no Offence, and the End for the publick Good: as in this Caſe of *Brewer*, and all other Foreigners, the Penalty is, if they trade, they ſhall pay Strangers Duties; but this is to the King; and if he pleaſes, he may take no other Duties than his Natural-born Subjects pay, whereby the Foreign and Fiſhing Trades which are carried on in *Holland*, might not be carried out of *England*, and thereby the Navigation of *England* become double or treble to what it now is, and the ruined and even deſolate Coaſt-Towns of *England* flouriſh, as *Hamburgh*, *Amſterdam*, *Gottenburgh*, *Diep*, *St. Maloes*, and other Ports. Would not this be not only for the enriching, but ſtrengthning the Nation, and that in a double Proportion? for we ſhould be ſo much more rich and ſtrong here, as other Nations would be leſs, and in a worſe ſtate to make War upon us. Nay, ſhould we only make our Ports free, as *Leghorn*, *Marſeilles*, and as of late the Pope has *Civita Vecchia*, would not the Nation be ſo much more enriched as the Goods imported are more? I would know from whence elſe it was that *France* became ſo enriched above all other Countries (for Mines they have none) but from the vaſt Trades the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Swedes*, and *Danes*, drove in *France*?

And ſuppoſe the King ſhould diſpenſe with Foreigners purchaſing Lands in *England*, and not take them, as he may do if he pleaſes, whereby Millions of Money would be brought into *England*, the Lands we ſhall have ſtill; and would not the Nation be ſo much more enriched hereby as the Purchaſe-Monies are more? And would not the Nation be ſo much more peopled and ſtrengthned, as the Purchaſers are more? and the King's Revenue by Exciſe and Cuſtoms ſo much more encreaſed,

A. Reg. 37. ſed, as the Conſumption of theſe and their Deſcendants ſhall be more? Merchants, to enrich themſelves and the Nation, run great Hazards, and are often undone in their Merchandizing; whereas the Nation, nor any Man elſe, runs any Hazard by Foreigners purchaſing Lands in *England*.

Ambitious Princes, to acquire more Subjects, run great Hazard, and deſtroy and make Men miſerable, and ruin Countries, to accompliſh their Deſigns; whereas none of theſe attend the Permiſſion of Foreigners to trade and inhabit among us: and when they are once ſettled, theirs and the Nation's Intereſt will be the ſame, and both alike obliged to defend it.

Xenophon, in *Cyropædia*, ſays, That by reaſon of the Goodneſs and Juſtice of *Cyrus*'s Reign, many Nations became his Subjects. Will any ſay *Cyrus* was leſs a King hereby? Or ſhould we be leſs a Nation, if by the Benefit of our many Advantages in Trade we ſhould by others encreaſe our Trade, which we cannot of ourſelves? Nay, ſhould we not ſo much more enrich and ſtrengthen ourſelves? When I conſider theſe things, I wonder Foreigners ſhould be at ſuch Charges to purchaſe their Freedom by an Act of Parliament, whenas the King may do it if he pleaſes; unleſs it be that their Poſterity ſhall not inherit: but if the King may permit Foreigners to purchaſe without taking the Forfeitures, or grant them a Licence to purchaſe, he may grant them a Licence to ſettle their Eſtates as they pleaſe.

3. The third good Act of K. *Charles*, was his marrying the late Queen to his preſent Majeſty, tho' by the manner of it, it ſeems to me he did it by Surprize; and I'm apt to believe, if he could well have come off from it again he would, as appears by the Story.

4. We may add this fourth, That he bred up the late Queen and her Siſter after the Religion of the Church of *England*.

A

DETECTION

OF THE

Court and State of ENGLAND,

DURING THE

REIGN

OF

King *JAMES* II, *&c.*

BOOK V.

WHAT before King *Charles* II. acted in Maſquerade, King *James* did bare-fac'd; and here you'll ſee how plain and eaſy a Paſſage the *Abſolute-Will and Pleaſure-Men*, and *Paſſive Obedience-Men* had made for this King to overthrow the whole Church and State of *England*, and by what Steps he proceeded in it; the King's Speeches looking one way, and he going quite contrary.

A. Reg. 1. Upon the ſixth of *February* in 168⅘, the Day of his Brother's Death, the King declared in Council,

K. James's Speech upon his Acceſſion. That ſince it had pleaſed God to place him in that Station, to ſucceed ſo good and gracious a King, as well as ſo kind a Brother; that he thinks fit to declare his Endeavours to follow his Brother's Example, more eſpecially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People, and make it his Endeavour to preſerve the Government both in Church and State, as by Law Eſtabliſh'd; commends the Church of *England*'s Principles and Members; knows likewiſe, that the Laws of *England* are ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he can wiſh; and therefore, as he will never depart from the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, ſo he will never invade any Man's Property.

Goes publickly to Maſs. The next *Sunday* after his Brother's Death, the King went publickly to Maſs, and that Week he order'd his Brother's dying in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and before his Death, his receiving his *Viaticum*, and other Ceremonies of that Church, and atteſted by Father *Huddleſton*, to be printed; and alſo the Papers taken out of the King's ſtrong Box, ſhewing, that however he outwardly appeared, yet in his Heart he was a true *Roman Catholick*: So that however he promiſed to preſerve the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſhed, yet his Profeſſion was of the Church of *Rome*, *which curſes the Church of* England, *and declares them Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Sacrilegious Perſons, with whom no Faith is to be kept.*

Takes the Cuſtoms. The King's Father, *Charles* I. took the Cuſtoms before granted by Parliament; this King took both Cuſtoms and the Exciſe, granted only for the Life of his Brother: How this correſponded with his Promiſe, that he would never invade any Man's Property, I do not underſtand; for though in every Government no Man has Property againſt the Supreme Power, yet by the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, the Supreme Power of the Nation is in the Parliament, in Conjunction with the King: And the King taking both the Cuſtoms and Temporary Exciſe for his Brother's Life, by his only Will and Pleaſure, was as much a Violation upon the Property of the Subject,

Subject, as if he had taken the reſt of their Goods and Inheritances. *A.D.1685.*

To the King's Promiſe of preſerving the Church and State of *England* as by Law eſtabliſhed, he adds, That he will imitate his kind Brother in his great Clemency, and Tenderneſs of his People.

The firſt Act of the King's Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People, was extended to Dr. *Oates*; but though the Act was compleated in this King's Reign, the Scene was laid in his Brother's, when *Oates* was fined 100000*l.* for *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt the Duke of *York*, in ſaying, *The Duke was reconciled to the Church of* Rome, and to be kept cloſe Priſoner till the Fine was paid. *Oates tryed and puniſhed.*

Oates being thus mew'd up, upon the King's coming to the Crown an Indictment of Perjury is contrived againſt him upon two Points; one, That *Ireland* was not in *London* from the third of *Auguſt* in 1678, till the 14th of *September* next following; when *Oates*, in *Ireland*'s Trial, ſaid, *He was in a Conſult concerning killing the King, about the middle of* Auguſt: The other was, That *Oates* was at St. *Omers* all *April* and *May* in 1678; when *Oates*, in *Harcourt* and *Whitebread*'s, *&c.* Trials ſwore, *They were at a Conſult the 24th of* April, *concerning killing the King, and eſtabliſhing the Popiſh Religion.*

It ſeems evident to me, That after the Diſſolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, he deſign'd never after to have another Parliament, until he ſhould get the Corporations to ſurrender their Charters, ſo as they ſhould elect no other Members than pleaſed him; and in the mean time to take off the Heads of thoſe who were zealous in proſecuting the Popiſh Plot.

Upon the Diſſolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, the Feuds between the *Whigs* and *Tories* were in the higheſt Ferment; ſo that whatever was done againſt the *Whigs*, was cried up by the *Tories*, and Addreſſes made by them to the King, that they would live and die with him, in them. And becauſe the *Whigs* could not find Bills againſt my Lord of *Shaftsbury* and *Colledge*, they reſolved to carry the Election of Sheriffs in 1682; and then *Sayer*, *Graham* and *Burton*

A. Reg. 1. are Inſtruments for packing Juries; the Judges *North*, *Pemberton*, and *Saunders*, &c. ſhall do their Parts for declaring Charters void, and for Trying *Fitz-Harris*, my Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, &c.

But the taking off the Heads of the *Whigs* was but half this Deſign; the impeached Lords in the *Tower* muſt be let looſe, or the Game was but half play'd: This was ſo tickliſh a Point, that neither *Pemberton* nor *Saunders* could be brought up to it; but *Saunders* dying, and *Pemberton* removed to the *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Geo. Jeffries* was ſet up, to do this Work, which he did to content, and ſo was initiated to do what other Journey-work the Court ſhould order. And now before him *Oates* is to be tried for Perjury, upon the two Points aforeſaid.

Ireland was tried above ſix Years before, *viz.* in *December* 1678, before a Jury of Judges in the *Old-Baily*, and ſo was *Whitebread* and *Harcourt* within about a Month leſs than ſix Years, *viz.* in *June* 1679. *Ireland* pleaded he was not in *London* from the third of *Auguſt* till the 14th of *September*; and *Whitebread*, *Harcourt*, &c. pleaded that *Oates* was at St. *Omers* all *April* and *May* in 1678; ſo that if their Witneſſes ſaid true, 'twas impoſſible *Oates*'s Teſtimony of *Whitebread*'s being at the Conſult in *April*, and *Ireland*'s in *Auguſt*, could be true.

That *Oates* was in Town in *April* and *May* 1678, was proved by Sir *Richard Barker*, Mr. *Walker* a Miniſter, Mr. *Clay* a *Romiſh* Prieſt, Mrs. *Mayo*, *Sarah Ives*, Mr. *Smith* (*Oates*'s Schoolmaſter, with whom *Oates* dined about the Beginning of *May*) Mr. *Page*, and *Butler* (Sir *Richard Barker*'s Coachman.) But beſides *Oates* and *Bedlow*'s ſwearing *Ireland* was at the Conſult in *Auguſt*, only *Sarah Pain* (who had been Servant to *Grove*, one of the Jeſuits) ſwore *Ireland* was in Town in *Auguſt*.

Oates thus mew'd up, the St. *Omers* Boys are ſent for over in all haſte (and you need not doubt had new Inſtructions) and the Crew of *Staffordſhire* Witneſſes: The Boys to ſwear *Oates* was at St. *Omers* all *April* and *May*; the *Staffordſhire* Witneſſes, *Ireland* was in *Staffordſhire*; or thereabouts, in *August* and *September*. *Jeffries* was the Judge, and you need not

not doubt of a Jury, to chime into *Jeffries* ſumming up the Evidence. A.D. 1685.

Things ſtanding in this Poſture, *Oates* is tried upon the ninth of *May* upon Perjury, upon theſe two Points. At the Trial, *Oates* could get only four Witneſſes to appear, (and 'twas a Wonder he could get any) *viz.* Mr. *Walker* the Miniſter, who after ſo long time durſt not truſt to his Memory, to ſwear poſitively *Oates* was in Town, unleſs he ſhould have the Minutes of his Examination before; and ſo Mr. *Page*; but *Mayo* and *Butler* both ſwore *Oates* was in Town: But unleſs *Sarah Pain* could be found, 'twas impoſſible for *Oates* to prove *Ireland* was in Town in *Auguſt*, for *Bedlow* was dead, and *Oates* could not ſwear for himſelf.

But *Ex tempore verum naſcitur*. *Ireland* was Confeſſor to Mr. *John Jeniſon*, Father of Mr. *Thomas Jeniſon*, (a Jeſuit in this Conſpiracy, and who died in *Newgate*) elder Brother to Mr. *Robert Jeniſon*. This Mr. *Jeniſon* having been at *Windſor* in *Auguſt* 1678, came from thence to *Ireland*'s Chamber the 19th, and found him pulling off his Boots on the Frame of a Table, being newly come from *Staffordſhire*. *Ireland* ask'd him from whence he came? who told him from *Windſor*. *Ireland* enquired about the Diverſions of the Court; *Jeniſon* ſaid, His Majeſty's chief Delight was in Hawking and Fiſhing, accompanied only with two or three, early in the Morning: How eaſily then might he be taken off! anſwered *Ireland*. Then *Ireland* ask'd Mr. *Jeniſon* if he would be aſſiſting in taking off the King? Which if he would, *Ireland* ſaid he would forgive him 20 *l.* which he owed *Ireland*. Afterwards *Ireland* ask'd him if he knew any *Iriſhmen*, who were courageous and ſtout? *Jeniſon* told him he knew Captain *Levallian*, *Kerney*, *Brodhall*, and *Wilſon*? Then *Ireland* ask'd him if he would go along with theſe, and aſſiſt in taking off the King? Which he refuſing, *Ireland* ſaid he knew *Levallian* and *Kerney*, and ſet down the other two Names in Writing; and ſaid he was going to the Club to Mr. *Coleman*, Mr. *Levallian* and *Kerney*, and [illegible]'d Mr. *Jeniſon* for the 20 *l.* which he owed [illegible]: But *Ireland*, at his Death, denying he was in Town from the third of *Auguſt* till the fourteenth

of

A. Reg. 1. of *September*, Mr. *Jeniſon* changed his Religion upon it, and printed the Reaſon; and after upon his Oath at my Lord *Stafford*'s Trial declared this, and a farther Account of the Conſpiracy againſt the King, and for introducing the Popiſh Religion.

If living Teſtimonies ſhall be doubted, yet I conceive I ſhall put it out of Doubt, that *Ireland* was in Town, when his *Staffordſhire* Witneſſes ſaid he was in *Staffordſhire*, by a Proof which could not be bribed or corrupted.

One Mr. *Benjamin Hinton*, a Goldſmith in *Lombard-ſtreet*, was *Ireland*'s Caſhier; and Mr. *Hinton* going out of Town at that time in *Auguſt* 1678, met *Ireland* at or about *Barnet*, coming for *London*, when *Ireland* told him, that he had extraordinary Occaſions for Money, and urged *Hinton* to go back with him; but *Hinton* told him, his Man could do *Ireland*'s Buſineſs as well as he, and his Occaſions would not permit him to go back. I asked Mr. *Hinton* the Truth of this, to which he would not give me any Anſwer; But be this true or falſe, it's entred into *Hinton*'s Book of Accompts, *Paid to Mr.* Ireland's *own Hands*; whereas the other Entries are, *Paid by his Order*. And 'tis ſaid Mr. *Hinton*'s Man would depoſe he paid thoſe Monies to *Ireland* himſelf.

Mr. *Hinton* afterwards failing, a Commiſſion of Bankrupt was ſued againſt him, and his Book of Accompts was delivered, and kept at the Widow *Vernon*'s Coffee-houſe in *Bartholomew-lane*, behind the *Royal-Exchange*, where any Man may ſee the Truth of this Entry. I am ſure Mr. *Hinton* was in Court at *Oates* his Trial, to have teſtified this, but was terrified from it for fear of being undone.

However *Oates* was found guilty of Perjury upon both Points in this Trial, before *Jeffries* and his Brethren, and his Sentence was to be whip'd from *Aldgate* to *Newgate*, the next *Wedneſday* after; and the *Friday* after (but a Day between) from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, which was put in Execution with the utmoſt Rigour; the Stripes of the firſt Whipping being ſore and green upon the ſecond, that few other could have undergone the ſecond; to ſtand in the Pillory five times in the Year, and to be a Priſoner during

during Life, which was as cloſe as his Whipping was *A.D.*1685.
ſevere. This was the firſt Act of the King's Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People, in Imitation of his good, gracious and kind Brother, and this before any general Pardon (as is uſual upon King's coming to their Crowns) or the Parliament had met: But it might eaſily be preſaged whereto this tended; and tho' it began with *Oates*, yet *Dangerfield* underwent as ſevere a Puniſhment, with a worſe Fate, for diſcovering the *Meal-Tub* Plot, to have thrown the Popiſh Plot upon the *Presbyterians*.

Theſe were the Preparations which King *James* made before the Parliament met, to demonſtrate to the World and them, how ſincerely he had made good his Promiſe to his Privy-Council, That he would never invade any Man's Property, and imitate his good and gracious Brother in his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People; and make it his Endeavours to preſerve the Government both in Church and State, as it was eſtabliſhed by Law: By Law no new Laws can be made, nor old ones repealed, or the Subjects taxed, but by Parliament. But Flatterers in this King's Father, and Grandfather's Reign, aſcribed theſe Powers to the King without Conſent in Parliament, and that Obedience was due to their Abſolute Will and Pleaſure; and the Paraſites of this King and his Brother did the ſame, but under a new Doctrine termed *Paſſive Obedience*: But theſe Princes not trufting to this, would make a Parliament *Felo de ſe*, and by corrupting them in their Principles, ruin the Being of them, and ſo to be at the ſole diſpoſing of the Prince.

The Houſe of Commons is made up of 513 Members, whereof 92 are Knights of Shires and Counties, the reſt are Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, ſo as Knights of the Shires are not near one fourth of the Houſe of Commons. The King creates the Temporal Lords in Parliament, and names the Spiritual: So that if the King can make the Members of Corporations to give up their Charters and take ſuch as he ſhall grant, it will be in his Power to make above four fifths of the Houſe of Commons.

The

M. Reg. 1. The Parliament at *Oxford* being diſſolved, the Contrivance of the Court was to play this Game; but becauſe *Quo Warranto's* againſt all the Charters in *England*, tho' the King had made Judges, and the Sheriffs would be ſure to return ſuch Juries as ſhould be ſure to do the Work, would take up ſo much time, as King *Charles* ſhould never live to enjoy the Fruits of his Deſign.

'Twas therefore contrived, that after the Court had got *North* and *Rich* Sheriffs to return ſuch Juries as ſhould do their Work, to begin at the City of *London*; and if the Court could have Judgment againſt their Charter, few or none of the other Corporations would preſume to abide the Conteſt.

So ſaid, ſo done; for in *Trinity-Term*, in 1682, Judgment was given againſt the City Charter, yet there were three remarkable Obſervations upon it: Firſt, It was without any Precedent: Secondly, It was by two Judges only, and but two Arguments upon it, and no Reaſon given of it: And thirdly, it was uſhered in but two Days before, by pretending the diſcovering of a Plot to amuſe the Nation; ſo as no Man preſumed to take notice of the Legality of this Judgment, for fear of being proſecuted for Arraigning the Juſtice of the Nation, and flying in the Face of the Government.

Hereupon Swarms of the richer ſort of Corporations ſurrendred their Charters, and took new ones, as the King pleaſed, and paid dear for them; and the King in return of their Kindneſs granted them new Fairs and Markets. But tho' the richer ſort of the Corporations could pay the Keeper *North* and Attorney *Sawyer*, and found Fees for their Purchaſe, yet a Multitude of the meaner ſort could not come to their Price, and without Money no new Charters could be had; which put a Rub to the compleating this Work in King *Charles* his Time; yet the good Will of the Members of theſe petty Corporations was not leſs.

The King's Care for the Knights of Shires, was leſs than for the Corporations; for the Sheriffs, Lord and Deputy-Lieutenants, and Juſtices of the Peace being of the King's Nomination; and the *Tory* Party having perfectly ſubdued the *Whigs*, the King by the ſame

ſame Power which made *North* and *Rich* Sheriffs, could have made what Knights of Shires he pleaſed. A.D. 1685.

King *James* made good his Word he promiſed his Privy-Council, that he would never depart from the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown; (of which no Queſtion is to be made, but thoſe which his good and gracious Brother had left him poſſeſt of, were the principal) and how haſtily ſoever he was after in his Actions, yet he took great Care how to exerciſe the Prerogative his Brother aſſumed in modelling Corporations, to improve it to his utmoſt Advantage; and therefore, though his Brother died upon the ſixth of *February* 168½, yet no Parliament met till the 19th of *May*, and then they did not ſit to act before the 28th, which is much more than threefold the time from the iſſuing out the Writs, and the forty Days of their Meeting. *New Parliament called.*

In the mean time all Hands are ſet on Work to chuſe ſuch Members as ſhould do the Court's Work: They were ſure enough of ſuch Corporations as had ſurrendred their Charters, and bought new ones; the beggarly ones, which could not come up to the Price of renewing their Charters, were graciouſly promiſed to have new ones *Gratis*, as they after had, if they behaved themſelves well in the Choice of their Members. The Lords and Deputy-Lieutenants were as imperious in the Choice of Knights of the Shire, as my Lord Mayor was in the Choice of *North* and *Rich* for Sheriffs. But that we may take a better View of the Acts of the Parliament of King *James*, it's fit to conſider how the Caſe ſtood with the King.

King *James*, while he was Duke of *York*, was obſerved to be conſtant to his Word, and a true Friend, which made him more courted than his Brother; he had a Revenue of near 150000 *l. per Annum*, and was a frugal and careful Manager of it; and this he brought as an Acceſſion to the Crown, when he became King. King *Charles* had more built, and better furniſhed his Royal Palaces (which he had not given away) than any King of *England* before; and the Parliament about ſix Years before his Death, had given him 600000 *l.* for building thirty new Men of War, to make his Fleet more formidable than that

of

A. Reg. 1. of the *Dutch*, or *French* King, and the Nation in Peace, unleſs among our ſelves; ſo that it might have been reaſonably expected a much leſs Revenue than what King *Charles* had, added to that of the Duke's, might have ſupported the ordinary Expence of the Crown, if no extraordinary ſhould happen.

Notwithſtanding all this, the King upon the 28th of *May*, told the Members (ſuch as they were) the ſame things he told the Privy-Council, that he might not ſeem to have ſaid it by chance; and in return thereof, he expected they ſhould ſettle his Revenue (*becauſe he had taken it without them*) during his Life, as it was in the time of his Brother, for the well-being of the Government, which he muſt not ſuffer to be *precarious*, which I believe was the firſt time any King of *England* ſo careſſed a Parliament; but theſe (if they were worthy to be called a Parliament) being made to his Hand, the King might do and ſay to them what he pleaſed.

Before the Kings of the *Scotiſh* Race came to bear rule over us, the Methods of Parliaments were to repreſent the Grievances of the Nation; and upon Redreſs of them the Parliament gave the King a Gratuity, which before the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth*, did never exceed one Subſidy, and two Tenths or Fifteenths; and the King in return granted an Act of Pardon to his Subjects. Thus a mutual Correſpondence was entertained between the King and Kingdom.

But when King *James* the Firſt came to the Crown, the repreſenting the Grievances of the Nation, by his diſorderly Reign, was Language intolerable to him; ſo that of four Parliaments (which were all he had in his Reign) in the laſt he boaſted, *He had broke the Neck of three of them*; and his Son broke the Neck of the four firſt Parliaments of his Reign: Yet ſuch was the Temper of thoſe Times, that to humour theſe Princes, the Parliament of 18 *Jac.* I. and 1 *Car.* I. altered the Methods of Parliament, and that of the 18th gave King *James* two entire Subſidies; and that of the the 1ſt *Car.* I. gave King *Charles* two entire Subſidies before Grievances were redreſſed. King *James* I. in return of their Kindneſs,

neſs, not only brake the Neck of the Parliament, A.D.1685.
but committed many of the worthieſt Members cloſe Priſoners to the Tower, for preſuming to debate them. King *Charles* did not commit any Members of this Parliament (though he did in his third or fourth Parliament) but brake the Neck of the Parliament, rather than they ſhould enquire into the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Actions, and the imbezeling the Monies given by the Parliament for the Support of the *Palatinate*.

Heretofore Grievances were in the Nation, whereas at the Death of King *Charles* II. the whole Nation was in a moſt grievons and dangerous State, which the Parliament of King *James* (if it be worthy to be called ſo) took ſo little notice of it, that inſtead of repreſenting the State of the Nation to King *James*, they without redreſſing any, gave him a Revenue, to enable him to ruin Church and State, upon the Foundation which his Brother had laid.

The firſt Act was to ſettle the Cuſtoms and temporary Exciſe upon the King, as it was ſettled before upon his Brother: *But the King had little Reaſon to thank them for that, for he took both before they gave them, and called them by that Title*, His Revenue. *Acts made*

The third Act was an Impoſition upon Wines and Vinegars, imported between the 24th of *June* 1685, until the 24th of *June* 1693, towards a Supply for Repairs of the Navy, and providing Stores for the Navy and Ordnance, and other his Majeſty's weighty and important Occaſions: *They ſhall ſoon find the Weight and Importance of his Majeſty's Occaſions.* But this was not the only Reaſon; the Cuſtoms which were 800000 *per Annum*, as granted to his Brother, and a greater Revenue than any King of *England* (except the religious Houſes, granted to *Henry* the VIIIth.) had before, would have done this. They add their thankful Acknowledgment of his Majeſty's favourable and tender regard of his Commons: *They had but little Experience of it yet, and ſhall find leſs hereafter.*

The fourth Act grants an Impoſition upon all Tobacco and Sugars, from the 24th of *June* 1685, to the 24th of *June* 1693, for the Repairs of the Navy, and

A. Reg. 1. and providing Stores for the Navy and Ordnance, and the Payment of Debts due to his late Majesty's Servants and Family, and other the King's weighty and important Affairs: But this Act being represented to be dangerous to the Trade of our Plantations, some of the Members said for the King, if it succeeded so, the King promised not to collect them, so the Act passed. *But the Plantations being sore oppressed by this Act, claimed the Benefit of the King's Promise, but were answered, It was Insolence in any Subject to challenge the King of his Promise, which was all the Benefit they reaped by it.*

The fifth Act granted the King an Imposition on all *French* Linens, and all *East-India* Linen, and several other Manufactures of *India*, and *French* wrought Silks and Stuffs, and all Brandies imported from the first Day of *July* 1685, to the first Day of *July* 1690. The Reason of this Act was, the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, and the Acknowledgment of his Majesty's favourable and tender Regard of his Commons.

And that there might be a nearer Conjunction between the King and his dear Brother of *France*, for carrying on their great and important Affairs, the Parliament repealed the Prohibition of *French* Wine, Vinegar, Brandy, Linen, Cloth, Silks, Malt, Paper, or any Manufactures made or mixed with Silk, Thread, Wool, Hair, Gold or Silver, or Leather, being of the Growth, or Manufacture of *France*, by the 29th and 30th of King *Charles* II.

The ninth Act enables the King to make Grants, Leases and Copies of Offices, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments of the Dutchy of *Cornwal*, or annexed to the same; and if this were not enough, it confirms the Grants already made: So that all the sacred Patrimony of the Crown, which was not squandred away by his Brother, this King is intituled to do by Law.

Yet after all this, that this good King might be at no unnecessary Charges, the tenth Act makes Provision for necessary Carriages for him in his Royal Progress and Removal, how grievous soever to the Subject.

The

The 11th Act provides Carriages by Land and Water, for the Uſe of his Majeſty's Navy and Ordnance. *A.D.* 1685.

And after all this, the 12th Act grants the King five Shillings *per* Tun extraordinary upon every Voyage which any Foreign Ship ſhall make from Port to Port in *England*, and twelve Pence *per* Tun for every Voyage which a Foreign built Ship, not free, ſhall make.

I have heard this Revenue with the Hereditary Exciſe, and the other Revenues of the Crown, computed at 2400000 *l. per Ann.* to which Revenue, if you add 150000 *l. per Ann.* which the King had when he was Duke of *York*, the whole will amount to two Millions five hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* which was threefold more than ever any King of *England* (except *Hen.* VIII.) had before this King's Brother. *The King's Revenue.*

But *Quorſum hæc?* for except the Tumult which the Duke of *Monmouth* raiſed, the Nation was at Peace abroad; ſo that by granting the King this Revenue, one of theſe two Conſequences would neceſſarily follow: Either the King might maintain an Army of Forty thouſand Men, to ride the Nation as he pleaſed; or if he would contract his Expence to 700000 *l. per Ann.* which, I ſay, was a greater Revenue than ever King of *England* (except *Hen.* VIII.) had before his Brother, he might in leſs than Seven Years time hoard up more Money in his *Exchequer* (allowing ten Millions to be in *England*) than was in the Nation; and thereby render the Nation in as bad a State as *Egypt* was in the Reign of *Pharaoh*, in the ſeven Years Famine, when the *Egyptians* were forced to ſell the King their Land to buy them Bread. Now let's ſee to whom this Revenue was given, and who gave it.

This King was a *profeſt Jeſuited Papiſt*, whoſe Principles are, That not only the Givers of this Revenue, but the whole *Engliſh* Nation (except the Popiſh Faction) are Schiſmaticks, Sacrilegious Perſons, and Hereticks, with whom no Faith is to be kept; and could any Man believe this profuſe Donative which theſe Men gave, who had themſelves a Parliament, could

A. Reg. 1. change the King's Nature, and the Principles of the *Jeſuits*, which forſooth muſt be infallible, ſo that the King ſhould neglect theſe, and employ this Revenue for the Benefit of Schiſmaticks, Hereticks and Sacrilegious Perſons?

And if in all free Aſſemblies, a Violence or Contempt upon any one, who hath a Right of Suffrage, invalidates all the Acts of that Aſſembly; what then ſhall be deemed of this Houſe of Commons, where ſuch Violences were offered in the Election of the Knights of Shires, and where ſo many Corporations were either over-aw'd to ſurrender their Charters, or had perfidiouſly againſt their Oaths given them up to take new ones, as the King pleaſed? And if the firſt Act of *Henry* IV. repealed all the Acts of the 21ſt of *Rich.* II. becauſe they intrenched upon the Fundamental Rights of the Nation, I'm ſure there is more reaſon for the Parliament to repeal the Acts of this pretended Parliament, where ſo many Violences and Frauds were done before their Aſſembly, which we do not read were done before the Parliament of 21 *Rich.* II. met.

And as this grave Aſſembly heaped ſuch a Revenue upon the King without redreſs of one Grievance, ſo they took no care to ſecure the Nation by a general *Act of Grace or Pardon* for time paſt; but left all to the King's good Nature, who had promiſed to imitate his good and gracious Brother, [illegible] eſpecially in his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to [illegible] People. And now the Parliament had done the King's Work, they had done their own too; and for the time to come, he will do what he pleaſeth without them: yet at preſent he only prorogued them till *November* following, when they ſhall hear more of his Mind. And now 'tis time to ſee what the King acted between.

The firſt Act of Gratitude which the King teſtified to the Memory of his good and gracious Brother, was his obſcure and mean Burial of him, as you have heard before.

Execution of the Duke of Monmouth and others. And after the King had defeated the Tumult raiſed by the Duke of *Monmouth*, his next Act of Gratitude to his kind Brother, was to ſign a Warrant of Execution

tion for the Duke (his Brother's beloved Son) without any Trial or Proceſs of Law againſt him: But his Grandfather *James* the Firſt had either done the like, or at leaſt not unlike it, when he came to *Newark upon Trent*, in his Paſſage to *London*, at his firſt coming to the Crown; one was ſaid to cut a Purſe, whereupon the King without more ado ſigned a Warrant for his Execution to the Sheriff, and the poor Fellow was executed accordingly. A.D. 1685.

The Duke ſuffered upon the 15th of *July*, but the Iſſue of Blood did not ſtanch with him; for towards the latter end of *Auguſt*, a Special Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* was granted to Sir *George Jefferies*, and four other Judges, to try the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Adherents in the *Weſt*: But as the Duke ſuffered without any Trial, and ſo was unjuſtly put to Death, ſo I believe this Commiſſion was initiated by ſuch a Trial as can ſcarce be parallel'd by any other; and this was the Caſe.

Alicia Liſle, a Woman of extream Age, was Wife of *John Liſle*, (one of King *Charles* the Firſt's Judges, and who was Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice, as 'twas then called, in the Trials of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and my Lord *Capel*; and alſo in the Trial of Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Dr. *Hewet*, &c.) had entertained after the Defeat of the Duke of *Monmouth*, one *Hicks*, (a *Non-Conformiſt* Miniſter) who was with the Duke, not in any Proclamation that he was ſo; and one *Richard Nelthrop* (a Stranger to Mrs. *Liſle*) who was in the Proclamation, and outlaw'd of High Treaſon; for which ſhe was tried at *Wincheſter* for High Treaſon, for comforting and aſſiſting Rebels.

It appears by the publick Prints, the Jury were ſo unſatisfied by the Evidence, (*Hicks* not being in any Proclamation, and *Nelthrop* unknown to Mrs. *Liſle*) that they thrice brought her in *Not Guilty*; at laſt, upon *Jefferies*'s Threats, they brought her in Guilty of High Treaſon, and ſo had Sentence paſſed upon her accordingly, which in Women is to be burnt, but the Execution was by beheading of her; ſo that whether the Sentence was juſt or not, the Execution was unjuſt; for tho' the King may pardon or mitigate the

A. Reg. 1. Puniſhment of any Crime againſt him, as to pardon Treaſon, or to mitigate the Execution to beheading, which is part of the Sentence, yet he cannot alter the Puniſhment into any other than the Law preſcribes: But the Convention after King *William* came in, were ſo diſſatisfied in her Caſe, that though they could not reſtore her to Life, yet they reverſt the Judgment for her Death.

From this uncertain Juſtice, *Jefferies* and his Brethren make haſte to proceed in their Commiſſion *Summo Jure*, and from *Wincheſter*, by *Salisbury*, upon the 3d of *September* (a Day fam'd for *Oliver*'s Victory over the *Scots* at *Dunbar*, over King *Charles* II. at *Worceſter*, and for his Death) arrive at *Dorcheſter*; and becauſe Time was precious, the next Day *Jefferies* contrives this Stratagem to ſhorten his Work.

Thirty Perſons being found by the Grand Inqueſt to have aſſiſted the Duke of *Monmouth*, when they came upon their Trials, and before they had pleaded, *Jefferies* told them, that whoſoever pleaded *Not Guilty*, and was found ſo, ſhould have little time to live, and if any expected Favour, he muſt plead *Guilty*.

But the Priſoners truſted little to what *Jefferies* ſaid, and pleaded *Not Guilty*; yet 29 were found *Guilty*, and immediately Sentence was paſſed upon them, and a Warrant of Execution ſigned upon *Monday* following; after which a couple of Officers were ſent to the Goal, to take the Names of all the Priſoners, who told the Priſoners, if they confeſt they might expect Mercy, otherwiſe none was to be hoped for: Theſe wretched Men thus wheedled, pleaded *Guilty*, and ſo at one Sentence *Jefferies* condemned 292, whereof 80 were executed.

From *Dorcheſter* *Jefferies* proceeded to *Exeter*, and uſed the ſame Stratagem as at *Dorcheſter*; for one Mr *Fower Acres* being arraigned, and pleading *Not Guilty*, yet being found ſo, had immediately Sentence paſſed upon him, and Execution awarded upon it: whereupon 243 pleaded *Guilty*, and by one Sentence had Judgment paſſed upon them.

From

From *Exeter Jefferies* marched to *Taunton*, where ſome *A.D.* 1685.
few pleaded *Not Guilty*; but being found, had immediately Sentence and Execution awarded; the reſt terrified, pleaded *Guilty*, and had Sentence paſſed upon them: And thence *Jefferies* marched to *Wells*, where he finiſhed his Bloody Aſſize, where and at *Taunton* he condemned above 509, whereof 239 were executed, and had their Heads and Quarters ſet up in the principal Places, and High Roads of *Somerſet* and *Dorſetſhires*, to the Terror of Paſſengers, and Annoyance of thoſe Parts. In theſe Executions I find one remarkable Story; it's printed in a Treatiſe called, *The New Martyrology*, *fol.* 478.

Colonel *Holmes*, and 11 more of thoſe condemned at *Dorcheſter*, were carried from *Dorcheſter* to *Lime* towards their Execution, by ſix in a Coach, and ſix in a Cart; and at *Lime* they were put in a Sledge prepared to carry them to be executed; but the Horſes could not be driven to go, but turned backward: whereupon the Coach-horſes were taken from the Coach, and put to draw the Sledge, but then the Sledge broke; ſo the poor Men were forced to go on their Feet to their Execution.

I will not diſpute the Juſtice of theſe Executions; but I ſay, Juſtice ought to look forward, *viz.* to terrify others from committing like Crimes, never backward to take Pleaſure in puniſhing; and a black Brand is ſet upon the Reigns of thoſe Princes who ſhed much Blood: nor do we read in any Story, ſuch a Sea of Blood flowed from Juſtice as did in leſs than eight Months after this King began his Reign: And that which rendred it more remarkable, was the King's Profeſſion to his Privy Council, and after to the Parliament, That he would imitate his good and gracious Brother, but above all in his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People.

But if Juſtice look'd forward in *Jefferies*'s Executions, it did not in *Kirk*'s, (who was one of King *James*'s Major-Generals in the Expedition againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*) who when, after the Duke's Defeat, he came to *Taunton*, cauſed 90 wounded Men, who had been taken Priſoners, not permitting their Wives or

A. Reg. 1. Children to ſpeak with them, to be hang'd, with Pipes playing, Drums beating, and Trumpets ſounding; and after, their Bowels to be burnt, their Quarters to be boiled in Pitch, and hang'd up in ſeveral Parts of the Town: And I have heard, that when afterwards *Kirk* was charged with this Inhumanity, he excuſed it, that he could do no leſs, it being but part of the Inſtructions he had from the Right Honourable the Earl of *Feverſham*, General in this famous Expedition.

As yet no Pardon could be hoped for to any one, but by thoſe which could purchaſe it by the Ruin of their Eſtates; and thoſe which could not purchaſe one, were ſold for Slaves to the Plantations.

An odd Pardon to the Rebels. When Juſtice could take no further place, then out comes a Pardon, but ſo ridiculouſly cruel, as will ſcarcely be believed; for not only thoſe who eſcaped were excepted, but a Company of Girls, ſome of 8 or 9 Years old, who had made ſome Colours, and preſented them to the Duke of *Monmouth* while he was at *Taunton*, theſe were excepted by Name; and no Pardon could be purchaſed for this Treaſon, till the Girls Parents had paid more for it than would have provided a Marriage Portion when they ſhould come of Age.

But ſuppoſe the King did imitate his good and gracious Brother in his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People, and that Juſtice only looked forward in theſe Executions; yet we will give Inſtances wherein this King did not imitate his good and gracious Brother in his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People.

Alderman *Corniſh*, tho' he had committed two horrible Crimes in the Reign of King *Charles*, one, in preſuming to examine *Fitz-Harris* while he was a Priſoner in *Newgate*, before he was hurried from thence to the *Tower*, to prevent his further Examination; the other, that he teſtified at *Fitz-Harris's* Trial, that King *Charles* told Mr. *Corniſh*, that the King did countenance *Fitz-Harris* in his Deſign, and had given him Money; yet King *Charles* was ſo good and gracious, as not to take away Mr. *Corniſh's* Life.

But

But the offended Ghosts of *Coleman*, *Ireland*, *Harcourt*, &c. were no ways appeased by the Blood which flowed from the Stripes of *Oates*'s Sentence; nothing less than a Sacrifice of humane Blood must be offered to them, and this to be performed by affixing Sacred Justice to it. A.D. 1685.

Upon *Tuesday* the —— of *October*, Mr. *Cornish*, having no Dread of any Accusation upon him for any Crime, but freely following his Profession, was clapt up close Prisoner in *Newgate*, without use of Pen, Ink or Paper till *Saturday* Noon, when he had notice of an Indictment of High Treason against him on *Monday* following, and could get no Friend to come to him till 8 a-Clock at Night: Next Day Mr. *Cornish*'s Children petitioned the King to have his Trial put off, which was referred to the Judges (who you may be assured had their Instructions) who denied it, tho' he knew not whether his Trial were for Treason against this or the late King, and his most material Witness was above 140 Miles off, and was also denied a Copy of the Pannel of his Jury. Cornish *his Case.*

The Charge of High Treason against him was, That in the Year 1682, he had promised to be assisting to *James* late Duke of *Monmouth*, *William Russel* Esq; and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, in their Treasons against King *Charles* II.

The only Witness to prove this, was Colonel *Rumsey*; who swore, That about the latter end of *October*, or beginning of *November*, at Mr. *Sheppard*'s House, *Ferguson* told Mr. *Cornish*, that he had read a Paper to the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Russel*, Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, which they desired should be read to Mr. *Cornish*; that Mr. *Sheppard* held the Candle while it was reading, and afterward they asked him how he liked it? who said he liked it very well. He remembred two Points in it very well; one was for *Liberty of Conscience*; the other was, *That all who would assist in that Insurrection who had had Kings Lands, or Church Lands, should have them restored to them.* *Rumsey* did not hear all the Paper, but observed only these two Points; it was a Declaration on a Rising, and when the Rising was to have been, it was to have been dispersed abroad: there was a Rising intended at that

A. Reg. 1. time, and Mr. *Corniſh* ſaid, *He liked the Declaration, and what poor Intereſt he had he would join in it.*

Rumſey had ſworn at my Lord *Ruſſel*'s Trial, that Mr. *Corniſh* was not at the Reading of the Declaration by *Ferguſon*; and being tax'd for it in this, ſaid he was out of Compaſſion to the Priſoner; and Mr. *Sheppard*, who was *ſubpœna'd* for the King, teſtified Mr. *Corniſh* was not there.

Richard Goodenough was the other Witneſs, which was about Words foreign to *Rumſey*'s Teſtimony, about ſeizing the *Tower*, and a Riſing in the City; which if what *Goodenough* ſaid had been true, yet Mr. *Corniſh* could not have been found guilty of Treaſon: For tho' by the firſt Act of Parliament after the Convention of King *Charles* II, Words were made Treaſon againſt the King during his Life, yet were they to be proſecuted within ſix Months, and the Perſon to be indicted in three Months after; whereas theſe Words were pretended to be ſpoken in *Eaſter Term* in 1683, which was two Years and a half before.

Add hereto, the Words were imperfectly ſaid by *Goodenough*, and might be applicable to a pretended Riot, wherein Mr. *Corniſh* was concerned; and that *Goodenough* was upon ill Terms with Mr. *Corniſh*, becauſe he would not truſt *Goodenough* to be his Under-Sheriff. You may read the Trial at large, with Mr. *Hawles* his fine and learned Remarks upon it; and how rudely Mr. *Corniſh* and his Witneſſes were uſed at his Trial, and how notwithſtanding his Quality; after Conviction he was tied as if he had been a boiſterous and dangerous Rogue, and that by Order, and executed with the utmoſt Rigour of the Law for this far-fetch'd and ill-proved Treaſon. But theſe *Tories* ſhall ſoon ſee they labour for others, not for themſelves; and theſe whom they now perſecute, ſhall have the Aſcendant over them. And I obſerved this of Sir *Thomas Jones*, who was Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; and moſt active in this Trial, that he was one of the firſt, if not the firſt, who was turned out of his Place for giving his Opinion; the King could not diſpenſe with the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*.

The

The Deſign thus deep ſtained in humane Blood, firſt budded in *Ireland*; but whether it was in Affirmance of the *King's* Promiſe to his Privy Council, and after repeated by him in Parliament, that he would make it his Endeavour to preſerve the Church and State of *England* as by Law eſtabliſhed, let any Man who reads the following Story judge. A.D. 1685.

The Book ſtiled the *State of the Proteſtants in* Ireland, ſaid to be written by Biſhop *King*, ſays, That King *James* was no ſooner ſettled on his Throne, but he began to turn out ſome Officers who had been moſt zealous for his Service, and had beſt deſerved of him, meerly becauſe they had been counted firm to the Proteſtant Religion and the *Engliſh* Intereſt, ſuch as my Lord *Shannon*, Captain *Robert Fitz-Gerald*, Captain *Richard Coote*, Sir *Oliver St. George*; and put in their Places, *Kerney*, (one of the Ruffians deſigned to murder *Charles* II.) *Anderſon*, (a mean Fellow) *Sheldon*, (a profeſt Papiſt) and one *Graham*: And *fol.* 59. ſaith, the Duke of *Ormond* was ſent for abruptly, and diveſted of the Government; and immediately the modelling of the Army was put into the Hands of Colonel *Richard Talbot*, a Man of all others moſt hated by the Proteſtants, and who had been named by Mr. *Oates*, in his Narrative, for this very Employment; ſo that many who believed nothing of the Plot before, gave Credit to it now, and ſaid, *That if* Oates *were an ill Evidence, he was certainly a good Prophet*. Now let's ſee the Character the Biſhop gave *Talbot*, and the Manner of his reforming the Army. *A View of the State of Ireland.*

Talbot knowing how neceſſary it was to have the Army fitted for his purpoſe, proſecuted it in ſuch manner as might be beſt expected from a Man of ſo inſolent a Temper. He exerciſed at the ſame time ſo much Barbarity and Falſhood, that if the Army had not been the beſt principled with Loyalty and Obedience in the World, they had mutiny'd, or at leaſt diſpatch'd him. In the Morning he would take an Officer into his Cloſet, and with all the Oaths, Curſes and Damnations, which were never wanting to him, he would profeſs Friendſhip and Kindneſs to him, and promiſe him the Continuance of his Commiſſion, and in the Afternoon caſhier him with all the Contempt

A. Reg. 1. tempt he could heap upon him; nay, perhaps while he was thus careſſing him, he had actually given away his Commiſſion: As for the Soldiers and Troopers, his way with them was, to march them from their uſual Quarters to ſome diſtant Place, where he thought they were leaſt known, where they ſhould be put to the greateſt Hardſhips, and there he ſtrip'd them; the Foot of their Cloaths, for which they had paid, and the Troopers of their Horſes, Boots and Furniture, bought with their own Money; and ſent them to walk barefooted 100 or 150 Miles to their Homes or Friends, if they had any: Sometimes he would promiſe them ſomething for their Horſes, but then they muſt come to *Dublin* for it; if any came to demand the ſmall Pittance he had promiſed them for their Horſes, or Arrears of Pay, he contrived it ſo, that they muſt be obliged to wait till they had ſpent twice ſo much as they expected, and moſt of them, after all, got nothing; by which means 2 or 300 *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who had laid out all, or a good part of their Fortunes, and contracted Debts on Commiſſions, were left not worth any thing, but were turned out without Reaſon, or any Conſideration, and 5 or 6000 Soldiers ſent a begging. Yet this *Talbot*, Biſhop *Tyrrel*, ſo early as in *July* 1685, (in the Interval of King *James*'s Parliament) recommends to the King as the moſt fit Man to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, as you may read in his Letter to the King in Bp. *King*'s Appendix, *fol.* 295. So that whatever the King ſaid, either to his Privy Council or Parliament, he was proceeding on his Deſign he had been long before contriving.

I do not find the Parliament, at their next Meeting in *November*, took notice of any of theſe things; but the King, in his Speech to them at their Meeting, made it (to me it ſeems) plainly appear he deſigned the ſame in *England* which he was practiſing in *Ireland*. He told them, That the *Militia*, ſo much before depended on, was not ſufficient for his Occaſions, and that nothing could do but a good Force of well-diſciplin'd Troops in conſtant Pay to defend us from ſuch, as either at home or abroad were diſpoſed to diſturb us: That in Truth his Concern for the Peace and Quiet

King's Speech in Parliament about the Popiſh Officers.

Quiet of his Subjects, as well as for the Safety of his Government, made him think it neceſſary to encreaſe the Number as he had done. This he owed as well to the Honour and Security of the Nation, whoſe Reputation was ſo infinitely expoſed to all our Neighbours, by having been laid open to the late wretched Attempt (*Monmouth's*,) that it is not to be repaired without keeping ſuch a Body of Men on foot, that none may ever have the Thoughts again of finding us ſo miſerably unprovided: That it was for the Support of this great Charge, which is now more than double what it was, that he asked their Aſſiſtance, in giving him a Supply anſwerable to the Expence it brings along with it: That he could not doubt, but what he had begun, ſo much to the Honour and Defence of the Government, would be continued by them with all Chearfulneſs and Readineſs, which is requiſite for a Work of ſo great Importance. A.D. 1685.

Then he goes on, and ſays, Let no Man take Exception that there are ſome Officers in the Army not qualified according to the late Teſts for their Employments: Theſe Gentlemen (he ſaid) he muſt tell them, are moſt of them well known to him, and having formerly ſerved him on ſeveral Occaſions, and always approved the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practice, he thinks them now fit to be employed under him; and that he would deal plainly with them, that after having had the Benefit of their Services in ſuch a time of Need and Danger, he will neither expoſe them to Diſgrace, nor himſelf to the want of them, if there ſhould be another Rebellion to make them neceſſary to him.

Then he cajoles them, and tells them he is afraid ſome Men might be ſo wicked to hope and expect that a Difference might happen between them and him: But when they conſider what Advantages had ariſen to him and them, in a few Months, by the good Underſtanding they have hitherto had, what wonderful Effects it had already produced in the *Change* of the whole Scene of Affairs abroad, ſo much to the Honour of the Nation, and the Figure it ought to make in the World; and that nothing can hinder a further Progreſs in this way to all their Satisfactions, but Jealouſies

A. Reg. 1. louſies and Fears among ourſelves; He will not apprehend that ſuch a Misfortune could befal him and them, as a Diviſion, or but Coldneſs between them, nor that any thing could ſhake them in their Steadineſs and Loyalty to him, who (by God's Bleſſing) would always make them all Returns of Kindneſs, with a Reſolution even to venture his own Life in the Defence and true Intereſt of this Kingdom.

Here let us ſee how this King's Speech correſponded with that to his Privy Council, and that of the 28th of *May* before, and his Actions between the Prorogation and Meeting of the Parliament; and I will ſpeak it in the Perſon of the King.

At my firſt coming to ſucceed ſo good and gracious, as well as ſo kind a Brother, I then promiſed to endeavour to follow his Example, and more eſpecially in his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People; his Kindneſs to me I have endeavoured to ſhew in his ſolemn Burial, and the Execution of his Son without any legal Trial or Proceſs: And ſure none of you but muſt needs take notice how I have endeavoured to imitate him in his great Tenderneſs and Clemency to his People, not only in the Mercy I extended to thoſe who aſſiſted in *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, but in the Trials of *Oates* and *Corniſh*, tho' my good and gracious Brother thought it not fit ſo to do.

I then told you, as I would never depart from the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, ſo I would never invade any Man's Property: But this muſt be only underſtood in *England*; for ſince that I have given Colonel *Richard Talbot* (whom I intend to make Lord Lieutenant in *Ireland*) an independant Commiſſion to reform the Army in *Ireland*, and to take the Troopers Horſes, Piſtols, Swords and Boots, and the Arms and Cloathing of the Foot, which they had bought and paid for, without paying for them.

I then told you, I would endeavour to preſerve the Church and State of *England*, as eſtabliſhed by Law; but now I tell you, that I have employed ſome Officers in the Army not qualified according to the late Teſts; and will deal plainly with you, I will neither expoſe them to Diſgrace, nor myſelf to the want of them.

The

The *Militia* is not ſufficient for my Occaſions, no- *A.D.1685.*
thing but a good Force of diſciplin'd Troops, in conſtant Pay, will do it; and to that purpoſe, I think it neceſſary to encreaſe the Number to the proportion I have done, *viz.* double, for which I ask your Aſſiſtance, in giving me a Supply anſwerable to the Expence it brings along with it.

Tho' I have diſbanded the Army in *Ireland*, which were as true *Paſſive-Obedience-Men* as could be got for Love or Money, yet were they not fit for my Occaſions; and tho' I have encreaſed my Army in *England* to ſuch a Proportion as you now ſee, and officer'd with ſuch Officers as are not qualified by the late Teſts, yet they are not fit for my Occaſions, and for which I ask your Aſſiſtance, in giving me a Supply anſwerable to the Expence it brings along with it: Yet let no Man be ſo wicked, as to hope this may put a Difference between you and me; but conſider what Advantages have ariſen to us in a few Months by the good Underſtanding we have hitherto had, and the wonderful Effects it hath already had. Now let's ſee what Influence this King's Speech had upon the Members.

The Lords, hand over head, ordered Thanks to the King for his good and gracious Speech; but it did not paſs ſo haſtily with the Commons, but they debated it Paragraph by Paragraph: And becauſe the *Militia* had not been ſo forward as the King would have them, they voted, that they would take into their Conſideration how to make it more uſeful in time to come, in caſe ſuch dangerous Attempts ſhould be made, as in *Monmouth's* Rebellion; and upon the 16th of *November* made this Addreſs to him.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Faithful Subjects, the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, do in the firſt place (as in Duty bound) return Your Majeſty moſt humble and hearty Thanks for Your great Care and Conduct in the Suppreſſion of the late Rebellion, which threatned the Overthrow of this Government, both of Church and State, and the utter Extirpation of our Religion as by Law eſtabliſhed, which is moſt dear to us, and which Your Majeſty has been graciouſly *Commons Addreſs to the King.*

A. Reg. 1. *graciouſly pleaſed to give us repeated Aſſurances You will always defend and ſupport, which with all grateful Hearts we ſhall ever acknowledge.*

We further crave leave to acquaint Your Majeſty, That we have with all Duty and Readineſs, taken into our Conſideration Your Majeſty's gracious Speech to us; and [illegible] part of it relating to the Officers in the Army, not qualified for their Imployments according to an Act of Parliament made in the 25th Year of the Reign of Your Majeſty's Royal Brother of Bleſſed Memory, Intituled, An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants; *We do out of our bounden Duty humbly repreſent unto Your Majeſty, That theſe Officers by Law be uncapable of their Imployment, and that the Dangers they bring upon themſelves thereby, can no ways be taken off but by Act of Parliament: Therefore out of the great Deference and Duty we owe unto Your Majeſty, who has been ſo graciouſly pleaſed to take notice of their Services to You, we are preparing a Bill to paſs both Houſes for Your Royal Aſſent, to Indemnify them from the Penalty they have now incurred; and becauſe the Continuance of them in their Imployments, may be taken to be a* Diſpenſing Power *with that Law without Act of Parliament, the Conſequence of which is of the greateſt Concernment to the Rights of all Your Majeſty's Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, and to all the Laws made for Security of their Religion; We therefore the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of Your Majeſty's Houſe of Commons, do moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, That You would be graciouſly pleaſed to give ſuch Directions therein, that no Apprehenſion or Jealouſies may remain in the Hearts of Your Majeſty's good and faithful Subjects.*

This Addreſs was like the ſhutting the Stable-door when the Steed was ſtoln; theſe Commons had no ſuch Apprehenſions when they heaped ſuch an exorbitant Revenue upon the King, to enable him to maintain an Army of 40000 Men, to ride them and the Nation when he pleaſed; and now they ſee the King drives a Way which tends to the Nation's as well as their Deſtructions, they tell the King ſuch Ways may give Apprehenſions and Jealouſies in the Hearts of His Majeſty's good and faithful Subjects. Did not the Commons in all the four Parliaments in King *Charles* the

the 2d's Reign, declare what would be the Conſequences of the Duke of *York*'s coming to the Crown? and did the Duke's Actions, while he was Regent in *Scotland*, any ways alleviate thoſe Parliaments Fears? Could this Parliament (as 'twas called) now they were got together again, and ſaw Colonel *Talbot* with an independent Commiſſion from the Lord-Lieutenant, ſo barbarouſly disbanding the Army in *Ireland*, becauſe guilty only of being Proteſtants, yet believe the King would admit of no Papiſts in his Army in *England*? Could they believe that once profeſſing of the King, who was a *Jeſuited Papiſt*, that he would maintain the Church and State as by Law eſtabliſh'd, would waſh out all the Jeſuit Principles which had taken ſuch deep root in him, that no Faith is to be kept with Heretics, which the King eſteemed theſe, who had proſtituted him with ſuch a vaſt Revenue, and all the Nation beſides who were not of his Faction, to be; but that by Fire, Faggot, and all other ſuch means they were to be rooted out, and grow no more upon the Face of the Earth? A.D. 1685.

The Biſhops retained freſh in Memory, during the Reign of King the *Charles* the 2d, the Indignities the Factions in the late Times had ſhewed to their Perſons and Revenues; ſo that they were not only oppoſite to the Commons in paſſing the Bills which the Commons had prepared for uniting the King's Proteſtant Subjects, when they perceived the Danger the Nation was in by the Popiſh Deſigns; but ſtiffly oppoſed the paſſing *The Bill of Excluſion* againſt the Succeſſion of the Duke of *York*, and all along K. *Charles* his Reign countenanced the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, as thinking themſelves, and their Order, moſt ſecure under it; but herein their Politicks failed them.

For now the Biſhops perceived a more terrible Storm coming upon them, by a Faction who never ſhewed Mercy to any oppoſite to them whenever it came in their Power; and the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* had made a plain and eaſy Paſſage for the Popiſh Faction to take Poſſeſſion of this Power: The Biſhop of *London* therefore, after the Lords had voted an Addreſs of Thanks to the King for his Speech, moved

A. Reg. moved in the name of himſelf and all his Brethren, that the Houſe would debate the King's Speech, which, as it was extraordinary and unuſual in the Houſe, ſo was it not leſs ſurprizing to the King and Court, who now dreaded the Lords would concur with the Commons in their Addreſs; to prevent which, the King firſt prorogued, and then diſſolved the Parliament, and never called another in all his Reign: And thus the King made good to the Parliament, in his Speech to them the 28th of *May*, *That the beſt Way to engage him to meet them often, was to uſe him well, and did expect that they would comply with him in what he deſired, and that they would do it ſpeedily, that it might be a ſhort Seſſions, and that he and the Parliament might meet again to all their Satisfactions:* and for the Biſhop of *London*, the King ſhall remember his Motion in due time, when he ſhall plead no Privilege of Parliament.

The King having ſo ill performed his Promiſe to the Parliament, of often meeting of them, where he might hear of it again, which by no means he would endure; after he had diſſolved them, had a fair field without any Rub to do what he pleaſed; and to petition him, or repreſent the Grievances of the Nation out of Parliament, ſhall be a great Crime, next to High Treaſon: And now 'tis time to obſerve the Steps the King proceeded by to maintain the Church and State of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſhed.

His Brother had laid the Foundation of making a Parliament *felo de ſe*, by hectoring and making Bargains with Corporations to ſurrender their Charters, and taking new ones from him; whereby he reſerved a Power, that if they did not ſend ſuch Members as pleaſed him, he would reſume the Charters he granted them: And herein he made a great Progreſs, till his Keeper and Attorney General refuſed to grant Patents to ſuch poor Corporations as could not pay their Fees, ſo as a new Keeper or Chancellor, and Attorney General, muſt be had, who would grant Patents *gratis*, or a Stop would be made in the Progreſs of ſo noble a Deſign.

Jefferies made Chancellor. In a lucky Hour my Lord Keeper *North* died at *Aſtrop-Wells*, I think when *Jefferies* was in his March to the *Weſt*, and for a Reward of my Lord *Jefferies*'s Clemency

mency that he ſhewed, had the Seals given him, with the Title of Lord Chancellor; but the Attorney was not ſo lucky, but lived to be turned out, and another put in his Place, who would perform his Office more charitably to theſe indigent Corporations, which could not pay their Fees in taking new Patents, after they had perfidiouſly betrayed their old. A.D. 1685.

But this was but one Step towards this holy Work; the King, to make a thorow Reformation, will make the Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall* to murder the Common Law as well as the King and his Brother deſign'd to murder the Parliament by itſelf; and to this end, the King, before he would make any Judges, would make a Bargain with them, that they ſhould declare the King's Power of diſpenſing with the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts* made againſt Recuſants, out of Parliament.

However, herein the King ſtumbled at the Threſhold; for it's ſaid he began with Sir *Thomas Jones*, who had merited ſo much in Mr. *Corniſh* his Trial, and in the *Weſt*; yet Sir *Thomas* boggled at this, and told the King, *He could not do it:* To which the King anſwered, *He would have Twelve Judges of his Opinion*; and Sir *Thomas* replied, *He might have Twelve Judges of his Opinion, but would ſcarce find Twelve Lawyers.* The Truth of this I have only from Fame; but I'm ſure the King's Practice in reforming the Judges, whereof all (except my Lord Chief Baron *Atkins*, and Juſtice *Powel*) were ſuch a Pack as never before ſat in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, gave Credit to it.

But if the Lord Chief Juſtice *Thorp*, for taking a Bribe of 100 *l.* was adjudged to be hanged, and all his Lands and Goods forfeited, in the Reign of *Edward* the 3d, becauſe thereby as much as in him lay he had broken the King's Oath made unto the People, which the King had intruſted him withal; and if Juſtice *Treſilian* was hanged, drawn and quartered, for giving his Judgment that the King might act contrary to one Act of Parliament; and if *Blake*, the King's Council, *Uſk*, the Under-Sheriff of *Middleſex*, and five more of Quality, were hanged in the Reign of *Henry* the 4th for but aſſiſting in *Treſilian*'s Judgment: What then did theſe Judges deſerve, which made Bargains with

A. Reg. 2. the King before-hand, to break the King's Oath he had made to the People, and entitled the King to a Power to ſubvert the Laws, and gave Judgment before-hand to act contrary to them? *Andrew Horn*, in his *Mirror of Juſtice*, tells us, That King *Alfred* (the Mirror of Kings) hanged *Darling*, *Senor*, *Cadwine*, *Gale*, and 40 Judges more, becauſe they judged in particular Cauſes contrary to Law: But ſure this was not more to *Alfred*'s Honour, than it was to the Diſhonour of King *James* to make Bargains before-hand with Judges, to give Judgment contrary to the Laws themſelves; and unleſs they would break the King's Oath to his People, they ſhould not be his Judges.

The Laws and Conſtitutions of this Nation, as has been already noted, make it a Kingdom, whereof the King is Head, and the Nation the Body; ſo that if you take away the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, there is neither King nor Kingdom. Did not the King then deſcend from his Majeſty, in rending himſelf from his Kingdoms, by breaking Laws, whereby he ceaſes to be a King, and the Nation to be a Kingdom? And what was it for, that the King would not be content with the Sovereignty he had over the People, wherein his Majeſty conſiſted, but would ſtrain it into a Tyranny over the Nation? It was to introduce a foreign exploded Dominion of the Pope, denied by our Saviour, and aſſerted by the Devil; whereby how abſolute ſoever the King would be over his Subjects, yet himſelf and Kingdom muſt be at the Pope's Diſpoſal, to be depoſed and deſtroyed, as the Pope pleaſed.

Biſhop *King*, in the State of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, gives this Account of one *Moore* a *Romiſh* Prieſt, who preached before the King at *Chriſt*'s-*Church* in *Dublin*, in the Beginning of the Year 1690, where he told him to his Face, that he did not do Juſtice to the Church and Churchmen; and amongſt other things ſaid, *That Kings ought to conſult Churchmen in Temporal Affairs, the Clergy having a Temporal, as well as Spiritual Right in the Kingdom; but Kings had nothing to do in the Management of Spiritual Affairs, but were to obey the Orders of the Church.*

Thinking

Thinking Men could not conceive this diſpenſing with the Penal Laws and Teſts againſt Diſſenters, was any ways intended in favour of the Proteſtants; for notwithſtanding the Slaughter *Jefferies* had made of them in the *Weſt*, the reſt all over *England* were impriſoned, and forced to give Security for their Good Behaviour. Nay, my Lord Duke of *Albemarle*, who had done the King ſo ſignal Service, in keeping the *Devonſhire* Men from joining with the D. of *Monmouth*, muſt be ſent out of *England* to *Jamaica*; and the Earl of *Pembroke*, and others, who had been ſo active in ſuppreſſing *Monmouth*, were ſcarce thanked, and but coldly entertained at Court. A.D. 1686.

If things were acted with this (indeed bare-fac'd) Diſſimulation in *England*, they were not leſs in *Ireland*; for the King having recalled the Duke of *Ormond* from his Lieutenancy, and given *Talbot* an independent Commiſſion, to make ſuch a Reform of the Army there, as is aforeſaid, made my Lord *Clarendon* Deputy Lieutenant, and Sir *Charles Porter* Chancellor, who arrived there the 10th of *January* 168⅝, with a Charge to declare that the King would preſerve the Acts of Settlement and Explanation inviolably, and to aſſure all his Subjects, he would preſerve theſe Acts as the *Magna Charta* of *Ireland*: but this Declaration compared with *Talbot*'s reforming the Army in *Ireland*, ſeemed as ſtrange as that the King's diſpenſing with the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*, was in favour of the Proteſtant Diſſenters in *England*. *Affairs of* Ireland.

In *Scotland* the King had ſo ſettled Affairs, when he was Commiſſioner, that after the cutting off the Earl of *Argyle*, he did not doubt to carry on his Deſigns more bare-fac'd there than in *England* or *Ireland*; and therefore though he did not call a Parliament till *April* 1686, yet in his Letter to them of the 12th, he takes no notice of the *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, but recommends to them his innocent *Roman* Catholick Subjects, *Who had with their Lives and Fortunes been always aſſiſtant to the Crown in the worſt of Rebellions and Uſurpations, though they lay under Diſcouragements hardly to be named: Theſe he heartily recommended to their Care, to the end, that as they have given good Experience of their true Loyalty, and peaceable Behaviour, ſo by their Aſſiſtance they* *Of* Scotland.

A. Reg. 2. *may have the Protection of his Laws, and that Security under his Government, which others of his Subjects had; not ſuffering them to lie under Obligations which their Religion cannot admit of: by doing whereof they will give a Demonſtration of the Duty and Affection they bear to him, and do him moſt acceptable Service. This Love he expected they would ſhew to their Brethren, as they ſaw he was an indulgent Father to them all.*

The King having ſettled his Prerogative in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, by diſpenſing with the Penal Laws and Teſts, in the Beginning of the Year 1686 granted a Commiſſion of *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*; but it was not ordered to act till the 3d of *Auguſt* following: Why it lay ſo long dormant, I do not find; but only gueſs, that the King might the better ſettle his *Diſpenſing Power* in the Country, by ſuch Judges as he had made, as well as in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and that he might be more at leiſure to carry on the Deſign for ſurrender of Charters, (wherein one *Robert Brent*, a *Roman Catholick*, was a prime Agent) and great Care was taken, that the beggarly Corporations might ſurrender their Charters, and take new ones, without paying Fees: and if any ſhould be ſo honeſt, as to inſiſt upon their Oaths and Truſt repoſed in them, for Preſervation of their Charters, they were to be proſecuted as riotous and ſeditious Perſons. But in regard the Commiſſion of *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* was not printed that I can find, nor is in the *State Tracts*, I thought fit to inſert it here, as I had it in Manuſcript from a learned Hand.

The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.

'*JAMES* the Second, by the Grace of God, King 'of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To the moſt Reverend Father in God, our Right Truſty, and Right Well-beloved Counſellor *William*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Metropolitan; and to Our Right Truſty and Right Well-beloved Counſellor *George*, Lord *Jefferies*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; and to Our Right Truſty and Right Well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor *Lawrence*, Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*; and to Our Right Truſty and Right Well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor *Robert*, Earl of *Sunderland*,

'derland, Preſident of Our Council, and Our Princi- A.D. 1686.
'pal Secretary of State; and to the Right Reverend
'Father in God, and Our Right Truſty and Well-
'beloved Counſellor *Nathaniel*, Lord Biſhop of *Du-*
'*reſme*; and to the Right Reverend Father in God,
'Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved *Thomas*, Lord
'Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and to Our Right Truſty and
'Well-beloved Counſellor Sir *Edward Herbert*, Knight,
'Chief Juſtice of the *Pleas*, before us to be holden
'aſſigned, Greeting. We for divers good, weighty
'and neceſſary Cauſes and Conſiderations, Us here-
'unto eſpecially moving, of our meer Motion, and
'certain Knowledge, by Force and Vertue of Our
'Supream Authority and Prerogative Royal; Do aſ-
'ſigne, name and authorize by theſe Our Letters Pa-
'tents under the Great Seal of *England*, you the ſaid
'Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor of *Eng-*
'*land*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, Lord Preſi-
'dent of Our Council, Lord Biſhop of *Dureſme*, Lord
'Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and our Chief Juſtice aforeſaid,
'or any three or more of you, whereof you the ſaid
'Lord Chancellor to be one, from time to time, and
'at all times during our Pleaſure, to exerciſe, uſe, oc-
'cupy, and execute under Us all manner of Juriſdic-
'tion, Privileges and Preheminences in any wiſe
'touching or concerning any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſti-
'cal Juriſdictions within this Our Realm of *England*,
'and Dominion of *Wales*; and to viſit, reform, re-
'dreſs, order, correct and amend all ſuch Abuſes, Of-
'fences, Contempts and Enormities whatſoever, which
'by the Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm
'can or may be lawfully reformed, ordered, redreſ-
'ſed, corrected, reſtrained or amended, to the Plea-
'ſure of Almighty God, and Encreaſe of Virtue, and
'the Conſervation of the Peace and Unity of this
'Realm. And we do hereby give and grant unto
you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid,
whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, thus
by Us named, aſſigned, authorized and appointed,
by Force of Our Supream Authority and Preroga-
tive Royal, full Power and Authority from time to
time, and at all times, during Our Pleaſure, under

A. Reg. 2. Us, to exerciſe, uſe and execute all the Premiſes according to the Tenor and Effect of theſe our Letters Patents, any Matter or Cauſe to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And We do by theſe Preſents, give full Power and Authority unto you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one, by all lawful Ways or Means from time to time hereafter, during Our Pleaſure, to enquire of all Offences, Contempts, Tranſgreſſions and Miſdemeanors, done and committed contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Our Realm, in any County, City, Borough, or other Place or Places, exempt or not exempt, within this our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, and of all and every the Offender or Offenders therein, and them and every of them, to order, correct, reform and puniſh by Cenſure of the Church. And alſo We do give and grant full Power and Authority unto you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, in like manner as is aforeſaid, from time to time, and at all times during Our Pleaſure, to enquire of, ſearch out, and call before you all and every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon or Perſons, of what Degree or Dignity ſoever, as ſhall offend in any of theſe Particulars before-mentioned; and them and every of them to correct and puniſh for ſuch their Miſbehaviours and Miſdemeanors, by ſuſpending or depriving them from all Promotions Eccleſiaſtical, and from all Functions in the Church, and to inflict ſuch other Puniſhment or Cenſures upon them, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm. And further, we do give full Power and Authority unto you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, by vertue hereof, and in like Manner and Form as aforeſaid, to enquire, hear, determine and puniſh all Inceſt, Adulteries, Fornications, Outrages, Miſbehaviours and Diſorders in Marriage, and all other Grievances, and great Crimes or Offences which are puniſhable or reformable by the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Our Realm, committed or done, or hereafter

to

'to be committed or done, in any Place exempt or not exempt, within this Our Realm, according to the Tenor of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws in that behalf; Granting you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one, full Power and Authority to order and award ſuch Puniſhment to every ſuch Offender, by Cenſures of the Church, or other lawful Ways, as is aboveſaid. And further, We do give full Power and Authority to you, or any three or more of you as aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, to call before you, or any three or more of you, as aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, all and every Offender and Offenders, in any of the Premiſſes; and all ſuch as you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall ſeem to be ſuſpected Perſons in any of the Premiſſes which you ſhall object againſt them; and to proceed againſt them, and every of them, as the Nature and Quality of the Offence, or Suſpicion in that Behalf ſhall require; and alſo to call all ſuch Witneſſes, or any other Perſon or Perſons, that can inform you concerning any of the Premiſſes, as you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one; and them, and every of them, to examine upon their Corporal Oaths for the better Trial and Opening of the Truth of the Premiſſes, or any part thereof. And if you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall find any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever obſtinate or diſobedient in their Appearance before you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Chancellor to be one, at your Calling and Commandments, or elſe in not obeying, or in not accompliſhing your Orders, Decrees and Commandments, or any thing touching the Premiſſes, or any part thereof, or any other Branch or Clauſe contained in this Commiſſion; that then you, or any three or more of you as aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall have full Power and Authority to puniſh

A. Reg. 2.

'the ſame Perſon or Perſons ſo offending, by Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Deprivation, or other Cenſures Eccleſiaſtical: And when any Perſons ſhall be convented, or proſecuted before you, as aforeſaid, for any of the Cauſes above-expreſſed, at the Inſtance and Suit of any Perſon proſecuting the Offence in that behalf, that then you, or any three or more of you, as aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall have full Power and Authority to award ſuch Coſts and Expences of the Suit, as well to and againſt the Party as ſhall prefer or proſecute the ſaid Offence, as to and againſt the Party or Parties that ſhall be convented, according as their Cauſes ſhall require, and to you in Juſtice ſhall be thought reaſonable. And further, Our Will and Pleaſure is, That you aſſume Our Well-beloved Subject *William Bridgman*, Eſquire, one of the Clerks of Our Council, or his ſufficient Deputy or Deputies in that behalf, to be your Regiſter, whom we do by theſe Preſents depute to that effect, for the Regiſtring of all your Acts, Decrees, and Proceedings, by vertue of this Our Commiſſion: And that in like manner, you, or any three or more of you, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, by your Diſcretions ſhall appoint one or more Meſſenger or Meſſengers, and other Officer or Officers neceſſary and convenient, to attend upon you for any Service in this behalf. Our Will and expreſs Commandment alſo is, That there ſhall be two Paper-Books indented and made, the one to remain with the ſaid Regiſter, or his ſufficient Deputy or Deputies, the other with ſuch Perſons, and in ſuch Places, as you the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any three or more of you, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall in your Diſcretion think moſt fit and meet; in both which Books ſhall be fairly enter'd all the Acts, Decrees and Proceedings, made or to be made by vertue of this Commiſſion. And whereas Our Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and divers Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, Colleges, Grammar Schools, and other Eccleſiaſtical Incorporations, have been erected, founded, and endowed by ſeveral of Our Royal Progenitors,

'genitors, Kings and Queens of this Realm, and ſome A.D. 1686.
'others, by the Charity and Bounty of ſome of their
'Subjects, as well within our Univerſities as other
'Parts and Places, the Ordinances, Rules, and Statutes
'whereof are either embezeled, loſt, corrupted, or al-
'together imperfected; We do therefore give a full
'Power and Authority to you, or any five or more
'of you, of whom We will you the afore-named Lord
'Chancellor always to be one, to cauſe and command,
'in Our Name, all and ſingular the Ordinances, Rules
'and Statutes of Our Univerſities, and all and every
'Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, Colleges, Gram-
'mar Schools, and other Eccleſiaſtical Incorporations,
'together with their ſeveral Letters Patents, and o-
'ther Writings, touching or in any wiſe concerning
'the ſeveral Erections and Foundations to be brought
'and exhibited before you, or any five or more of
'you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord
'Chancellor to be one, willing, commanding, and
'authorizing you, or any five or more of you, as
'aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to
'be one, upon the exhibiting, and upon diligent and
'deliberate View, Search, and Examination of the
'ſaid Statutes, Rules, and Ordinances, Letters Pa-
'tents, and Writings, as is aforeſaid, the ſame to cor-
'rect, amend, and alter. And alſo, where no Sta-
'tutes are extant in all or any of the aforeſaid Caſes,
'to deviſe and ſet down ſuch good Orders and Sta-
'tutes, as you, or any five or more of you, as is afore-
'ſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be
'one, ſhall think meet and convenient to be by Us
'confirmed, ratified, allowed, and ſet forth for the
'better Order and Rule of the ſaid Univerſities, Ca-
'thedrals, and Collegiate Churches, Colleges, and
'Grammar Schools, Erections and Foundations, and
'the Poſſeſſions and Revenues of the ſame, as may
'beſt tend to the Honour of Almighty God, Encreaſe
'of Virtue, Learning, and Unity in the ſaid Places,
'and the publick Weal and Tranquillity of this Our
'Realm. Moreover, our Will, Pleaſure, and Com-
'mandment is, That our ſaid Commiſſioners, and
'every of you, ſhall diligently and faithfully execute
'this Our Commiſſion, and every Part and Branch
'there-

A. Reg. 2. ‘ thereof, in Manner and Form aforeſaid, and accord-
‘ ing to the true Meaning hereof, notwithſtanding any
‘ Appellation, Provocation, Privilege, or Exemption,
‘ in that behalf to be made, pretended, or alledged
‘ by any Perſon or Perſons, reſident or dwelling in
‘ any Place or Places, exempt or not exempt, within
‘ this our Realm; any Law, Statutes, Proclamations
‘ or Grants, Privileges or Ordinances, which be, or
‘ may ſeem to be contrary to the Premiſſes, notwith-
‘ ſtanding. And for the better Credit, and more
‘ manifeſt Notice of your doing in Execution of this
‘ Our Commiſſion, Our Pleaſure and Commandment
‘ is, That to your Letters miſſive, Proceſſes, Decrees,
‘ Orders and Judgments, for or by you, or any three
‘ or more of you, as is aforeſaid, to be awarded, ſent
‘ forth, had, made, decreed, given or pronounced,
‘ at ſuch certain publick Places as ſhall be appointed
‘ by you, or any three or more of you as is aforeſaid,
‘ for the due Execution of this Our Commiſſion, you,
‘ or ſome three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, where-
‘ of you the ſaid Chancellor to be one, ſhall cauſe to
‘ be put and fix'd a Seal, engraven with the Roſe and
‘ *Crown*, and the Letter J. and Figure 2. before, and
‘ the Letter R. after the ſame, with a Ring or Cir-
‘ cumference about the ſame Seal, containing as fol-
‘ loweth, *Sigillum Commiſſariorum Regiæ Majeſtatis ad*
‘ *Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas*. Finally, We will and command
‘ all and ſingular other Our Miniſters and Subjects,
‘ in all and every Place and Places, exempt and not
‘ exempt, within our Realm of *England* and Domi-
‘ nion of *Wales*, upon any Knowledge or Requeſt from
‘ you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid,
‘ to them or any of them given or made, to be aid-
‘ ing, helping, and aſſiſting unto you and to your
‘ Commandment, in and for the due executing your
‘ Precepts, Letters, and other Proceſſes requiſite, in
‘ and for the due executing of this Our Commiſſion,
‘ as they and every of them tender Our Pleaſure and
‘ Will, to anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt Perils.
‘ In witneſs, *&c.*

Here I make theſe Remarks upon this Commiſſion: Firſt, That the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was

was first named, refuſed to act in it; ſo the Biſhop of *Cheſter* was put in, though not in the firſt Place. Secondly, How unwarily it was drawn; for though I believe every one underſtands the Deſign of this Commiſſion was to introduce a *Roman* Hierarchy, which aſſumes a Power over the *temporal*, in order to the *ſpiritual* Good; yet here this Commiſſion grants the *temporal Power*, (*viz.* the Chancellor, and any other two, *viz.* my Lord Treaſurer, Preſident, or Chief Juſtice) a Power of Excommunication, which is a pure *ſpiritual* Act. But whilſt this Commiſſion was thus in *Embrio*, 'tis fit to obſerve what was done before its coming into Act. A.D. 1686.

You have heard how ſeverely *Oates* was treated for diſcovering the *Popiſh Plot*; *Thomas Dangerfield*'s turn comes now to be as ſeverely treated, but with a worſe Fate, for diſcovering the *Meal-Tub Plot*, which was to have thrown the *Popiſh Plot* upon the *Presbyterians*.

Dangerfield in his Depoſitions before the Parliament had revealed that he was employed by the *Popiſh Party* (chiefly by the Lords in the *Tower*, and Counteſs of *Powis*) to kill the King, and was encouraged, and promiſed Impunity and Reward, and part of it given him by the Duke of *York* for that End: Upon this he was tried in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in *Trinity*, I think, or *Eaſter-Term*, in 1686, upon a *Scandalum Magnatum*, and as Juries went, was found Guilty, and had the ſame Sentence of Whipping which *Oates* had, and in his return from his Whipping from *Tyburn* towards *Newgate*, was run into the Eye with a Tuck at the End of a Cane, by one *Robert Francis* (a fierce Papiſt) of which, with the Agony of his Whipping, he ſoon after died; but his Body was ſo ſwoln and martyr'd with his Whipping, that 'twas a queſtion whether he died of the Whipping or Wound in his Eye. You may read the Information at large, which was ordered to be printed by the Commons, *Novem.* 10. 1680. and after the Speaker *Williams* was fined 10000 *l.* for Licenſing it (though by Order of the Commons) to be printed. Dangerfield *puniſh'd and ſlain.*

The ſame Term (I think) Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, commonly known by the Name of *Julian Johnſon*)

A. Reg. 2. was ſentenced by the Court of *King's Bench*, (Sir *Edward Herbert* Chief Juſtice) to ſtand three times in the Pillory, and to be whipped from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, which was ſeverely executed, for making this humble and hearty Addreſs to all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in the Army raiſed by the King.

Gentlemen,

Johnſon's *Addreſs to the Army.*

" NEXT to the Duty we owe to God, which " ought to be the principal Care of Men of " your Profeſſion (eſpecially becauſe you carry your " Lives in your Hand, and often look Death in the " Face) the ſecond thing which deſerves your Con- " ſideration, is the Service of your Native Country, " wherein you drew your firſt Breath, and breathe a " a free *Engliſh* Air. Now I deſire you to conſider " how well you comply with theſe two main Points, " by engaging in the preſent Service.

" Is it in the Name of God for his Service, that " you have joined your ſelves with Papiſts? Who " indeed will fight for the *Maſs Book*, but burn the " *Bible*, and who ſeek to extirpate the Proteſtant " Religion with your Swords, becauſe they cannot " do it with their own. And will you be aiding " and aſſiſting to ſet up *Maſs-Houſes*, to erect that " Kingdom of Darkneſs and Deſolation amongſt us, " and to train up all our Children in Popery? How " can you do theſe things, and call your ſelves Pro- " teſtants?

" And then what Service can be done your Coun- " try, by being under the Command of *French* and " *Iriſh* Papiſts, and by bringing the Nation under a " foreign Yoke? Will you help them to make " forcible Entry into the Houſes of your Country- " men, under the Name of *Quartering*, contrary to " *Magna Charta*, and *Petition of Right*? Will you be " aiding and aſſiſting to all the Murders and Out- " rages, which they ſhall commit by their void " Commiſſions? which were declared illegal, and " ſufficiently blaſted by both Houſes of Parliament, " (if there had been any need of it) for it was very " well known before, that a Papiſt cannot have a " Commiſſion, but by Law is utterly diſabled and

" diſarmed.

" diſarmed. Will you exchange your Birth-right A.D. 1686.
" of *Engliſh* Laws and Liberties, for *Martial* and *Club-*
" *Law*, and help to deſtroy all others, only to be
" eaten up at laſt your ſelves? If I know you
" well, as you are *Engliſhmen*, you hate and ſcorn
" theſe things. And therefore be not unequally
" yoked with idolatrous and bloody Papiſts: Be
" valiant for the Truth, and ſhew your ſelves
" Men.

" The ſame Conſiderations are likewiſe humbly
" offer'd to all *Engliſh* Seamen, who have been the
" Bulwark of this Nation againſt Popery and Sla-
" very, ever ſince 88."

The firſt Lightning, which the dormant Commiſſion of *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* produced, fell upon the Biſhop of *London*, a Perſon of Exemplary Virtue and Loyalty; and who, beſides the Nobility of his Birth, had his Father ſlain in the late Civil Wars, in defence of the King's Father's Cauſe, and had himſelf, and all his Brothers, freely and valiantly expoſed their Lives in defence of it. The Crime alledged againſt him was, that by the King's Letter he did not ſuſpend Doctor *Sharp* (then Dean of *Norwich*, ſince Archbiſhop of *York*) for preaching a Sermon againſt the Frauds and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, by a Power as Arbitrary, as that by which the Commiſſioners acted; and for this theſe Commiſſioners ſuſpended the Biſhop, tho' every one underſtood the true Cauſe was the Biſhop's Motion in the Houſe of Lords to have debated the King's Speech. *Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.*

I'm perſwaded King *Charles* II. to make a *Roman* Hierarchy in *Scotland*, made the Biſhops out of the moſt obnoxious of the Clergy, who, beſides their profligate Lives, run the King's Prerogative to a higher Pitch, than *Laud* in the King's Father's Time did in *England*: And that towards the latter end of his Reign, he laid the ſame Deſign here; for the Biſhopricks of *Oxford*, *York*, St. *David's* and *Cheſter*, becoming void about the latter end of his Reign, or beginning of King *James's*, (I'll not name the Biſhoprick of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, for the Petticoat

A. Reg. 3. ticoat govern'd in that Election) Dr. *Samuel Parker* (whom Mr. *Marvel* in his Rehearſal tranſpos'd, calls *Bays*) a Man of a virulent Diſpoſition, and who by railing againſt the Church, got into Preferment, and when he was in, became a zealous Railer againſt them without, was made Biſhop of *Oxford*; Dr. *Cartwright*, (as high for the Prerogative as *Parker*) was made Biſhop of *Cheſter*; and the Succeſſion to theſe two Biſhopricks was the more obſervable, becauſe *Parker* ſucceeded Dr. *Fell*, and *Cartwright* Dr. *Pierſon*, Men of Piety and Learning, equal to any in their Time: and one *Watſon* (an obſcure Man) was made Biſhop of St. *David's*; but the Archbiſhoprick of *York* was reſerved for a Perſon of another Temper, whom theſe Biſhops were making way for.

An Account of the Proceedings againſt Magdalen College.

The Preſidentſhip of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford* becoming void, and the Fellows fearing a *Mandamus* would be impoſed upon them, for ſome Perſon not qualified by the Statutes, and whom by their Oaths they could not ſubmit to, choſe Dr. *Hough* for Preſident, a Perſon qualified by their Statutes for that Place.

As the Fellows feared, ſo it came to paſs; for the King ſent them a peremptory *Mandamus* to chuſe the Biſhop of *Oxford* (*Bays*) their Preſident; but he being a Perſon not qualified by the Statutes of their College, which the Fellows were ſworn to obſerve, they in a humble Anſwer excuſed themſelves, as being otherways obliged, as well by their Oaths as Statutes. I will not repeat the Anger the King expreſs'd hereupon, 'tis in print; but ſure ſuch Language was never uſed by any Prince before.

But if the King's harſh Language will not work the Fellows to his Will, he will ſend the Commiſſioners of *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* to them, to turn them out of their Fellowſhips, (wherein they had as much Property, as any other had to any real or perſonal Eſtate) nor ſhall theſe Commiſſioners ſtay here, but by a new ſtrain of Tyranny, never practiſed but by abſolute Tyrants, they make the Fellows uncapable of any other Eccleſiaſtical Preferments.

The Fellows thus expell'd, the Statutes of the College are thrown out of Doors, to make room for

a Seminary of Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts, as much tending to the Subverſion of the eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*, as the Statutes of the College. A.D. 1687.

But ſee how God in his Providence blaſted theſe things; for the Biſhop of *Oxford* had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of his new-acquir'd Preſidentſhip, when he died; and you'll ſoon ſee the Fellows reſtor'd again in ſpite of theſe Commiſſioners, and Dr. *Hough* made Biſhop of *Oxford*, as well as Preſident of *Magdalen* College.

In the King was zealous in advancing his *Prerogative Royal*, born in the Church and State of *England*, he will not be leſs in *Scotland*; where upon the 12th of *February*, 168$\frac{6}{7}$, he iſſues out his Proclamation for *Toleration of Religion*, (which you may read in the *State Tracts*) wherein he aſſerts his Abſolute Power, which, he ſays, his Subjects ought to obey without Reſerve.

But the Toleration which the King allows his *Roman Catholick* Subjects in *Scotland*, he'll ſcarce permit to his Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*; for *Tyrconnel* (for ſo has *Talbot* merited for his Service in Reforming the Army) is not only made an Earl, but Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the room of my Lord *Clarendon*, and one *Fitton* (made Sir *Alexander*, an infamous Perſon, detected for Forgery, not only at *Weſtminſter*, but at *Cheſter*, and fined in the Houſe of Lords) was brought out of the *King's Bench* in *England*, to be Chancellor and Keeper of the King's Conſcience in *Ireland*, in place of Sir *Charles Porter*.

The firſt Proclamation that *Tyrconnel* iſſued out, was dated *Febr.* 21, 1687, wherein he promiſed to defend the Laws, Liberties, and eſtabliſh'd Religion, but leaves out the Preſervation of the Acts of *Settlement and Explanation*: But tho' at firſt he only left out the Acts of *Settlement and Explanation*, being reſolved firſt to put the Proteſtants, and let the *Iriſh* into their forfeited Eſtates, yet he did not ſtay here; and Biſhop *King*, in his *Treatiſe of the State of the Proteſtants in* Ireland, gives ſo particular and methodical an Account how he proceeded in the deſtroying the Church and State of *Ireland*, as by Law eſtabliſh'd, that I refer the Reader to it, not intending to leſſen it by taking parts of it.

When

A. Reg. 3. When the Judges had been above a Year propagating the King's Power in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and in their circuits, of diſpenſing with the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts* againſt Diſſenters from the Church, upon the 25th of *April*, 1687, out comes the King's Declaration to all his Subjects for *Liberty of Conſcience*, wherein the King declares, *That it had been a long time his conſtant Senſe and Opinion, that* Conſcience *ought not to be reſtrain'd, nor People forc'd in Matters of meer Religion; and that it was contrary to his Inclination, as he thought it to be the Diſintereſt of the Government, by ſpoiling Trade, and depopulating Countries*, &c.

Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

Sure no Prince ever acted ſo in Extreams, yet his Actions ſo diametrically oppoſite to his Profeſſion. Here you ſee a jeſuited Prince pleading for *Liberty of Conſcience*, to the breaking down the Laws, which before he had ſo often profeſſed to maintain; and for ſuch a ſort of Men, whom but little before he had ſlaughter'd, baniſh'd and impriſon'd, as if he had deſign'd to extirpate the whole Race of them. If to reconcile theſe to Truth, or Reality, be not as great a Miracle as is in any of the Popiſh Legends, I'll believe them all, and be reconciled to the *Roman* Catholick Church, how inconſiſtible ſoever the Terms be.

Remarks upon it.

The generality of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, having for near Seven Years together been ſo ſeverely treated by the *Tories*, were as forward to Congratulate the King for his Indulgence, in manifold Addreſſes, as the *Tories* were in King *Charles*'s Time, in their Addreſſes of Abhorrence to petition the King to call a Parliament to ſettle the Grievances of the Nation: However, this Declaration was ſo drawn in the ſight of every Bird, that (of my knowledge) many of the ſober thinking Men of the Diſſenters did both dread and deteſt it.

That this Declaration might be more paſſable, *Popiſh* Judges were made in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and *Popiſh* Juſtices of the Peace, and Deputy-Lieutenants all *England* over; the Privy Council was repleniſh'd with Popiſh Privy Counſellors; the *Savoy* was laid open to inſtruct Youth in the *Romiſh* Religion, and Popiſh Principles; and Schools for that purpoſe were encouraged

couraged in *London*, and all other Places in *England*: A.D. 1687. Four Foreign Popiſh Biſhops, as *Vicars Apoſtolical*, were allowed in Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction all *England* and *Wales* over.

From inſtructing the St. *Omers* Boys how to behave themſelves in their Evidence, to prove *Oates* was at St. *Omers* all *April* and *May*, in 1678, my Lord *Caſtlemain* is ſent Ambaſſador to the Pope, to render the King's Obedience to the *Holy* and *Apoſtolical See*, with great hopes of extirpating the Northern peſtilent *Hereſy*. In return whereof, the Pope ſent his *Nuncio* to give the King his *Holy Benediction*; yet I do not find that he beforehand ſent for Leave to enter the Kingdom, as was obſerved by Queen *Mary*, *Henry* VIII, and before.

The Judges in their Circuits had their private Inſtructions, to know how Men were affected with the King's *Diſpenſing Power*; and thoſe who were diſaffected to it, were turned out from the Lieutenancy and Commiſſion of the Peace.

Juſtice, Judgment, and Righteouſneſs ſupport the Thrones of Princes; but theſe were Strangers to this King's Ways, other Means muſt be found out to ſupport and carry them through; a ſtanding Army is judged the beſt Expedient; and as the King told the Parliament, at their ſecond meeting, he had encreaſed his Army to double what it was before, ſo he made his Word good, that he would employ Men in it not qualified by the late *Teſts*; and to this end, *Tyrconnel* having disbanded the *Engliſh* Army in *Ireland*, qualified by the *Teſts*, ſends over an Army of *Iriſh*, not qualified by the *Teſts*, to encreaſe the Army in *England*.

This Army, thus raiſed againſt Law, committed all manner of lawleſs Inſolences, though the King by ſeveral Orders would have had their Quarters reſtrained to Victualling-Houſes, Houſes of publick Entertainments, and ſuch as had Licences to ſell Wine and other Liquors; the Officers too, when they pleaſed, would be exempt from the Civil Power.

And tho' the King had no other Wars, but againſt the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation, yet he would have the Act of 1, 2 *Edw.* VI. 2, which makes

A. Reg. 3. it Felony, without Benefit of the Clergy, for any Soldier (taking Pay in the King's Service, in his Wars beyond Sea, or upon Sea, or in *Scotland*, to deſert from his Officer) to extend to this Army thus raiſed by the King: And becauſe the Recorder of *London*, Sir *J. H.* would not expound this Law to the King's Deſign, he was put out of his Place, and ſo was Sir *Edward Herbert* from being Chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench*, to make room for Sir *Robert Wright*, to hang a poor Soldier upon this Statute; and afterward this Statute did the Work without any farther Diſpute.

Thus this Prince did not only aſſume a Power to controul the Laws of the Nation, at his pleaſure, in Civil Affairs, but when he pleaſed made them bend to his Will to eſtabliſh an illegal Army, and countenance the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood: But you'll ſoon ſee God will blaſt theſe ungodly Ways, and that not the Arm of Fleſh, but Judgment, Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, eſtabliſh the Thrones of Princes.

Thus Affairs ſtood in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* in the Year 1687, wherein, I ſuppoſe, no Hiſtory mentions ſo great and violent Alterations in ſo little time, as in this King's Reign, all tending to introduce a Foreign Power, and to enſlave the Nation, which yet ſo patiently endured it; but the Dangers of theſe Deſigns were not circumſcribed within the Bounds of this Nation, but extended into *France*, where for above Twenty Years, a Conſpiracy was carried on for promoting theſe Deſigns thus far advanc'd; ſo that the Year 1688 had a much more terrible Aſpect for *England*, than the Year 1588 had, when *Philip* II. deſigned the Conqueſt of it; for then the Nation was firm and intire for its own Intereſt, whereas this Year it was not only torn to pieces by internal Diſcords, but had an Army and Fleet deſigned to join with the *French* King, in propagating his boundleſs Ambition, not only upon *England*, but upon the Empire of *Germany*, *Spain*, *Holland*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and other Princes of *Italy*.

About the beginning of the Year 1688, a Gentleman of high jeſuited Principles told me, The States of *Holland* were Rebels againſt the King of *Spain*, and that

that I ſhould ſoon ſee the King of *France* would call them to an Account for it, and humble them; and that the *French* King would aſſiſt our King with Men of War. I took more heed to this, becauſe I knew that he was frequently viſited by ſeveral Jeſuits, in whoſe Counſels I believe the *French* King's Deſigns this Year were locked up; for my Lord of *Sunderland*, in his Letter, proteſts he knew nothing of a League between the Kings, yet you will ſee it come out another way. But my Lord of *Sunderland* ſays, that the *French* Ships were offer'd to join with our Fleet, which was refuſed; however, this ſhews there was a Deſign contriving by theſe Princes; yet at preſent the Affairs of *France* ſeemed to look another way, and a *French* Fleet, and Soldiers in them, are ſent to *Canada*: The Deſign and Succeſs you will ſoon hear of. A.D. 1688.

The King having thus, as he thought, laid a Foundation (tho' it proved a very ſandy one) of his Deſigns; and to ſhew how Abſolute he would be in them, upon the 4th of *May* paſſed an Order in Council, that his Declaration of *Indulgence* ſhould be read in all Churches and Chapels in *England* and *Wales* in time of Divine Service; and that all the Biſhops in their reſpective Dioceſſes ſhould take care to have this done accordingly. *Declaration Order'd to be read in Churches.*

The Biſhops, who knew the Declaration of *Indulgence* was deſigned to conjoin the Proteſtant Diſſenters with the Popiſh, to ruin the eſtabliſh'd Church, eaſily foreſaw that the Order to them was to pick a Quarrel with them; for the King might have order'd it to be read without, as well as by them: And, beſides the Injuſtice of it, it was deemed an undecent Thing, that the Fathers of the Church, in time of Divine Service, ſhould be the Inſtruments to give a Liberty to all, whether they ſhould come to Divine Service or not.

Beſides the Biſhop of *London*, who ſtood ſuſpended, theſe Biſhops, *viz.* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Peterborough*, *Chicheſter*, St. *Aſaph* and *Briſtol*, were in or about the Town; and this Order of Reading the Declaration in Churches was ſerved upon them.

A. Reg. 4. The Biſhops in a humble Petition to the King, gave their Reaſons in Writing, (but ſo cautiouſly, that after it was drawn up, they would let no other Man ſee it before they preſented it) why they could not comply with the Order of Council.

Biſhops petition againſt it.

The Chancellor, tho' he thought his Commiſſion big enough to ſuſpend the Biſhop of *London*, and Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and expel the Maſter and Fellows of *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, yet it ſeems did not think it ſufficient to ſuſpend theſe Biſhops; and therefore adviſed the King ('twas ſaid) to try them upon an Information of *High Miſdemeanor* in the *King's-Bench*; and in order to it, they were committed Priſoners to the *Tower*.

Try'd for it. Accordingly the Biſhops were tried in the *King's-Bench* in *Trinity-Term* following, upon an Information of *High Miſdemeanor*, for their Petition to the King: But how ſecure ſoever the King and Chancellor thought themſelves of the Judges, and though Sir *Robert Wright*, who was Chief Juſtice, and Sir *Richard Allibone* (a known Papiſt,) were two of them, yet they were not all of a piece; for Mr. Juſtice *Powel* both learnedly and ſtoutly defended the Biſhops Cauſe.

If we look down to the Bar, we ſhall ſee as ſtrange a Mixture as on the Bench; for the late Attorney General *Sawyer*, and Solicitor *Finch*, who were ſo zealous to find my Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, and Mr. *Corniſh*, &c. guilty of High Treaſon, and for Surrender of Charters, now they are turned out, are as zealous for the Acquittal of the Biſhops; and the then Solicitor General, of a moſt zealous Proſecutor of Abhorrers, and Searcher into the bottom of the *Popiſh Plot*, as zealous for finding their Miſdemeanor. However, the Jury acquitted the Biſhops.

Unleſs it were when *Monk* came into the City the 12th of *February* 165$\frac{9}{0}$. and Colonel *Cloberry* told the Citizens at *Guildhall* they ſhould have a Free Parliament, or when K. *Charles* came into *London* the 29th of *May* following, never were ſuch loud Acclamations of Joy expreſt, as upon the Acquittal of the Biſhops; nor did the Bounds of the City terminate this Joy, but it flew like Lightning to *Hounſlow-Heath*, where the

the King would be preſent to ſee the Army exerci- A. D. 168
ſed, wherein he truſted (more than in Juſtice and Righteouſneſs) to accompliſh his Deſign: It ſeems the King was treated that Day by my Lord of *Feverſham* (General of the Army) in his Tent, when the News of the Biſhops Acquittal arrived at the Army, which entertained it with a general Shout: The King ('twas ſaid) was ſtartled at it, and ſent the Earl to enquire the Cauſe: The Earl in return told the King, 'twas nothing but the Soldiers Joy for the Acquittal of the Biſhops: *And call you that nothing?* replied the King, who was much diſcompoſed upon it; and well he might, for now he ſaw how little Confidence was to be impoſed in the Army he ſo much relied upon.

It's a Duty incumbent upon Mankind, to honour and worſhip God, and give him Thanks for the Benefits received from him, and to petition and pray to him for continuance of them: Next after God, it's the Duty of all Subjects to honour the King, for the Benefits they receive by his Juſtice and Protection, and to petition and pray Relief from him for Oppreſſions and Injuries, which cannot be redreſſed by the ordinary Courſe of Law, or where the Miniſters of the Law either cannot, or refuſe to do Juſtice.

It's therefore the Wiſdom of our Conſtitution, that Parliaments frequently meet, not only to receive Petitions againſt Oppreſſions or Injuries received, which were not, or could not be redreſſed by the King's Miniſters of the Law; but alſo to correct and puniſh the King's Miniſters themſelves, if they tranſgreſſed or neglected their Duty.

But though frequent Parliaments are the moſt proper Expedients for the Subjects herein, yet oftentimes Accidents may be, which will not ſtay for Relief by Parliament, as in Caſe of the Biſhops. In *May* they are ordered to have the King's Declaration of *Indulgence* read in all Churches and Chapels of their reſpective Dioceſes; and not to do it, and to give no Reaſons why they could not do it, would have been a manifeſt Contempt of the King's Authority; they could not do it either in Honour or Conſcience; and by an humble Petition and Addreſs, repreſent this to the King; and for ought appeared then, the King ne-

A. Reg. 4. ver intended to call another Parliament, till he had modelled them as much to his Will, as *Cromwel* did *Praiſe-God Barebone's* Parliament.

This Petition is made a *High Miſdemeanor*, and the Biſhops committed upon it, and Father *Petre*, the Club of *Jeſuits*, the Attorney and Solicitor General, *Graham*, *Burton*, *&c.* are all plotting how to make it ſo: So as now the Kingdom is without all hopes of a Free Parliament, and yet it is a *High Miſdemeanor* to addreſs to, or petition the King.

And that this Order upon the Biſhops to enjoin the Reading of the King's Declaration for *Indulgence*, was a Deſign upon their Perſons, as well as upon the Church, is apparent; for after their Acquittal, Orders from the Commiſſioners of *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* were ſent into all Parts of *England*, to return an Account to the Lord Chancellor, of thoſe that refuſed to read the Declaration of *Indulgence*, that they might be proceeded againſt for their Contempt: But the Reign and Rage of theſe Commiſſioners was too hot to laſt long; and now let's ſee what return of Praiſes and Thankſgivings the Biſhops can make to God for their Deliverance.

God requires Truth in the inward Parts, and that it ſhould govern all the Intentions, Speech and Actions of every Man, in his Converſation with Man, yet more in his Prayers and Petitions to God; and if it be an High Crime of Hypocriſy to ſpeak or act contrary to a Man's Knowledge or Belief, for the End deſigned thereby is to deceive another, though God cannot be deceived, it's a greater Crime to approach his *Omniſcience* with Prayers and Petitions contrary to a Man's certain Knowledge, or firm Belief.

I take it for granted, that the Biſhops underſtood the King's Declaration of *Indulgence* was an unlawful Act; and that if they had ſubmitted to the King's Will to have enjoined it to have been read in all Churches and Chapels of their reſpective Dioceſes, it had been an unlawful Act, which was one Reaſon they could not comply with the King's Will; and that this Declaration was not intended a Favour to the *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, but a Deſign to ruin the eſta-

bliſhed

bliſhed Religion, and Church of *England*; and the enjoining the Biſhops to have it read, was a Deſign upon their Perſons, as well as the Declaration was upon the Church; and that the King profeſſed himſelf to be of the Popiſh Religion, which they believed and declared to be Idolatry, in the worſhipping Images, and derogatory to God's Honour by Invocation of Saints, whereby they grant to Creatures an Omniſcience, which is inſeparable from God, and only to be aſcribed to him; and that the King had owned the *Papal Power*, (which not only claims a Dominion over all Kings and Kingdoms to be at the Pope's diſpoſal, and who had declared the Church of *England* to be Heretical, Schiſmatical and Sacrilegious Perſons, with whom no Faith is to be kept, but had aſſumed a Power equal or ſuperiour to God himſelf, in diſpenſing with God's Laws, and ſetting its own above them) by ſending his Ambaſſador to the Pope, and receiving his *Nuncio*. A.D. 1688.

With what Conſcience then could the Biſhops approach God's Altars in their higheſt Acts of Devotion, and in the Prayer for the Parliament, declare to God that he is their moſt Religious King; and in the *Litany* to pray to God to keep and ſtrengthen the King in the Worſhip of God, or Religion which the King profeſt?

And how could they declare to God, he is their moſt gracious Sovereign, when he had impriſoned them for not ſubmitting to his unlawful Will, and had owned a Power which had declared them Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Sacrilegious Perſons; who were by all ways and means to be extirpated from the Face of the Earth? Yet the Biſhops, by their Canonical Obedience were as much obliged hereto, and to enjoin the Clergy in their reſpective Dioceſes to offer theſe Praiſes to God, as they were not to obey the King's Will by enjoining the King's Declaration of *Indulgence* to be read by all the Clergy in their Dioceſes. To this *Dilemma* had the flattering Church and State in King *Charles* the II's Reign, (though intending it againſt the *Presbyterians*) by their Act of *Uniformity*, brought the Church and State too in the Reign of King *James*.

A. Reg. 4. But leſt this eſtabliſhing of *Popery* ſhould have no longer Support than in the King's Life, a new Miracle is to be added to the Legend; for the next Day after the Biſhops were committed to the *Tower*, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Prince of *Wales*; ſo that now they had got a Prince of *Wales*, and the Queen received the Conſecrated Clouts, and the Pope by his *Nuncio* is become Godfather, a Foundation ſo infallible is laid for exalting the Papal Chair, and extirpating the Peſtilent Northern Hereſy, that it's Hereſy to doubt it.

Birth of the Pretender.

But Man purpoſes, and God diſpoſes; and in truth, without God's ſpecial Aſſiſtance, not only theſe Dominions of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but all the Weſtern Parts of *Europe* were not to be retrieved out of (I may ſay) even a deſperate State; for in *England* the King had a ſtanding Army of above 20000 Men, and the *Whigs* were but too forward to congratulate the King in his Deſigns, and in humouring him, in giving him up their Charters, as the *Tories* in King *Charles*'s Reign, in their Abhorrences of the King's calling a Parliament, and as forward then as the *Whigs* now in ſurrendring their Charters: The Proteſtant Army in *Ireland* not only diſbanded by *Tyrconnel*, and a Popiſh Army ſet up, but the Proteſtants diſarmed; and *Scotland* ſo perfectly ſubdued, that there the King's *Abſolute Will*, without reſerve, muſt paſs for Law: The King of *Spain* ſo weak, as not able to defend himſelf, much leſs relieve others; the Empire engaged in a War againſt the *Turks* in the *Eaſt*, ſo as the Weſtern Parts were in no Condition to repel the Impreſſion the *French* ſhould make upon it: The Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark* remote, and at ſuch natural Enmity with one another, that if one ſhould ſide with *France* or *England*, the other would engage againſt it; and tho' *Holland* were conſiderable elſewhere at Sea, yet their Strength at Sea was inferiour to the *Engliſh*, but much more in Conjunction of the *French* with the *Engliſh*.

However, ſomething muſt be done, for Modeſty in this State had been the higheſt Crime; and of all Foreign Princes, the Prince of *Orange* was moſt immediately concerned, not only in the Oppreſſion of the

French

French King upon his Principality of *Orange*, and the Dangers which threatned the *United Provinces*, by the ſwelling Grandeur of the *French*, but by the King's Arbitrary Proceedings in *England*; for the Princeſs was the Preſumptive Heir to the Crown of *England* and *Scotland*. And ſince they are the Laws and Conſtitutions which erect theſe Nations into Kingdoms, whereof the King is the Head, then if the King deſtroys the Laws and Conſtitutions, he is neither King, nor the Princeſs of *Orange* Preſumptive Heir to them; beſides, ſince the King had aſſumed a Power of Diſpenſing with the Laws, he might as well in Diſpenſing with the Succeſſion; and the Prince was well aſſur'd neither thoſe about the King, nor the Pope, would much favour his, or his Lady's Title to the Crown; nor was the introducing the Prince of *Wales* into the World intended to have either the Prince or Princeſs come to the Crown of *England*. A.D. 1688.

Prince of Orange's Preparations for England.

The Prince of *Orange* thus injured by both theſe Kings, and being denied the Benefit of any Humane Laws, for redreſs has recourſe to God and his Sword for Relief, and oppoſes the Juſtice of his Cauſe againſt the Potency of his Adverſaries: Nor does he take up his Sword to vindicate his own Rights only, but for reſtoring the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to their antient Rights, Laws and Privileges invaded by King *James*, and to put a ſtop to the *French* King's boundleſs Ambition and Tyranny, in Murdering, Ravaging and Deſtroying, rather than making a War upon all his neighbouring Princes, not diſpoſſeſt and ruined by him. A Deſign ſo great, by ſo little a Prince, as no leſs than a Divine Power could inſpire him to ſuch an Undertaking!

The Prince theſe two laſt Years had ſeveral Conferences with the Electors of *Brandenburg*, *Saxony*, and Princes of the Houſe of *Lunenburg*, and other Princes of *Germany*, it's believed in concerting Meaſures how to behave themſelves againſt the Deſigns of theſe two Kings; but the Reſults were ſo ſecret, that I find no mention of them.

But how ſecret ſoever theſe Reſults were, yet the Preparations to put them in Execution could be no Secret, eſpecially the Naval Preparations by Sea; though

A. Reg. 4. though the *Dutch* Ambaſſador aſſured the King, they were not intended againſt him, yet refuſed to communicate the Deſign.

At this Time there was not only a high Ferment in all the Nation againſt the King's Proceedings, but in the Army againſt its Mixture with *Iriſh* Officers and Soldiers; which put the King into a great Agony, which was increaſed by the *Dutch* Preparation: Whereupon the Marqueſs *d' Albeville*, the King's Envoy at the *Hague*, upon the 2d of *Sept. N. S.* 23d of *Aug. O. S.* put in this Memorial to the *States General*.

Albeville's *Memorial to the States.*

High and Mighty Lords,

THE great and ſurprizing Preparations for War, made by your Lordſhips by Sea and Land, in a Seaſon when all Action, eſpecially by Sea, is laid aſide, giving juſt Cauſe of Surprize and Alarm to all Europe, *obliges the King my Maſter, who has had nothing ſo much in his Mind, ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, as a Continuation of the Peace and Correſpondence with this State, to order the Marqueſs* d'Albeville, *his Envoy Extraordinary, to know your Highneſſes Intentions thereby.*

His Majeſty, as your antient Ally and Confederate, believes it juſt to demand this Knowledge, which he hoped with good Reaſon to have heard from your Ambaſſador; but as he ſees this Duty of Alliance and Confederation neglected, and that ſuch Power is raiſing without communicating the Intent in the leaſt to him, he finds himſelf obliged to reinforce his Fleet, and to put himſelf in a Condition to maintain the Peace of Chriſtendom.

The States pauſed upon an Anſwer to this Memorial, when upon the 9th of *September, N. S.* or the 30th of *Aug. O. S.* Monſieur *d' Avaux*, the *French* Ambaſſador, put in a Memorial to the States, wherein he fooliſhly diſcovers the Contrivances which had been ſo long hatching between his Maſter and King *James*; for after a long Story of his Maſter's Deſire of maintaining the Peace of *Europe*, now he had actually broke it, he impertinently tells the States,

D' Avaux's *Memorial to them.*

All theſe Circumſtances, and many others, that I may not here produce, perſwade the King my Maſter, with reaſon, that this Arming threatens England. *Wherefore his Ma-*

jeſty

jeſty hath commanded me to declare to the States, on his Part, that the Bonds of Friendſhip and Alliance between him and the King of Great Britain, *will oblige him (the* French *King) not only to aſſiſt him, (the King of* Great Britain) *but alſo to look on the firſt Act of Hoſtility that ſhall be committed by your Troops, and your Fleet, againſt his Majeſty of* Great Britain, *as a manifeſt Rupture of the Peace, and a Breach with his Crown.* A.D. 1688.

Tho' the *Dutch* made no Anſwer to this Memorial, yet they made no Bones to make this Anſwer to the Marqueſs *d' Albeville's*: *That they had armed in Imitation of his* Britannick *Majeſty, and other Princes; and that thereby they had given no juſt Cauſe of Offence by arming, when all other Princes were in Motion; and that they were long ſince convinced of the Alliance which the King, his Maſter, had treated with* France, *and what had been mentioned to them by Monſieur* le Count d' Avaux *in his Memorial.* *The* Dutch's *Anſwer to* Albeville.

This Anſwer King *James* took all one, as if the *Dutch* had declared War againſt him; and all the Eyes of *England* are now turned toward *Holland*, as if from thence they expected Deliverance from the Deſigns of King *James* and his Popiſh Crew; and the Fathers and Sons too of the Church of *England*, are at as much Variance, in their private and publick Prayers to God, as *Whig* and *Tory* were in their Humours; for in their private Prayers they pray for Proſperity to the Prince of *Orange*, and in the *Liturgy* they pray that God would be King *James's* Defender and Keeper, giving him Victory over all his Enemies.

God was pleaſed to prefer the private Prayers of the Churchmen before thoſe of the Church, and to have granted both, had it been poſſible, and put a Hook into the *French* King's Noſe, who turned thoſe Forces which he had raiſed (not for the Peace and Tranquility of *Europe*, as *d' Avaux* ſaid in his Memorial to the *Dutch* States) upon the Empire, where, without any Declaration of War, or Cauſe alledged, he firſt fell upon *Philipsburg*, which he took, and after *Heidelberg* and *Mainheim*; and while he was thus engaged, he left

A. Reg. 4. left the Prince of *Orange* free to vindicate his Cauſe againſt King *James*: Whereas if the *French* King had turned thoſe Forces, which he employ'd againſt the Empire, upon the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, (and he might as juſtly have done this as that) the Prince of *Orange* would have had little Force, and leſs Leaſure, to have made any Attempt upon King *James*: Thus God is pleaſed often to turn the Wiſdom of the Crafty (I will not ſay Wiſe) into Folly and Deſtruction.

You have heard before how the *French* King, in the beginning of the Year, had ſent out a Fleet to *Canada*; whereupon the Company of *Hudſons-Bay* repreſented to the King their Apprehenſions, it was a Deſign upon their Factories and Plantations; and ſo it ſucceeded, for the *French* ſeized upon a Fort and Plantation of theirs, call'd, *Fort Charles*.

Towards the latter end of the Summer, the King, without the Knowledge of *Hudſons-Bay* Company, entred into a Treaty of Commerce with his Brother of *France*, in reference to the Trade of *Canada*, wherein it was concluded, that the Forts and Factories ſhould be reciprocally enjoyed in the ſame State they were at the Concluſion of this Treaty, the *French* having taken the Fort and Factory of *Charles* about three Months before. So little did this King regard the Safety and Welfare of his Subjects, wherein his Majeſty and Honour was founded, to pleaſure and endear his Brother of *France*, from whom he expected mighty Things for the Advancement of his Prerogative without reſerve, in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Thus have I brought down the Hiſtory of this King's Reign, to the Hiſtory of the *Deſertion*, where at large and particularly you may read, how by a Wonder, equal to King *Charles*'s coming in, King *James* went out: And if no Human Proſpect could have foreſeen where the Tyranny of King *Charles* the I's Reign would have ended, if the *Long Parliament* in 1640 had not put a full Stop to it; ſo no unintereſted Perſon was ſo purblind, as not to ſee if the Heroick Magnanimity of King *William* in his Queen's, his

his own and the Nation's Right, and for the common Safety of *Chriſtendom*, had not put a Stop to King *James*'s Deſigns, but the *Popiſh* Superſtition, and *French* Tyranny, would have been impoſed upon theſe Kingdoms, and have overſpread *Chriſtendom*. A.D. 1688.

We admit theſe four Kings of the *Scottiſh* Race had an Hereditary Title to have governed *England*, by the Laws and Conſtitutions of it; yet no Hereditary King hath any higher Title, nor any Man a Right to do Wrong; and for an Hereditary King to govern otherways, is a greater Tyranny, than if an Uſurper does, by how much he adds Perfidiouſneſs, and Breach of his Truſt to it.

Yet ſo it was, that theſe four laſt Kings of the *Scottiſh* Race, which ſhould have been the Guardians of *England*, in preſerving the Laws and Conſtitutions of it, and to have maintained the Honour of it abroad, made it their Buſineſs to have ſubverted them; and being thereby always at Variance and Contentions with their Subjects, loſt their own and the Nation's Honour abroad; and by taking no Care of the Foreign Concerns of the Nation, became contemptible to other Nations: Nay, the laſt three Kings, inſtead of reſtraining the *French* Ambition and Tyranny, joined with them in advancing of them; as if they deſign'd to make the *French* King an Univerſal Monarch, as well as to deſtroy the Conſtitutions of *England*. And I would know a Reaſon why, now his Majeſty King *William* has, by God's Bleſſing, redeemed this Nation from the imminent Danger which the *French* King, in conjunction with King *James*, deſigned upon the Weſtern Parts of *Chriſtendom*, as well as theſe Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, any Chriſtian ſhould endeavour or deſire the Reſtitution of King *James*, any more than the Primitive Chriſtians did *Diocleſian*, *Maximin* and *Maxentius*, after God had freed them from their Rage and Perſecution by *Conſtantine*.

A DETECTION OF THE Court and State of ENGLAND, DURING THE REIGN OF King *WILLIAM* III.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

A Detection of this Reign, till the Declaration of War againſt France.

His Birth. THIS Prince, a Foreigner by Birth, and the Poſthumous Son of *William* II, Prince of *Orange*, by the Royal Princeſs *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter of *Charles* I, King of *Great Britain*, was born on the Fourth of *November*, *O. S.* in 1650, ſome Days after his Father's

ther's Death: This Circumſtance, together with the Murder of his Royal Grandfather ſome time before in *England*, under the Pretence of Juſtice; the Change of the Monarchy thereupon into a kind of Republick; the Naval War that enſued between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, and the Uſurpation of *Cromwell*; all concurred to depreſs this Infant Prince, who, when he was about three Years old, was by a kind of Decree of the States of *Holland* and *Weſtfrieſland*, excluded from being Stadtholder and General, as his Anceſtors had been, by whoſe Valour and Conduct that Republick had been eſtabliſhed. *A. Reg.* 1

He was under the Care of his Mother for the firſt ten Years of his Life; but the Royal Princeſs, in 1660, paſſing into *England* to viſit her Brothers, upon the happy Reſtoration of *Charles* II, to the Throne of his Anceſtors, ſhe ſickned here of the Small-Pox, and on the 24th of *November* departed this Life, much lamented. The Guardianſhip of her Son upon that devolved on his Grandmother *Emelia de Solms*, the Relict of *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*, who diſcharged her Truſt with the utmoſt Application and Fidelity, ſo that his Highneſs improved daily in Knowledge, and all the noble Exercites that were ſuitable to his Birth and Quality: Nevertheleſs his Troubles ſtill continued; for the very ſame Year that he loſt his Mother, the *French* King ſeized upon his Principality of *Orange*. *Education.*

Many were the Remonſtrances made to the Court of *France* on this Account, though with little Succeſs till the Year 1665, when they agreed to reſtore it; and accordingly Monſieur *Zulichem* being ſent thither on the Prince's Behalf to take Poſſeſſion of it, ſome Authors of good Credit inform us, that on the 6th of May, as he was taking the Oath of Allegiance of the People to the Prince, in the Encloſure of the old *Roman Circus* there yet remaining, a Crown of Light in the Air appeared, and hovered above an Hour over the Chair of State that was ſet for the Prince; and the ſame thing on the ſame Day of the Month in 1688, has been confidently affirm'd to have been ſeen in the ſame Place for three Hours together, only with this Difference, *Orange reſtored to him.*

A.D. 1688. Difference, that this laſt Crown had an Edge of Ray about it, which the other had not.

• The States General were all this while more intent than ever in eſtabliſhing their Republick, and in the Year 1667 made the perpetual Edict; in which, among other things, it was enacted, That whatever Perſon ſhould hereafter be made Captain or Admiral General, or have both the Offices, ſhould not be or remain Stadtholder of any of the Provinces; but more particularly, that that Office in reſpect to *Holland* and *Weſtfrieſland*, ſhould be ſuppreſt and made void in all Reſpects, and that the Captain or Admiral General ſhould oblige himſelf by Oath never to ſeek it at any time directly or indirectly, and if the Dignity of Stadtholder ſhould be offered to him, he ſhould refuſe and decline the ſame.

The Interceſſions made by the Court of *England* in the Prince's Behalf, had little or no effect: On the contrary, the Prince's Enemies, to mortify him the more, reſolved to turn him out of the Houſe at the *Hague*, which belonged to the States; and the Penſionary *De Wit* being ſent to him with the Meſſage, the young Prince boldly and ſedately made him this Anſwer; That his Great Grandfather, Grandfather, Father and himſelf, having lived ſo long in that Houſe, he was very unwilling to leave it, and the Penſionary might go and tell the States, he would not till forc'd out of it: Upon which, the States let the Matter drop.

Refuſed to remove out of the States Houſe in the Hague.

The *Zealanders* ſeem'd at this time to be the beſt affected of any of the Provinces to the Prince, who pretending a Journey to *Breda*, went thither, and deſiring admittance into the Aſſembly of the States, he propoſed to them to be admitted Junior Noble, as had been done to his Anceſtors at eighteen Years of Age, which was actually done with great Expreſſions of Kindneſs to him; and the Character he bore about this time, without my Author flatters him, was this, that he found him much better than he expected, and a young Man of more Parts than ordinary, and of the better ſort, that is, not lying in that kind of Wit, which was neither of uſe to one's ſelf, nor any Body elſe, but of a good plain Senſe, which ſhew'd

1669.

Appli-

Application if he had any Buſineſs that deſerved it, and with extream good and agreeable Humour and Diſpoſitions; and thus far of his Way without any Vice. Beſides, being ſleepy always by Ten a-Clock at Night, and loving Hunting as much as he hated Swearing, and preferring Cock-Ale before any Wine. *A. Reg.* 1.

His Highneſs in *June* 1670, was admitted into the Council of State, which ſeem'd to be a Step towards aſcending to the other Dignities of his Anceſtors, and the ſame Year made a Tour into *England:* Soon after which, King *Charles* and *Lewis* XIV of *France* entred into a Confederacy to fall upon and ruine the *Dutch* Republick, who, by a long Peace and neglect of Military Diſcipline, were much unprepared to divert the Storm that was ready to fall upon them. The States hereupon thought fit to preſent the Prince, now about Two and twenty Years old, with the Charge of Captain of their Armies, and Admiral of the United Provinces; nay, the Peaſants of *Frieſland* would not take up Arms, but upon Condition that they ſhould ſwear to be true to the Republick, and to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange:* The *Dutch*, by this Peace, thought they might be able, and with the help of ſome Money, to diſengage *England*, tho' without Succeſs. 1670. *Admitted into the Council of State.* 1672.

The firſt Stand the Prince made againſt the mighty Power of *France*, was at *Nieukop*, on which ſide they could gain no manner of Advantage, but were conſtrained to abandon their Works, and retire with loſs; but the Frontier Towns and Garriſons in *Holland* falling every Day under the Power of *France*, great Commotions were raiſed at *Dort*, and the Prince being invited thither to appeaſe them, they unanimouſly declared they would make him Stadtholder; and an Inſtrument being thereupon drawn up for aboliſhing the perpetual Edict, he refuſed to take notice of it, unleſs he might be fully diſcharged from the Oath he had taken, when he accepted of the ſingle Charge of Captain General; which being done accordingly, the Magiſtrates conſtitute him Stadtholder, and *Cornelius De Wit* was the only Perſon that abſolutely refuſed his Conſent: The States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland*, with whom thoſe of *Zealand* likewiſe concurred,

A. Reg. 1. curred, now not only confirm'd what thoſe of *Dort* had done, but in their Grand Aſſembly, preſented the Prince with the Publick Inſtruments, which both diſengag'd him of his Oath of Captain-General, and inveſted him in the Stadtholderſhip at the ſame time, with all the Privileges enjoy'd by his Anceſtors.

Made Stadtholder.

His Re-eſtabliſhment in the Stadtholderſhip inſpired the People with new Courage; and now a numerous Body of above 5000 *French* were twice repulſed from the Walls of *Aerdenburg*, through the extraordinary Valour of no more than 200 Burghers and 100 Garriſon-Soldiers. What heightened the Peoples Zeal ſtill the more for the Perſon of the Prince, was, that a certain Chirurgeon charging *Cornelius de Wit* with a Deſign to kill or poiſon him, for which he was diveſted of all his Dignities and Employments, and condemn'd to perpetual Baniſhment: The People took this to be a partial Sentence, and from Murmuring, when the Penſionary, his Brother came to fetch him out, when he was going into Exile, proceeded to Blows, and ſo diſpatch'd both of them, as believing them to be Traytors to their Country: Whether they were really ſo, is very difficult to determine; there are divers Paſſages in Monſieur *d'Eſtrade*'s Letters, that would incline us to believe, that the Penſionary was deep in the *French* Intereſt; be it as it will, it ſeems their Averſion to the Houſe of *Orange* carry'd them ſo far, that they had rather be Slaves to *France*, than to ſee that uppermoſt.

The Enemies of *Holland* ſeeing how things went, and that the States grew united, *England* and *France* conſpired to tempt the Prince to aſſume the Sovereignty of his Country under their Protection; but his Anſwer was very firm, That he would not betray the Truſt repos'd in him, nor ever ſell the Liberty of his Country, which his Anceſtors had ſo long defended. Hereupon the Duke of *Bucks*, one of King *Charles*'s Envoys to the *French* King, now at *Utrecht*, expoſtulating with the Prince, what he could propoſe to himſelf in ſuch a deſperate Caſe, ſince, according to the Humour he perſiſted in, he muſt unavoidably

avoidably ſee the fatal Ruin of it. He reply'd, *A.D.*1688
That what he declared concerning their dangerous Condition was indeed true, but yet that he had one way ſtill left, not to ſee it accompliſh'd, which was to lye in the laſt Dyke.

As to the Actions of the Field, the Prince having raiſed the Siege of *Woerden*, taken *Valkroon*, attempted *Charleroy* in vain, and poſſeſt himſelf of *Binch*, he was, in 1673, put very hard to it to de- 1673.
fend the Province of *Holland* from the Irruption made into it by the *French*; but having recovered *Ceevorden*, taken *Narden*, and, in conjunction with the Imperial Army, maſtered *Bon*, the *French* thought it high time to quit the Provinces; and his Country, in gratitude to him for his Services, made him Hereditary Stadtholder.

It was in the Year 1674 that he engaged againſt 1674.
the Prince of *Conde* in a moſt bloody Battle at *Seneff*, with doubtful Victory, only he was laſt on the Field of Battle; and upon that Occaſion *Conde* ſaid of him, That he had acted like an old Commander in every thing, but only in venturing himſelf too much like a young Man: The Words of the Imperial General *Zouches* are yet more full, ſaying, That he ſhewed, upon that Occaſion, the Prudence of an aged General, the Courage of a *Cæſar*, and the undaunted Bravery of a *Marius*.

We are but juſt to mention the Siege of the *Grave* and *Oudenard*, and the Offers made to his Highneſs, in 1675, of the Sovereignty of *Guelderland*, which, after mature Deliberation, he thought fit to reject. It was alſo, in this Year, he was deprived of his Grandmother, the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*, who was characterized to be a Woman of the moſt Wit and good Senſe in general, that could be met with; that none had ſhewed more the force of Order and OEconomy than ſhe, who with ſmall Revenues, not exceeding Twelve Thouſand Pounds a Year, ſince her Husband's Death, lived always in ſuch great Plenty, and more Curioſity and Elegance, than was to be ſeen in many greater Courts; and amongſt other Pieces of Grandeur, ſhe was con-

A. Reg. 1. ſtantly ſerved all in Gold Plate, which went ſo far as to great Bottles for Water, and a great Ciſtern for Bottles, to the Key of her Cloſet, and every thing of that kind ſhe uſually touch'd.

But to return to the Prince, in 1676 having formed the Siege of *Maeſtricht*, he was there wounded in the Arm, nevertheleſs he carry'd on the Siege with ſo much Vigour, that the Place had certainly been taken, if the *French* with a much ſuperior Force had not advanced to raiſe it. He was unſucceſsful in the Battle of *Mount Caſſell*, in 1677; but his matching the Year following with the Lady *Mary*, the Duke of *York*'s eldeſt Daughter, laid the Foundation of his Advancement to the Throne of *Britain*. The Peace of *Nimeguen* in 1678, and the Battle fought by his Highneſs near *Mons*, againſt the Duke *Luxemburg*, in that Juncture, though attended with Succeſs, occaſion'd many Reflections upon him.

King *Charles* the Second giving way to Fate in 1685, the Acceſſion of the Duke of *York* to the Throne brought him a Step nearer to the Crown, and therefore he offer'd to come into *England* in Perſon to fight againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was in Arms, and laid Claim to it; but King *James* excuſed it, and notwithſtanding the great Endearedneſs there was between that Prince and *Lewis* XIV of *France*, this laſt ſtuck not, in the very firſt Year of the others Reign, to ſeize the Principality of *Orange*, the Patrimony of his Son in Law. In the mean time, King *James* going on to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power into the Nation, and in order thereunto, having required the Prince's Opinion concerning the Repealing the Penal Laws and Teſt, he ſhew'd himſelf wholly averſe to it: And now great Applications were made to him from *England*, to come and aſſiſt the Proteſtant Intereſt againſt the Encroachments of the Papiſts. A Memorial of the Church of *England* was preſented to him and the Princeſs, and a Pamphlet call'd, *A Memorial of the* Engliſh *Proteſtants* was diſpers'd in *Holland*, wherein, among other Things, the Author complain'd of King *James*'s obliging his Subjects to own a ſuppoſed Child

‡ for

for Prince of *Wales*, which occaſion'd ſoon after thoſe Depoſitions that were made and publiſh'd to the World by King *James*'s Order, concerning that Birth, and which have not received any rational and ſatisfactory Anſwer to this Day. *A.D.* 1688.

The Prince, in his own Mind, having reſolved upon the Expedition, the great Difficulty was how to break it to the States, how to obtain their Conſent, and yet to keep the ſame very ſecret: He told the Aſſembly, at laſt, that he was to communicate an Affair of the weightieſt Importance, and greateſt Glory to the Republick; that the only Danger was, leſt it ſhould take vent, and that if they deputed three Perſons of Reputation, to hear, weigh, and approve of the Propoſal, the United Provinces might afterwards, upon their Credit, contribute all the Means that were requiſite to carry on the Enterprize. The Influence and Eloquence of the Prince having ſway'd the States to ſo unuſual a Compliance, his Requeſt was comply'd with, and three Perſons which were deputed, were entirely devoted to his Intereſt. Now it was that a Copy of the Reſolutions of the States General appear'd, containing the Reaſons which induced them to aſſiſt the Prince of *Orange* with Men, Ships, and Ammunition, in his intended Expedition into *England*; and the ſame was communicated to all the Foreign Miniſters, except the *French* and *Engliſh*; and therein, beſides the repeated Invitations his Highneſs had received from the *Engliſh* Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, they alledged, that the *French* King had upon ſeveral Occaſions ſhew'd himſelf diſſatisfied with their State, which gave them cauſe to fear and apprehend, that in caſe the King of *Great Britain* ſhould compaſs his Deſigns within his own Kingdom, and obtain an abſolute Power over his People, that then both Kings, out of Intereſt of State, and Hatred and Zeal againſt the Proteſtant Religion, would endeavour to bring their State to Confuſion, and, if poſſible, quite to ſubject it. *How the Prince communicated his intended Expedition to the States.*

Further, the Prince of *Orange*, to juſtify his Undertaking to the whole World, thought fit now to

A. Reg. 1. publiſh his Declaration, which, tho' long, yet being the Subſtance of all his Pretenſions, muſt neceſſarily be inſerted here.

The Prince of Orange's Declaration.

I. IT is moſt certain and evident to all Men, That the publick Peace and Happineſs of any State or Kingdom cannot be preſerved where the Laws, Liberties, and Cuſtoms, eſtabliſh'd by the lawful Authority in it, are openly tranſgreſſed and annull'd, more eſpecially where the Alteration of Religion is endeavour'd, and that a Religion which is contrary to Law is endeavour'd to be introduced: Upon which, thoſe who are moſt immediately concern'd in it, are indiſpenſably bound to endeavour to maintain and preſerve the eſtabliſh'd Laws, Liberties, and Cuſtoms, and above all, the Religion and Worſhip of God that is eſtabliſh'd among them; and to take ſuch an effectual Care, that the Inhabitants of the ſaid State or Kingdom may neither be depriv'd of their Religion, nor of their Civil Rights; which is ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe the Greatneſs and Security both of Kings, Royal Families, and of all ſuch as are in Authority, as well as the Happineſs of their Subjects and People, depend, in a moſt eſpecial manner, upon the exact Obſervation and Maintenance of theſe their Laws, Liberties, and Cuſtoms.

II. Upon theſe Grounds it is, that we can't any longer forbear to declare, That, to our great Regret we ſee that thoſe Counſellors, who have now the chief Credit with the King, have overturned the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of theſe Realms, and ſubjected them in all things relating to their Conſciences, Liberties, and Properties, to Arbitrary Government; and that not only by ſecret and indirect Ways, but in an open and undiſguiſed manner.

III. Theſe evil Counſellors, for the advancing and colouring this with ſome plauſible Pretexts, did invent and ſet on foot the King's Diſpenſing Power by virtue of which they pretend, that, according to Law, he can ſuſpend and diſpenſe with the Execution of the Laws that have been enacted by the Authority of the King and Parliament, for the Security and

nd Happineſs of the Subject, and ſo have rendred A.D.1688.
hoſe Laws of no effect: Though there is nothing more certain, than that as no Laws can be made but by the joint Concurrence of the King and Parliament, ſo likewiſe Laws ſo enacted, which ſecure the publick Peace and Safety of the Nation, and the Lives and Liberties of every Subject in it, cannot be repealed or ſuſpended but by the ſame Authority.

IV. For though the King may pardon the Puniſhment that a Tranſgreſſor has incurr'd, and for which he is condemn'd, as in the Caſes of Treaſon or Felony; yet it cannot be with any colour of Reaſon infer'd from thence, that the King can entirely ſuſpend the Execution of thoſe Laws relating to Treaſon and Felony, unleſs it is pretended that he is cloathed with a Deſpotick and Arbitrary Power; and that the Lives, Liberties, Honours and Eſtates of the Subjects depend wholly on his Good Will and Pleaſure, and are entirely ſubject to him, which muſt infallibly follow, on the King's having a Power to ſuſpend the Execution of the Laws, and to diſpenſe with them.

V. Thoſe evil Counſellors, in order to the giving ſome Credit to this ſtrange and execrable Maxim, have ſo conducted the Matter, that they have obtain'd a Sentence from the Judges, declaring, That this Diſpenſing Power is a Right belonging to the Crown; as if it were in the Power of the Twelve Judges to offer up the Laws, Rights and Liberties of the whole Nation to the King, to be diſpoſed of by him arbitrarily, and at his pleaſure, and expreſly contrary to Laws enacted for the Security of the Subjects. In order to the obtaining of this Judgment, thoſe evil Counſellors did before-hand examine ſecretly the Opinion of the Judges, and procured ſuch of them as could not in Conſcience concur in ſo pernicious a Sentence, to be turned out, and others to be ſubſtituted in their Rooms; till by the Changes that were made in the Courts of Judicature, they at laſt obtained that Judgment. And they have raiſed ſome to thoſe Truſts, who make open Profeſſion of the Popiſh Religion, tho' thoſe are by Law rendred incapable of all ſuch Employments.

A. Reg. 1. VI. It is alſo manifeſt and notorious, That as his Majeſty was, upon his coming to the Crown, received and acknowledg'd by all the Subjects of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as their King, without the leaſt Oppoſition, though he made then open Profeſſion of the Popiſh Religion; ſo he did then promiſe, and ſolemnly ſwear at his Coronation, That he would maintain his Subjects in the free Enjoyment of their Laws and Liberties; and in particular, that he would maintain the Church of *England*, as it was eſtabliſhed by Law: It is likewiſe certain, that there have been at divers and ſundry times ſeveral Laws enacted for the Preſervation of thoſe Rights and Liberties, and of the Proteſtant Religion: And, among other Securities, it has been enacted, That all Perſons whatſoever, that are advanced to any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, or to bear Office in the Univerſity; as likewiſe all others that ſhould be put into any Employment, Civil or Military, ſhould declare, That they were not Papiſts, but were of the Proteſtant Religion, and that by their taking of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Teſt; yet theſe evil Counſellors have, in effect, annulled and aboliſh'd all thoſe Laws which relate to Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Employments.

VII. In order to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Offices, they have, not only without any colour of Law, but againſt moſt expreſs Laws to the contrary, ſet up a Commiſſion, of a certain Number of Perſons, to whom they committed the Cognizance and Direction of all Eccleſiaſtical Matters; in the which Commiſſion there has been, and ſtill is, one of his Majeſty's Miniſters of State, who makes now publick Profeſſion of the Popiſh Religion, and who, at the time of his firſt profeſſing it, declared, that for a great while before, he had believed that to be the only true Religion. By all this, the deplorable State to which the Proteſtant Religion is reduced, is apparent, ſince the Affairs of the Church of *England* are now put into the Hands of Perſons who have accepted of a Commiſſion that is manifeſtly illegal, and who have executed it contrary to Law; and that now one of their chief Members has abjured the Proteſtant

ſtant Religion, and declared himſelf a Papiſt, by which he is become uncapable of holding any publick Employment. The ſaid Commiſſioners have hitherto given ſuch Proofs of their Submiſſion to the Directions given them, that there is no reaſon to doubt but they will ſtill continue to promote all ſuch Deſigns as will be moſt agreeable to them. And thoſe evil Counſellors take care to raiſe none to any Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, but Perſons who have no Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and that hide their Unconcernedneſs for it, under the ſpecious Pretence of Moderation. The ſaid Commiſſioners have ſuſpended the Biſhop of *London*, only becauſe he refuſed to obey an Order that was ſent him to ſuſpend a worthy Divine, without ſo much as citing him before him to make his own Defence, or beſtowing the common Forms of Proceſs. They have turned out a Preſident choſen by the Fellows of *Magdalen-College*, and afterwards all the Fellows of that College, without ſo much as citing them before any Court that could take legal Cognizance of that Affair, or obtaining any Sentence againſt them by a competent Judge. And the only Reaſon that was given for turning them out, was, their refuſing to chuſe for their Preſident, a Perſon that was recommended to them by the Inſtigation of thoſe evil Counſellors, tho' the Right of a free Election belonged undoubtedly to them. But they were turned out of their Freeholds contrary to Law, and that expreſs Proviſion in the *Magna Charta*, That *no Man ſhall loſe Life or Goods, but by the Law of the Land.* And now theſe evil Counſellors have put that College wholly into the Hands of Papiſts, tho', as is aboveſaid, they are incapable of all ſuch Employments, both by the Law of the Land, and the Statutes of the College. Theſe Commiſſioners have alſo cited before them all the Chancellors and Arch-Deacons of *England*, requiring them to certify to them the Names of all ſuch Clergymen as have read the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, and of ſuch as have not read it, without conſidering that the Reading thereof was not enjoyned the Clergy by the Biſhops, who are their Ordi- A.D. 1688.

A. Reg. 1. Ordinaries. The Illegality and Incompetency of the ſaid Court of Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners was ſo notoriouſly known, that it did ſo evidently appear that it tended to the Subverſion of the Proteſtant Religion, that the moſt Reverend Father in God, *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of *England*, ſeeing that it was raiſed for no other End but to oppreſs ſuch Perſons as were eminent Virtue, Learning and Piety, refus'd to act, or to concur in it.

VIII. And though there are many expreſs Laws againſt all Churches or Chapels for the Exerciſe of the Popiſh Religion, and alſo againſt all Monaſteries and Convents, and more particularly againſt the Order of the Jeſuits, yet thoſe evil Counſellors have procured Orders for the Building of ſeveral Churches and Chapels for the Exerciſe of that Religion. They alſo have procured divers Monaſteries to be erected; and, in contempt of the Laws, they have not only ſet up ſeveral Colleges of Jeſuits in divers Places, for the Corrupting the Youth, but have raiſed up one of the Order to be a Privy-Counſellor, and a Miniſter of State. By all which they do evidently ſhew, that they are not reſtrained by any Rules of Law whatſoever, but that they have ſubjected the Honours and Eſtates of the Subjects, and the eſtabliſh'd Religion, to a Deſpotick Power, and to Arbitrary Government. In all which they are ſerved and ſeconded by thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.

IX. They have alſo followed the ſame Methods with relation to Civil Affairs; for they have procured Orders to examine all Lords-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, and all others that were in any publick Employments, if they would concur with the King in the Repeal of the Teſt and Penal Laws; and all ſuch whoſe Conſciences did not ſuffer them to comply with their Deſigns, were turned out, and others were put in their Places, whom they believ'd would be more compliant to them, in their Deſigns of defeating the Intent and Execution of thoſe Laws which had been made with ſo much Care and Caution, for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion.

And

And in many of those Places they have put professed Papists, tho' the Law has disabled them, and warranted the Subjects not to have any regard to their Orders. A.D. 1688.

X. They have also invaded the Privileges, and seiz'd on the Charters of most of those Towns that have a Right to be represented by their Burgesses in Parliament; and have procured Surrenders to be made of them, by which the Magistrates in them have delivered up all their Rights and Privileges to be dispos'd of at the Pleasure of those evil Counsellors; who have thereupon placed new Magistrates in those Towns, such as they can most entirely confide in: And in many of them they put Popish Magistrates, notwithstanding the Incapacities under which the Law has put them.

XI. And whereas no Nation whatsoever can subsist without the Administration of good and impartial Justice, upon which Mens Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Estates do depend; those evil Counsellors have subjected these to an Arbitrary and Despotick Power: In the most important Affairs they have studied to discover before hand the Opinions of the Judges, and have turned out such as they found would not conform themselves to their Intentions, and have put others in their Places of whom they were more assured, without having any regard to their Abilities: And they have not stuck to raise even professed Papists to the Courts of Judicature, notwithstanding their Incapacity by Law, and that no regard is due to any Sentences flowing from them. They have carried this so far, as to deprive such Judges, who in common Administration of Justice shewed that they were governed by their Consciences, and not by the Directions which the others gave them. By which it is apparent, that they design to render themselves the absolute Masters of the Lives, Honours and Estates of the Subjects, of what Rank or Dignity soever they may be, and that without having any regard either to the Equity of the Cause, or to the Consciences of the Judges, whom they will have to submit in all things to their own Will and Pleasure; hoping

A. Reg. 1. hoping by ſuch to intimidate thoſe who are in Employment, as alſo ſuch others as they ſhall think fit to put in the Room of thoſe whom they have turned out; and to make them ſee what they muſt look for, if they ſhould at any time act in the leaſt contrary to their good liking; and that no Failings in that kind are pardoned in any Perſon whatſoever. A great deal of Blood has been ſhed in many Places of the Kingdom, by Judges govern'd by thoſe evil Counſellors, againſt all the Rules and Forms of Law, without ſo much as ſuffering the Perſons that were accuſed to plead in their own Defence.

XII. They have alſo, by putting the Adminiſtration of Civil Juſtice in the Hands of Papiſts, brought all the Matters of Civil Juſtice into great Uncertainties; with how much Exactneſs and Juſtice ſoever theſe Sentiments may have been given. For ſince the Laws of the Land do not only exclude Papiſts from all Places of Judicature, but have put them under an Incapacity, none are bound to acknowledge or to obey their Judgments; and all Sentences given by them are null and void of themſelves: So that all Perſons who have been caſt in Trials before ſuch Popiſh Judges, may juſtly look on their pretended Sentences, as having no more Force than the Sentence of any private and unauthorized Perſon whatſoever. So deplorable is the Caſe of the Subjects, who are obliged to anſwer to ſuch Judges, that muſt in all things ſtick to the Rules which are ſet them by thoſe evil Counſellors; who as they raiſed them up to thoſe Employments, ſo can turn them out at pleaſure, and can never be eſteemed lawful Judges: So that all their Sentences are, in the Conſtruction of the Law, of no Force and Efficacy. They have likewiſe diſpos'd of all Military Employments, but have in particular provided, that the Papiſts ſhould be diſarm'd; yet they, in contempt of theſe Laws, have not only armed the Papiſts, but have likewiſe raiſed them up to the greateſt Military Truſt, both by Sea and Land, and that Strangers as well as Natives, and *Iriſh* as well as *Engliſh*; that ſo by thoſe Means, having rendred themſelves Maſters both of the Affairs of the Church,

of

of the Government, of the Nation, and of the Courts of Juſtice, and ſubjected them all to a Deſpotick and Arbitrary Power, they might be in a Capacity to maintain and execute their wicked Deſigns by the Aſſiſtance of the Army, and thereby to enſlave the Nation. A.D. 1688.

XIII. The diſmal Effects of this Subverſion of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, Laws and Liberties of *England*, appear more evidently to us, by what we ſee done in *Ireland*; where the whole Government is put in the Hands of Papiſts, and where all the Proteſtant Inhabitants are under the daily Fears of what may be juſtly apprehended from the Arbitrary Power which is ſet up there; which has made great Numbers of them leave that Kingdom, and abandon their Eſtates in it, remembring well that cruel and bloody Maſſacre which fell out in that Iſland in the Year 1641.

XIV. Thoſe evil Counſellors have alſo prevailed with the King to declare in *Scotland*, That he is cloathed with Abſolute Power, and that all the Subjects are bound to obey without Reſerve; upon which he aſſumed an Arbitrary Power, both over the Religion and Laws of the Kingdom: From all which it is apparent, what is to be looked for in *England*, as ſoon as Matters are duly prepared for it.

XV. Thoſe great and inſufferable Oppreſſions, and the open Contempt of all Law, together with the Apprehenſions of the ſad Conſequences that muſt certainly follow upon it, have put the Subjects under great and juſt Fears; and have made them look after lawful Remedies, as are allowed of in all Nations, yet all has been without Effect. And thoſe evil Counſellors have endeavour'd to make all Men apprehend the Loſs of their Lives, Liberties, Honours and Eſtates, if they ſhould go about to preſerve themſelves from this Oppreſſion, by Petitions Repreſentations, or other Means authorized by Law. Thus did they proceed with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other Biſhops; who having offer'd a moſt humble Petition to the King, in Terms full of Reſpect, and not exceeding the Number limited by Law,

A. Reg. 1. Law, in which they ſet forth, in ſhort, the Reaſons for which they could not obey that Order, which, by the Inſtigation of thoſe evil Counſellors, was ſent them, requiring them to appoint their Clergy to read in their Churches the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, were ſent to Priſon, and afterwards brought to a Trial, as if they had been guilty of ſome enormous Crime. They were not only obliged to defend themſelves in that Purſuit, but to appear before profeſſed Papiſts, who had not taken the Teſt, and by conſequence were Men whoſe Intereſt led them to condemn them: And the Judges that gave their Opinions in their Favours, were thereupon turned out.

XVI. And yet it cannot be pretended, that any Kings, how great ſoever their Power has been, and how Arbitrary and Deſpotick ſoever they have been in the Exerciſe of it, have ever reckon'd it a Crime for their Subjects to come in all Submiſſion and Reſpect, and in a due Number, not exceeding the Limits of the Law, and repreſent to them the Reaſons that made it impoſſible for them to obey their Orders. Thoſe evil Counſellors have alſo treated a Peer of the Realm as a Criminal, only becauſe he ſaid, *That the Subjects were not bound to obey the Orders of a Popiſh Juſtice of the Peace:* Tho' it's evident, that they being by Law rendred incapable of all ſuch Truſts, no Regard is due to their Orders. This being the Security which the People have by the Law for their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, that they are not to be ſubjected to the Arbitrary Proceedings of Papiſts, that are contrary to Law put into any Employments, Civil or Military.

XVII. Both we our ſelves, and our deareſt and moſt entirely Beloved Conſort, the Princeſs, have endeavour'd to ſignify, in Terms full of Reſpect to the King, the juſt and deep Regret which all theſe Proceedings have given us: And in compliance with his Majeſty's Deſire ſignified to us, we declared both by word of Mouth to his Envoy, and in Writing, what our Thoughts were touching the Repealing of the Teſt and Penal Laws; which we did in ſuch a manner,

ner, that we hoped that we had propoſed an Expe- A.D.1688.
dient, by which the Peace of theſe Kingdoms, and a happy Agreement among the Subjects of all Perſwaſions, might have been ſettled: But thoſe evil Counſellors have put ſuch ill Conſtructions on theſe our good Intentions, that they have endeavour'd to alienate the King more and more from us, as if we had deſigned to diſturb the Quiet and Happineſs of the Kingdom.

XVIII. The laſt and great Remedy for theſe Evils, is, the Calling of a Parliament, for ſecuring the Nation againſt theſe evil Practices of thoſe wicked Counſellors: But this could not yet be compaſſed, nor can be eaſily brought about; for theſe Men apprehending that a lawful Parliament being once aſſembled, they would be brought to Account for all their open Violations of Law, and for their Plots and Conſpiracies againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects, they have endeavoured, under the ſpecious Pretence of Liberty of Conſcience, firſt to ſow Diviſions among Proteſtants, between thoſe of the Church of *England* and Diſſenters: The Deſign being laid to engage Proteſtants, that are equally concern'd to preſerve themſelves from Popiſh Oppreſſion, into mutual Quarrellings; and ſo by theſe, ſome Advantages may be given to them to bring about their Deſigns; and that both in Elections of Members of Parliament, and afterwards in the Parliament it ſelf. For they ſee well, that if all Proteſtants could enter into a good Underſtanding one with another, and concur together in the preſerving of their Religion, it would not be poſſible for them to compaſs their wicked Ends. They have alſo required all Perſons, in the ſeveral Counties of *England*, that either were in any Employment, or were in any conſiderable Eſteem, to declare before-hand that they would concur in the Repeal of the Penal Laws; and that they would give their Voices, in the Elections to Parliament, only for ſuch as would concur in it: Such as would not thus pre-engage themſelves, were turned out of all Employments; and others, who enter'd into thoſe Engagements, were put in their Places, many of them be-

A. Reg. 1. being Papiſts: And, contrary to the Charters and Privileges of thoſe Boroughs that have a Right to ſend Burgeſſes to Parliament, they have order'd ſuch Regulations to be made as they thought fit and neceſſary, for aſſuring themſelves of all the Members that are to be choſen by thoſe Corporations. And by theſe means they hope to avoid that puniſhment which they have deſerved; tho' it is apparent, that all Acts made by Popiſh Magiſtrates are null and void of themſelves: So that no Parliament can be lawful, for which the Elections and Returns are made by Popiſh Magiſtrates, Sheriffs, and Mayors of Towns; and therefore as long as the Authority and Magiſtracy is in ſuch Hands, it is not poſſible to have any lawful Parliament. And tho' according to the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, and immemorial Cuſtom, all Elections of Parliament-Men ought to be made with an entire Liberty, without any ſort of Force, or requiring the Electors to chuſe ſuch Perſons as ſhall be named to them; and the Perſons thus freely elected, ought to give their Opinions freely, upon all Matters that are brought before them, having the good of the Nation ever before their Eyes, and following in all things the Dictates of their Conſcience, yet now the People of *England* cannot expect a Remedy from a free Parliament, legally called and choſen. But they may perhaps ſee one called, in which all Elections will be carried by Fraud or Force, and which will be compos'd of ſuch Perſons of whom thoſe Evil Counſellors hold themſelves well aſſur'd, in which all things will be carried on according to their Direction and Intereſt, without any regard to the Good or Happineſs of the Nation. Which may appear evidently from this, That the ſame Perſons tried the Members of the laſt Parliament, to gain them to conſent to the Repeal of the Teſt and Penal Laws; and procured that Parliament to be diſſolved, when they found that they could not, neither by Promiſes nor Threatnings, prevail with the Members to comply with their wicked Deſigns.

XIX. But, to crown all, there are great and violent Preſumptions, inducing us to believe, that thoſe evil Counſellors, in order to the carrying on their ill Deſigns,

Deſigns, and to the gaining to themſelves the more time for the effecting of them, for the Encouragement of their Complices, and for the diſcouraging of all good Subjects, have publiſh'd, That the Queen hath brought forth a Son, tho' there have appear'd, both during the Queen's pretended Bigneſs, and in the Manner in which the Birth was managed, ſo many juſt and viſible grounds of Suſpicion, that not only we our ſelves, but all the good Subjects of this Kingdom, do vehemently ſuſpect, That the pretended *Prince of Wales* was not born by the Queen: And that it was notoriouſly known to all the World, that many both doubted of the Queen's Bigneſs, and of the Birth of the Child, and yet there was not any one Thing done to ſatisfy them, or put an end to their Doubts. *A.D.1688.*

XX. And ſince our Deareſt and moſt entirely Beloved Conſort the Princeſs, and likewiſe we our ſelves, have ſo great an Intereſt in this Matter, and ſuch a Right, as all the World knows, to the Succeſſion of the Crown; ſince all the *Engliſh* did in the Year 1672, when the *States General of the United Provinces* were invaded with a moſt unjuſt War, uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to put an End to that War, and that in Oppoſition to thoſe who were then in the Government, and by their ſo doing they run the hazard of loſing both the Favour of the Court and their Employments: And ſince the *Engliſh* Nation has ever teſtified a moſt particular Affection and Eſteem, both to our deareſt Conſort the Princeſs, and to our ſelves, we cannot excuſe our ſelves from eſpouſing their Intereſt, in a Matter of ſuch high Conſequence; and for contributing all that lies in us for the maintaining both of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Laws and Liberties of theſe Kingdoms, and for the ſecuring to them the continual Enjoyment of all their juſt Rights. To the doing of which, we are moſt earneſtly ſollicited by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen, and other Subjects of all Ranks.

XXI. Therefore it is, that we have thought fit to go over to *England*, and to carry over with us a Force ſufficient, by the Bleſſing of God, to defend

A. Reg. 1. us from the Violence of thoſe evil Counſellors. And we, being deſirous that our Intentions in this might be rightly underſtood, have for this End prepared this Declaration; in which, as we have hitherto given a true Account of the Reaſons inducing us to it, ſo we now think fit to declare, That this Expedition is intended for no other Deſign, but to have a free and lawful Parliament aſſembled, as ſoon as it is poſſible: And that, in order to this, all the late Charters by which the Elections of Burgeſſes are limited contrary to the antient Cuſtom, ſhall be conſidered as null, and of no force; and likewiſe all Magiſtrates who have been unjuſtly turned out, ſhall forthwith reſume their former Employments, as well as all the Boroughs of *England* ſhall return again to their former Preſcriptions and Charters. And more particularly, That the antient Charter of the great and famous City of *London* ſhall again be in force; and that the Writs for the Members of Parliament ſhall be addreſs'd to the proper Officers, according to Law and Cuſtom: That alſo none be ſuffered to chuſe, or to be choſen Members of Parliament, but ſuch as are qualified by Law: And that the Members of Parliament being thus choſen, they ſhall meet and ſit in full Freedom; that ſo the two Houſes may concur in the preparing ſuch Laws, as they upon full and free Debate, ſhall judge neceſſary and convenient, both for the confirming and executing the Laws concerning the Teſt, and ſuch other Laws as are neceſſary for the Security and Maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion, as likewiſe for making ſuch Laws as may eſtabliſh a good Agreement between the Church of *England* and all Proteſtant Diſſenters; as alſo for the covering and ſecuring of all ſuch who live peaceably under the Government, as becomes good Subjects, from all Perſecution upon the account of their Religion, even Papiſts themſelves not excepted: And for the doing of all other Things, which the Two Houſes of Parliament ſhall find neceſſary for the Peace, Honour and Safety of the Nation, ſo that there may be no more danger of the Nation's falling at any time hereafter under Arbitrary Government. To this Parliament we will refer the Enquiry

Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and all things relating to it, and to the Right of Succeſſion. A.D. 1688.

XXII. And we, for our part, will concur in every thing that may procure the Peace and Happineſs of the Nation, which a free and lawful Parliament ſhall determine; ſince we have nothing before our Eyes in this our Undertaking, but the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the covering of all Men from Perſecution of their Conſciences, and the ſecuring the whole Nation the free Enjoyment of all their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a juſt and legal Government.

XXIII. This is the Deſign that we have propoſed to our ſelves, in appearing upon this occaſion in Arms, in the Conduct of which we will keep the *Forces under our Command*, under all the ſtrictneſs of Martial Diſcipline, and take a ſpecial Care that the People of the Counties, through which we muſt march, ſhall not ſuffer by their means; and as ſoon as the State of the Nation will admit of it, we promiſe, That we will ſend back all thoſe Foreign Troops that we have brought along with us.

XXIV. We do therefore hope, that all People will judge rightly of us, and approve of theſe our Proceedings: But we chiefly rely on the Bleſſing of God for the Succeſs of this our Undertaking, in which we place our whole and only Confidence.

XXV. We do in the laſt place invite and require all Perſons whatſoever, all Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, all Lords Lieutenants, and all Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Commons of all Ranks, to come and aſſiſt us, in order to the executing of this our Deſign againſt all ſuch as ſhall endeavour to oppoſe us; that ſo we may prevent all thoſe Miſeries, which muſt needs follow upon the Nation's being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery: And that all the Violences and Diſorders which have overturned the whole Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, may be fully redreſſed in a free and legal Parliament.

XXVI. And we do likewiſe reſolve, That as ſoon as the Nation is brought to a State of Quiet, we

A. Reg. 1. will take care that a Parliament ſhall be called in *Scotland*, for reſtoring the Antient Conſtitution of that Kingdom, and for bringing the Matters of Religion to ſuch a Settlement that the People may live eaſy and happy, and put an end to all the unjuſt Violences that have been in a Courſe of ſo many Years committed there.

We will alſo ſtudy to bring the Kingdom of *Ireland* to ſuch a State, that the Act of Settlement there may be religiouſly obſerved; and that the Proteſtant and *Britiſh* Intereſt there may be ſecured. And we will endeavour, by all poſſible Means, to procure ſuch an Eſtabliſhment in all the Three Kingdoms, that they may all live in a happy Union and Correſpondence together; and that the Proteſtant Religion, and the Peace, Honour and Happineſs of theſe Nations, may be eſtabliſhed upon laſting Foundations.

Given under our Hand and Seal at our Court in the Hague *the tenth Day of* October, *in the Year of our Lord* 1688.

William Henry, Prince of Orange.

By His Highneſs's Special Command,

C. Huygens.

The Prince of Orange's ſecond Declaration.

This Declaration was ready to be ſent over to *England*, with another to the ſame purpoſe, for *Scotland*, when his Highneſs being informed, that King *James* by his late Compliance had taken Meaſures to render it ineffectual; Another was added, importing that having underſtood the Subverters of the Religion and Laws of the Kingdoms, had begun to retract ſome of the Arbitrary and Deſpotick Power they had aſſumed, and to vacate ſome of their unjuſt Judgments and Decrees, and that they gave out, That he intended to conquer and enſlave the Nation; he was confident no Body could imagine he had any other Deſign in that Undertaking, than

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to procure a Settlement of the Religion, and of the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects upon ſo ſure a Foundation, that there might be no danger of the Nation's relapſing into the like Miſeries at any time hereafter. And as the Forces he brought along with him were utterly diſproportioned to that wicked Deſign of conquering the Nation, ſo the great Numbers of the principal Nobility and Gentry, who both accompanied him in this Expedition, and had earneſtly ſollicited him to it, could cover him from all ſuch malicious Inſinuations. He was alſo confident, all Men ſaw how little Weight there was to be laid on all Promiſes and Engagements that could be now made; ſince there had been ſo little regard had in time paſt to the moſt ſolemn Promiſes. And as that imperfect Redreſs that was now offered was a plain Confeſſion of thoſe Violences of the Government that he had ſet forth; ſo the Defectiveneſs of it was no leſs apparent: For they lay down nothing which they may not take up at pleaſure; and they reſerved entire and not ſo much as mentioned, their Claims and Pretences to an Arbitrary and Deſpotick Power, which had been the Root of all their Oppreſſion, and of the total Subverſion of the Government. And it was plain, that there could be no Redreſs, no Remedy offered but in Parliament. A.D. 1688.

The Prince, in a handſome Speech, took his Leave of the States, expreſſing great Gratitude to them for their Aſſiſtance in his intended Expedition; and that in caſe he ſhould loſe his Life, they would take the Princeſs his Wife, into their Protection. He was accompanied by divers Perſons of Quality, *Engliſh* as well as others: The Motto in the Flag was the Proteſtant Religion, and the Church of *England*; and underneath, *Je Maintiendrai*, i. e. *I will maintain*. The Storm which happen'd and drove the Fleet back, ſerv'd to amuſe King *James*, and make him more remiſs in his Preparations; for the *Dutch* News-papers were ordered to give a lamentable Account of the great Damages which the Fleet and Army had ſuſtain'd; and that upon the whole, it was next to an Impoſſibility that the Prince could be in

A. Reg. 1. a Condition to purſue his Deſign till the next Spring. At the ſame time ſome were very laviſh in their Encomiums on the Intrepidity and Compoſedneſs of the Prince, both in and after the Storm: And the firſt thing he did was to ſend out Coaſt-Pilots between *England*, *Holland* and *France*, to get Intelligence of his ſcattered Fleet, and to order all the Ships they met with to rendezvous at *Helvoet-ſluice*; and at laſt he found no Ship was miſſing but one Fly-boat, laden with Men and Horſes, which was driven upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt and taken by one of King *James*'s Frigates.

The King in the *interim* endeavoured to keep the Prince's Declarations from the Knowledge of the People; but finding that impracticable, it was printed with ſome Animadverſions upon it; while the Prince, and his *Engliſh* Friends, took care to diſperſe a Letter of his to the *Engliſh* Army, ſhewing the Danger the Nation was in; that they muſt plainly ſee, that they were only made uſe of as Inſtruments to enſlave it, and ruin the Proteſtant Intereſt. He hoped they would not ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed by a falſe Notion of Honour, but conſider the Duty they ow'd to God, to their Religion, Country and Poſterity, which they ought to prefer before all things; that if they would become the Inſtruments of ſerving their Country, and ſecuring their Religion, their Services ſhould be remembred, and he would place particular Marks of his Favour on every one of them.

A Letter there was alſo by the Prince's Order, by Admiral *Herbert*, ſent to the *Engliſh* Fleet, much to the ſame purpoſe as that to the Army. On the firſt of *November* 1688, the *Dutch* Fleet ſailed again for the *Engliſh* Coaſt, ſteering a Channel Courſe, and meeting with no Oppoſition from King *James* his Navy under my Lord *Dartmouth*; they happened, thro' the Hazineſs of the Weather, to overſhoot *Torbay*, where the Prince deſign'd to land; but the Weather clearing up in a few Hours, and the Wind, we may ſay, miraculouſly changing to the W. by S. this gave them an Entrance into the Bay; for as ſoon as they had got in, and that it had executed its

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Commiſſion, it return'd again to the ſame Quarter it was before they entred it. This was on the 4th of *November*, the Prince's Birth-Day, the Troops landed on the fifth; and though the Army was now magnified to forty or fifty thouſand Men, it was ſoon known by the Court that they conſiſted of no more than 10692 Foot, and 3660 Horſe and Dragoons, making altogether 14352. And as for the Fleet, their Men of War were 65, their Fly-boats 500, Pinks 60, Fire-ſhips 10, in all 635. A.D. 1688.

The Court had no ſooner Information of the Prince's Landing, but the King order'd his Army to march towards *Salisbury*, and in a Proclamation iſſued out the ſixth of *November*, he ſet forth, That notwithſtanding the many ſpecious Pretences in the Prince's Declaration, his Deſigns at the bottom tended to nothing leſs than an abſolute Uſurpation of His Majeſty's Crown, and Royal Dignities, as might appear by his aſſuming the Regal Style; and that nothing could ſatisfy him but the immediate Poſſeſſion of the Crown itſelf, ſince he called in Queſtion the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*, tho' by Divine Providence there were ſo many Witneſſes of unqueſtionable Credit at his Birth; as if it ſeem'd the particular Care of Heaven, on purpoſe to diſappoint ſo wicked and unparallel'd an Attempt.

It's very certain, that King *James* judged rightly concerning the Prince's Intention to obtain the Crown; but his Misfortune was, that few would believe any thing that came from him, either upon that or any other Account at this time; while the Prince advanced to *Exeter*, and was there received with open Arms, only the Biſhop, Dr. *Lamplugh*, retired to *London*, and was preferred to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. At *Exeter* the Noblemen and Gentlemen entred into an Engagement to aſſiſt the Prince to the utmoſt of their Power.

The Origin of an Aſſociation.

The Aſſociation had its Origin thus. As ſoon as Sir *Edward Seymour* arrived there to wait on the Prince, he preſently ſent for Dr. *Burnet*, and asked him, why they were a Rope of Sand, and had not an Aſſociation? He anſwered, becauſe they had not yet a Man of his Weight to begin the Motion: He

A. Reg. 1. ſaid, if they had not one by To-morrow, he would leave them before Night. Upon which the Doctor acquainted the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with it; he went to the Prince, who approving of it, an Aſſociation was prepared, and laid on the Table next Morning; and after that was ſigned by all that came to wait on the Prince.

Here it was that the Prince delivered himſelf to them thus. "Tho' we know not all your Perſons, yet "we have a Catalogue of your Names, and re- "member the Character of your Worth and Inte- "reſt in your Country. You ſee we are come ac- "cording to your Invitation, and our Promiſe, our "Duty to God obliges us to protect the Proteſtant "Religion; and our Love to Mankind, their Liberties "and Properties. We expected you that dwelt ſo "near the Place of our Landing, would have joined "us ſooner; not that it is now too late; not that "we want your Military Aſſiſtance ſo much as your "Countenance and Preſence, to juſtify our declared "Pretenſions, rather than accompliſh our good and "gracious Deſigns. Though we have brought both "a good Fleet, and a good Army, to render theſe "Kingdoms happy, by reſcuing all Proteſtants from "Popery and Slavery and Arbitrary Power, by re- "ſtoring them to their Rights and Properties, eſta- "bliſhed by Law, and by promoting Peace and "Trade, which is the Soul of Government, and "the very Life and Blood of a Nation, yet "we rely more on the Goodneſs of God, and the "Juſtice of our Cauſe, than on any humane Force "and Power whatſoever: Yet ſince God is pleaſed "we ſhall make uſe of humane Means, and not ex- "pect Miracles for our Preſervation and Happineſs, "let us not neglect the making uſe of this gracious "Opportunity, but with Prudence and Courage put "in Execution our ſo honourable Purpoſe. There- "fore, Gentlemen, Friends, and Fellow Proteſtants, "we bid you, and all your Followers, moſt heartily "welcome to our Court and Camp. Let the whole "World now judge if our Pretenſions are not juſt, "generous, ſincere, and above Price, ſince we might "have even a Bridge of Gold to return back; but

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it is our Principle and Reſolution, rather to die A.D. 1688.
" in a good Cauſe, than to live in a bad one, well
" knowing that Virtue, and true Honour, is its
" own Reward, and the Happineſs of Mankind our
" great and only Deſign."

Three Days after they left *Exeter*, a Head of a College waited on the Prince, to invite him to *Oxford*, aſſuring him the Univerſity would declare for him: He went as near to it as *Abingdon*, but then the ſudden Turn of Affairs at *London* obliging him to haſte up, the Aſſociation was ſent thither, and ſigned by the Heads of the Colleges, and many others there; ſome doing it with a particular Warmth of Expreſſion, and ſaying, that their Hearts as well as their Hands went with it; ſo zealous they were then for a Revolution. But upon what Diſappointment, or other Views, it's very hard to determine, this Contradiction to their fam'd Decree, five Years after it was made, ſeem'd to take another Turn back to it again; and the Notion of a King *de Facto*, which is but a ſofter Word for an Uſurper, came in vogue.

The Defection from King *James* began now to appear barefac'd: The Lord *Colcheſter* began with ſome of the Horſe-Guards, and others, to go over to the Prince; the Lord *Cornbury*, with a Body of the Royal Dragoons, ſoon follow'd; there were alſo Inſurrections in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom; the Lord *Delamere* in *Cheſhire* was the firſt that declared for his Highneſs. Nevertheleſs the King reſolved to go to *Salisbury*, and to command his Army in Perſon, and being importun'd by divers Lords to call a Parliament, all that he did before ſeveral Officers, and ſome Lords, was to declare at *Whitehall* before his Departure, that he had, according to the Lords Deſire, engaged his Royal Word to call a free Parliament as ſoon as ever the Prince had quitted the Kingdom; and that he was reſolved to do all that lay in his Power to quiet the Minds of his People, by ſecuring their Religion, Laws and Liberties: And if after all, any of them was not ſatisfied, they ſhould declare themſelves, and he was willing to grant

A. Reg. 1. grant Paſſes to all that had a Mind to go over to the Prince of *Orange*, and ſave them the Shame of deſerting their lawful Sovereign. All this would not do, the Defection was ſo great that the King's Preſence at *Salisbury* could not prevent ſome of thoſe he had moſt obliged to forſake him. The Lord *Feverſham* had a Suſpicion of my Lord *Churchill* in particular, and would have the King ſecure him, but he rejected it; and *Churchill* next Day, having the Command of a Brigade of 5000 Men, went off, with as many as were willing to follow him to the Prince, among whom were the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Barclay*, and others; which ſtrengthen'd the Prince's Hand and Intereſt, as much as it diſcourag'd and weaken'd the Power of King *James*, and his Adherents. To which, if we add the Defection of Prince *George*, the Duke of *Ormond*, Sir *George Huet*, and others of Diſtinction, the King muſt think himſelf by this time to be in a very ſorry Plight; eſpecially ſince he came to underſtand, that the Duke of *Beaufort* was forced to ſurrender *Briſtol* to the Earl of *Shrewsbury* for the Prince's Uſe; that the Earl of *Devonſhire* had made a Riſing in *Nottinghamſhire*, where they put out a Declaration of their Grievances, and their Reſolution of joining with the Prince of *Orange* for the redreſſing of them; that the Earl of *Danby* had ſeized the City of *York*; that Colonel *Copley*, the Deputy-Governor, had ſurprized *Hull*, and made the Lords *Langdale* and *Montgomery*, and other Papiſts there, Priſoners: That the Lord *Lumley* was received into *Newcaſtle*; that the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Oxford*, and others of Quality, had gone over to the Prince; and that the Earl of *Stamford* and Lord *Delamere* had joined the Earl of *Shrewsbury* at *Briſtol*.

And ſince we have been upon an Enumeration of Incidences in Favour of the Prince's Expedition, we are not to over look among others, that the Duke of *Norfolk*, having ſummoned all the Gentry of that County to *Norwich*, he declared to the Mayor and others preſent, that in the then Juncture of Affairs, nothing could better ſecure the Laws, Liberties and Proteſtant Religion, than a free Parliament; and

that

that they were there met to declare, that they would do their utmoſt to defend the ſame by declaring for a free Parliament; and that ſince the King had ordered Writs for the ſame, he declared in his own, and the Names of the Gentlemen there met, that they would be very ready to ſupport and defend the Laws, Liberties, and Proteſtant Religion, to which all the Company agreed: In order to which the Duke commanded the Militia to be raiſed throughout the County. A.D. 1688.

The King finding his Subjects throwing off their Allegiance in [illegible] Cluſters, thought it his moſt adviſable Way to try what a Treaty with the Prince would do in his Favour. The Perſons firſt propos'd were the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, with whom ſome would have join'd the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely*; but after a long Conſultation, their Number was fix'd to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, who were allow'd to be Men of great Parts, Skill and Prudence, and who in the late Council had ſhew'd an extraordinary Zeal for his Majeſty's Preſervation. A Trumpeter was immediately diſpatch'd by the Earl of *Feverſham*, with a Letter to his Highneſs, to demand the neceſſary Paſſes. *December* 2. the Commiſſioners began their Journey, and arriv'd the next Day at *Reading*, where they met the Trumpeter with his Highneſs's Paſſes; who at the ſame time demanded a Paſs for one of his Gentlemen, whom he deſign'd to ſend to the Princeſs of *Denmark*.

The *Popiſh* Party was now become ſo contemptible in *London*, that there was an *Hue and Cry* after Father *Petre* publickly cry'd and ſold in the Streets; and about the ſame time came out a Declaration in the Name of the Prince: "That he having in the whole "Courſe of his Life, and more particularly by the "apparent Hazards both by Sea and Land he had ſo "lately expos'd his Perſon to, given to the World ſo "high and undoubted Proofs of his fervent Zeal to "the Proteſtant Religion, he was fully confident no "true *Engliſhman* and good Proteſtant could entertain "the leaſt Suſpicion of his firm Reſolution, rather to "ſpend

Third Declaration dated at Sherborn-Caſtle.

A. Reg. 1. " ſpend his deareſt Blood, and periſh in the Attempt,
" than not to carry on the glorious Deſign, which he
" had ſo ſucceſsfully begun, to reſcue *England*, *Scot-*
" *land* and *Ireland* from Popery and Slavery, and in a
" Free Parliament to eſtabliſh the Religion, Laws
" and Liberties of them on ſuch a ſure and laſting
" Foundation, that it ſhould not be in the power of
" any Prince for the future to introduce Popery and
" *Tyranny*. That towards the more eaſy compaſſing
" this great Deſign, he had not been hitherto deceiv-
" ved in the juſt Expectation he had of the Concur-
" rence of the People of *England* for the Security of
" their Religion, and the Eſtabliſhment of their Li-
" berties and Properties. Great Numbers of all
" Ranks and Qualities had join'd him, and others, at
" great Diſtances, had taken up Arms, and declar'd
" for him. And which he could not but particularly
" mention, in that Army which was rais'd to be the
" Inſtrument of Slavery and Popery, many, both Of-
" ficers and common Soldiers, had been touch'd with
" ſuch a feeling Senſe of Religion and Honour, and
" of true Affection to their Native Country, that
" they had already deſerted the illegal Service they
" were engag'd in, and had come over and given full
" Aſſurance from the reſt, that they would certainly
" follow their Example aſſoon as he approach'd near
" enough to receive them without Hazard of being
" prevented or betray'd. To which End, and that
" he might the ſooner execute the juſt and neceſſary
" Deſigns he engag'd in for the Publick Safety, he
" was reſolv'd with all poſſible Diligence to advance
" forwards, that a Free Parliament might be forth-
" with call'd, and ſuch Preliminaries adjuſted, and
" all things firſt ſettled upon ſuch a Foot according
" to Law, as might give him and the whole Nation
" juſt Reaſon to believe, the King was diſpos'd to
" make ſuch neceſſary Condeſcenſions on his part, as
" would give entire Satisfaction and Security to all,
" and make both King and People once more happy.
" That to effect all this, in the Way moſt agreeable
" to their Deſires, without the Effuſion of any Blood,
" except of thoſe execrable Criminals who had juſt-
" ly forfeited their Lives for betraying the Religion,

" and

" and ſubverting the Laws of their Native Country, A.D. 1688.
" he thought fit to declare, That as he would offer
" no Violence to any, but in his own neceſſary De-
" fence; ſo he would not ſuffer any Injury to be done
" to the Perſon, even of any *Papiſt*, provided he ſhould
" be found in ſuch Place, and Condition, and Circum-
" ſtances, as the Law required. So he was reſolv'd,
" and declar'd, That all Papiſts who ſhall be found
" in open Arms, or with Arms in their Houſes, or
" about their Perſons, or in any Office Civil or Mili-
" tary, upon any Pretence whatſoever, contrary to
" the known Laws of the Land, ſhould be treated
" by him and his Forces not as Soldiers and Gentle-
" men, but as Robbers, Free-booters, and *Banditti*,
" they ſhould be incapable of Quarter, and entirely
" deliver'd up to the Diſcretion of his Soldiers. And
" he further declar'd, That all Perſons who ſhould
" be found any ways aiding or aſſiſting to them, or
" ſhould march under their Command, or ſhould join
" with, or ſubmit to them in the Diſcharge or Exe-
" cution of their illegal Commiſſions or Authority,
" ſhould be look'd upon as Partakers of their Crimes,
Enemies to the Laws, and to their Country.

" And whereas he was certainly inform'd, that
" great Numbers of armed Papiſts had of late re-
" ſorted to *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Parts adja-
" cent, where they remain'd as he had Reaſon to
" ſuſpect, not ſo much for their own Security, as out
" of a wicked and barbarous Deſign, to make ſome
" deſperate Attempt upon the ſaid Cities, and their
" Inhabitants, by Fire, or a ſudden Maſſacre, or both;
" or elſe to be the more ready to join themſelves to
" a Body of *French* Troops, deſign'd, if it ſhould be
" poſſible, to land in *England*, in purſuance of the
" Engagements, which, at the Inſtigation of the Je-
" ſuits, that King, with one of his Neighbouring
" Princes of the ſame Communion, had enter'd into
" for the utter Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion
" out of *Europe*. He could not forbear, out of the
" great and tender Concern he had to preſerve the
" People of *England*, and particularly thoſe great and
" populous Cities, from the cruel Rage and bloody
" Revenge of the Papiſts, to require and expect from
" all

A. Reg. 1. "all the Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and "Juſtices of the Peace, Lord Mayors, Mayors, Sheriffs, and all other Magiſtrates and Officers, Civil and Military, of all Counties, Cities and Towns of "*England*, eſpecially of the County of *Middleſex*, and "Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Parts adjacent, "that they ſhould immediately diſarm and ſecure, as "by Law they might and ought, within their reſpective Counties, Cities and Juriſdictions, all Papiſts whatſoever, as Perſons, at all times, but then eſpecially, moſt dangerous to the Peace and Safety "of the Government; that ſo not only all Power of "doing Miſchief might be taken from them, but that "the Laws, which were the greateſt and beſt Security, might reſume their Force, and be ſtrictly executed. And he thereby likewiſe declar'd, That "he would protect and defend all thoſe who ſhould "not be afraid to do their Duty in Obedience to theſe "Laws. And that for thoſe Magiſtrates, and others, "of what Condition ſoever, who ſhould refuſe to aſſiſt him, and in Obedience to the Laws, to execute vigorouſly what he had required of them, and "ſuffer themſelves at this Juncture to be cajoled or "terrified out of their Duty, he would eſteem them "the moſt criminal and infamous of all Men: Betrayers of their Religion, the Laws, and their Native Country, and ſhould not fail to treat them accordingly; reſolving to expect and require at their "hands the Life of every ſingle Proteſtant that "ſhould periſh, and every Houſe that ſhould be "burnt or deſtroy'd by their Treachery and Cowardice.

This was a very bold Attempt in a private Man, to take upon him to put out a Declaration in the Name of a Prince he knew little or nothing of: It was confidently affirm'd, Sir *J. H s*, ſtill living, was the Author of it, and Captain *Baker* carry'd a Copy of it to the Lord Mayor, charging him before Witneſs to ſee it put in Execution. Indeed the *Roman* Catholicks were alarm'd at it; and ſeveral Juſtices of Peace caus'd it to be publiſh'd; and the inferiour Officers of Juſtice deſir'd the Lord Mayor's Aſſiſtance

Aſſiſtance, that they might obey his Highneſs's Orders. A.D. 1688.

In the mean time, upon the News of the Prince's Forces advancing towards *Reading*, to prevent further Deſertions, the King's Army that quarter'd there, was order'd to march nearer *London*, and to fix the Head Quarters at *Colbrook*. But on the 8th of *December*, the Court being inform'd that 'twas only a Detachment of Horſe that was advanc'd to *Newbury*, the Royal Forces were remanded to their old Poſt, and the ſame Day the E. of *Feverſham* return'd to *Maidenhead*, where were the Head Quarters. The next Day the King's Troops marching thither, the Town's People, who had very much ſuffer'd by their quartering amongſt them before, invited ſome of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces that lay not far off, to take Poſſeſſion of that Poſt, to ſecure themſelves againſt the Violences of the *Iriſh*. Sir *John Lanier*, who commanded the Royal Detachment, being come to *Reading* firſt, poſted ſome Companies of *Iriſh* Dragoons to defend a Bridge over which his Highneſs's Troops were to paſs, and drew up in Battalia in the Market-place a *Scotch* Regiment of Horſe. Upon the Approach of a ſmall Party of his Highneſs's Cavalry, the *Iriſh* made a Diſcharge, and abandon'd their Poſt; the *Scotch*, who had no Inclination to fight, follow'd their Example, and fled in Diſorder, till they were rallied by *Feverſham*, who was coming up to ſupport 'em. Of the *Iriſh* not many were kill'd, and as few taken: However, the Court complain'd that the Town's People ſhot at them behind from their Windows, whilſt the Prince's Horſe charg'd 'em in Front; but they juſtified themſelves, by ſaying, That the Fear the *Iriſh* were in made them to fancy they were attack'd on every ſide, which, at this Juncture, the Court thought fit to believe. *Maidenhead-Bridge* was alſo fortified, and its Defence committed to the *Iriſh*; but ſome of the Townſmen beating a *Dutch* March in the Night, in order to alarm them, this Stratagem took ſo well, that the *Iriſh* abandoned their Poſt in Confuſion, leaving their Cannon behind them.

A ſmall Rencounter at Reading.

The

A. Reg. 1. The King finding there was no truſting to his Army, abandon'd all hopes of Securing his Crown that way, and therefore he reſolved, as before-noted, to try what a Treaty would do; to which end, he had diſpatch'd the Marq. of *Halliſax*, E. of *Nottingham*, and the L. *Godolphin*, to the Prince; but being in the mean time ſeized with I know not what Pannick Fear, he withdrew privately from *London*, and getting on Board a little Smack, he and his Company were ſeiz'd by the Inhabitants of *Feverſham*, and being ſomewhat roughly handled before they came to be known, he went from thence to *Rocheſter*.

The King's Commiſſioners returning to *London* the ſame Day his Majeſty had left it, were much ſurpriz'd to learn his ſudden Departure, becauſe they brought with them ſuch an Anſwer from the Prince to their Propoſals, as ought not to have alarm'd the King; of which they had already inform'd his Majeſty, by an Expreſs he receiv'd two or three Hours before he left *Whitehall*; and of which he himſelf ſaid it was better than he expected. The Propoſals deliver'd to his Highneſs at *Hungerford* were;

Propoſals to the Prince by Commiſſioners from the King.

" THAT the King commanded them to acquaint " him, that he obſerved all the Differences " and Cauſes of Complaint alledg'd by his Highneſs " ſeem'd to be referr'd to a Free Parliament. That " his Majeſty, as he had already declar'd, was re- " ſolv'd before then to call one, but thought that in " the preſent State of Affairs it was adviſable to de- " fer it till things were more compos'd. Yet ſeeing " that his People ſtill continu'd to deſire it, he had " put forth his Proclamation in order to it, and had " iſſued forth his Writs for the calling of it. And to " prevent any Cauſe of Interruption in it, he was wil- " ling to conſent to every thing that could be reaſo- " nably requir'd for the Security of all thoſe that " ſhould come to it. That his Majeſty had there- " fore ſent them to attend his Highneſs for the ad- " juſting of all Matters that ſhould be agreed to be " neceſſary to the Freedom of Elections, and the Se- " curity of ſitting, and was ready immediately to en- " ter into a Treaty in order to it. That his Majeſty

" propoſed,

" propoſed, that in the mean time the reſpective Ar- A.D. 1688.
" mies might be reſtrain'd within ſuch Limits, and,
" at ſuch a Diſtance from *London*, as might prevent
" the Apprehenſions that the Parliament might in any
" kind be diſturb'd; being deſirous that the meeting
" of it might be no longer delay'd, than it muſt be by
" the uſual and neceſſary Forms.

The Prince having receiv'd this Paper, continued his March towards *London*; and being arriv'd at *Littlecott*, the next Day, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen aſſembled with him, he made theſe following Propoſals, in Anſwer to thoſe from the King.

" I. THAT all Papiſts, and all ſuch Perſons as are *Prince's Pro-poſals.*
" not qualified by Law, be diſarmed, diſ-
" banded, and removed from all Employments, Civil
" and Military. II. That all Proclamations which
" reflect upon Us, or any that have come to Us, or
" declar'd for Us, be recall'd; and that if any Per-
" ſons for having ſo aſſiſted, have been committed,
" that they be forthwith ſet at liberty. III. That
" for the Security and Safety of the City of *London*,
" the Cuſtody and Government of the *Tower* be im-
" mediately put into the hands of the ſaid City.
" IV. That if his Majeſty ſhall think fit to be at *Lon-*
" *don* during the ſitting of the Parliament, that We
" may be there alſo, with equal Number of Our
" Guards: Or if His Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to be in
" any Place from *London*, at whatever Diſtance he
" thinks fit, that We may be at a Place of the ſame
" Diſtance: And that the reſpective Armies do re-
" move from *London* Thirty Miles, and that no more
" Foreign Forces be brought into the Kingdom.
" V. That for the Security of the City of *London*,
" and their Trade, *Tilbury-Fort* be put into the hands
" of the ſaid City. VI. That to prevent the Land-
" ing of *French*, or other Foreign Troops, *Portſmouth*
" may be put into ſuch hands as by his Majeſty and
" Us ſhall be agreed upon. VII. That ſome ſuffi-
" cient Part of the Publick Revenue be aſſign'd Us,

A. Reg. 1. " for the maintaining of Our Forces, until the Meet-
" ing of a Free Parliament.

Now the Earl of *Feversham*, the General, receiving a Letter from the King, that He *did not expect they should resist a Foreign Army*, his Intention being, that the rest of the Army should be disbanded; accordingly Four thousand Men the Earl had then with him, were immediately licentiated: After this he sent a Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, subscribed by himself, *Lanier*, *Fenwick*, and *Ogletborp*, to acquaint him with it; and for which the Earl afterwards was confined by the Prince at *Windsor*; for when sent thither by the King with a Message to invite the Prince to *St. James's*, it was alledg'd against him, that he had not disarm'd the Troops, but turn'd them loose to plunder and terrify the Country, now all over alarm'd with News that the *Irish* were cutting the Peoples Throats in all Places wherever they came.

The Prince, in the mean time, was advanc'd as far as *Henly* with the greatest Part of his Army, and finding the King's Troops, now without a Head, committing many Disorders, He issued out a Declaration, setting forth; *That being informed that divers Regiments, Troops and Companies, had been encourag'd to disperse themselves in an unusual and unwarrantable Manner, whereby the publick Peace was very much disturb'd, He had thought fit hereby to require all Colonels and Commanders in Chief of such Regiments, &c. to call together the several Officers and Soldiers belonging to their respective Regiments in such Places as they should find most convenient for their Rendezvous, and there to keep them in good Order and Discipline. And His Highness did likewise direct and require all such Officers and Soldiers forthwith to repair to such Places as should be appointed for that Purpose by their Commanders in Chief, whereof speedy Notice was to be given to His Highness for his further Orders.*

Another Declaration of the Prince.

At the same time His Highness sent a Letter to the Earl of *Danby*, to desire him to come to him, and order'd Mr. *Blaithwait*, Secretary of War, to bring him an Account of the King's Army. He also dispatch'd the Lord *Churchill* to *London*, to re-assemble his Troop

of

of Life-Guards, and directed the Duke of *Grafton* to go and take Poſſeſſion of *Tilbury-Fort*, with his Regiment of Foot-Guards; which, upon his Approach, the *Iriſh* quitted. A.D. 1688.

The King in the interim being ſeized at *Feverſham*, the Peers and Privy Council, after ſome Debate, appointed Four of their Members, *viz.* the Earls of *Middleton*, *Ailesbury*, *Yarmouth* and *Feverſham*, to wait upon him, and invite him to his Palace at *Whitehall*; to which, though at firſt he ſhew'd ſome Reluctance, yet at laſt he condeſcended. The Peers alſo diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Prince to acquaint him, that the King was ſtill in *England*; whereupon his Highneſs came to *Windſor*, and next Day their Lordſhips (in purſuance of the Prince's Directions) made an Order; *Whereby they requir'd all* Iriſh *Officers and Soldiers to repair to the reſpective Bodies to which they did belong*; and declar'd, *That behaving themſelves peaceably, they ſhould have Subſiſtence paid them till they ſhould be otherwiſe provided for, or employ'd: And the ſaid Officers and Soldiers were alſo order'd to deliver up their Arms to ſome of the Officers of the Ordnance.* Order of the Peers.

The Lords having acquainted the Prince with the King's Reſolution to return to *Whitehall*, his Highneſs was ſomewhat ſurpriz'd at it; and after a long Conſultation with the chief of the Nobility and Gentry about him, he diſpatch'd Monſieur *Zuleſtein* to the King, to deſire him to continue at *Rocheſter*, where he went; but this Expreſs miſſing his Way, the King left that Place on *Sunday* Morning, and about Four in the Afternoon entred *London*, as it were, in Triumph, and went to *Whitehall*, attended by ſeveral Nobles, whilſt Multitudes of People, that crowded to ſee him, welcom'd his Return with loud Acclamations; the Ringing of Bells, Illuminations, Bonfires, and all other publick Demonſtrations of Joy, Loyalty and Affection, being us'd upon this Occaſion: But alas, it was but a faint and falſe Fire, that had no manner of Vertue in it. The King returns to London.

Now the Prince pretending at leaſt he could not be ſafe at *St. James*'s, whither the King invited him to come, before the King was remov'd within a reaſonable Diſtance from *London*: Several Places were pro-

A. Reg. 1. pos'd; but at laſt *Ham*, a Houſe belonging to the Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*, was pitch'd upon; and by their Advice, his Highneſs ſubſcrib'd a Paper, *whereby he deſir'd the Marquis of* Hallifax, *the Earl of* Shrewsbury, *and the Lord* Delamere, *to tell the King, That it was thought convenient, for the greater Quiet of the City, and the Safety of his Perſon, that he ſhould remove to* Ham, *where he ſhould be attended by his Guards, who would be ready to preſerve him from any Diſturbance.* But before this Meſſage could be deliver'd, the *Dutch* Troops had taken Poſſeſſion of the Poſts at *Whitehall* and *St. James's*, and diſlodged the *Engliſh*; then the three Lords having deliver'd their Meſſage to his Majeſty, then a Bed, about One in the Morning; when they were gone as far as the Privy-Chamber, the King ſent for them again, and told them he had forgot to acquaint them with his Reſolutions before the Meſſage came, to ſend my Lord *Godolphin* next Morning to the Prince to propoſe his going back to *Rocheſter*, he finding by the Meſſage Monſieur *Zuleſtein* was charg'd with, that the Prince had no mind he ſhould be at *London*; and therefore he now deſir'd he might rather return to *Rocheſter*, than go to any other Place. The Lords replied, That they would immediately acquaint the Prince, then at *Sion*-Houſe, with his Majeſty's Deſire, not doubting of ſuch an Anſwer as would be to his Majeſty's Satisfaction. Accordingly they ſent to the Prince, who preſently gueſſing the King's Deſign of leaving the Realm, order'd Monſieur *Bentinck* to write a Letter; which came before Eight next Morning, agreeing to his Majeſty's Propoſals of going to *Rocheſter*. Thereupon the King having taken his Leave of the Lords, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and others preſent, ſome of whom could not forbear ſhedding Tears on ſo moving an Occaſion, he went into a Barge, attended by the Earls of *Ailesbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arran* and *Dumbarton*, ſix of his own Yeomen of the Guard, and about an hundred Men of his Highneſs's Forces, and arriv'd about Nine at Night at *Graveſend*, where he met ſome Troops of Horſe, which, the next Day, guarded him by Land to *Rocheſter*.

King goes to Rocheſter.

I had

I had almoſt forgot a material Circumſtance, which in order of Time I ſhould have taken notice of a little ſooner; which is, that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, upon the Noiſe of the King's firſt Departure, met at *Guildhall* in the City of *London*, and made the following moſt remarkable Declaration: A.D. 1688. *Lords Declaration at Guildhall.*

" We doubt not but the World believes that in ' this great and dangerous Conjuncture, we are heartily and zealouſly concern'd for the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties ' and Properties of the Subject. And we did reaſonably hope, that the King having iſſued out his ' Proclamation and Writs for a Free Parliament, we ' might have reſted ſecure under the Expectation of ' that Meeting: But his Majeſty having withdrawn ' himſelf, and, as we apprehend, in order to his Departure out of this Kingdom, by the pernicious ' Counſels of Perſons ill-affected to our Nation and ' Religion, we cannot, without being wanting to our ' Duty, be ſilent under thoſe Calamities, wherein ' the Popiſh Counſels, which ſo long prevail'd, have ' miſerably involv'd theſe Realms. We do therefore unanimouſly reſolve to apply our ſelves to his ' Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, who with ſo great ' Kindneſs to theſe Kingdoms, ſuch vaſt Expence, ' and ſo much Hazard to his own Perſon, has undertaken, by endeavouring to procure a Free Parliament, to reſcue us with as little Effuſion, as poſſible, ' of Chriſtian Blood, from the imminent Dangers of ' Slavery and Popery.

" And we do hereby declare, That we will, with ' our utmoſt Endeavours, aſſiſt his Highneſs in the ' obtaining ſuch a Parliament with all ſpeed, wherein our Laws, our Liberties and Properties may be ' ſecured, and the Church of *England* in particular, ' with a due Liberty to Proteſtant Diſſenters, and in ' general, that the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt ' over the whole World may be ſupported and encourag'd, to the Glory of God, the Happineſs of the ' Eſtabliſh'd Government in theſe Kingdoms, and ' the Advantage of all Princes and States in *Chriſtendom*, that may be herein concern'd.

A. Reg. 1. " In the mean time we will endeavour to preſerve, " as much as in us lies, the Peace and Security of theſe " great and populous Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, " and the Parts adjacent, by taking Care to diſarm all " *Papiſts*, and ſecure all *Jeſuits* and *Romiſh* Prieſts, who " are in or about the ſame.

" And if there be any thing more to be perform'd " by us, for promoting his Highneſs's generous Inten- " tions for the Publick Good, we ſhall be ready to do " it, as occaſion ſhall require.

This Declaration being ſubſcrib'd by the fore-mention'd Peers, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Viſcount *Weymouth*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Culpeper*, were deſir'd forthwith to attend his Highneſs with it; and at the ſame time to acquaint him, amongſt other things which they had further done at their Meeting, That having ſent for Colonel *Skelton*, then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, they had demanded the Keys of him, which he willingly reſigning, they had beſtowed the Government of that Fortreſs upon the Lord *Lucas*. Which Choice was afterwards confirm'd by the Prince.

The ſame Day the Lieutenancy of the City of *London* made an Addreſs to the Prince, to *acknowledge the happy Relief he had brought to them, and humbly to deſire his Highneſs to repair to* London *with what convenient Speed he could, for perfecting the great Work he had ſo happily begun to the Satisfaction of them all*; and order'd Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*, and *Charles Duncomb* Eſq; to attend his Highneſs with the ſaid Addreſs. At the ſame time the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common Council aſſembled, drew up alſo an Addreſs, wherein *they preſented their moſt humble Thanks to his Highneſs, particularly for his appearing in Arms in this Kingdom, to reſcue* England, Scotland *and* Ireland *from Popery and Slavery*: And told him, *That finding themſelves diſappointed of a Remedy from the Oppreſſions they labour'd under, by his Majeſty's withdrawing himſelf, they preſum'd to make his Highneſs their Refuge; and did, in the Name of this Capital City, implore his Highneſs's Protection, and beſeech him to vouchſafe to repair to this City, where his High-*

neſs

neſs would be receiv'd with Univerſal Joy. This Addreſs was preſented to the Prince by Four Aldermen, and Eight Common-Council-Men. A.D. 1688.

I cannot pretend to enter upon a Detail of the Irruptions and Violences of the Mob, and therefore proceed to obſerve, that the Prince arriving at *St. James*'s on the 18th, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal met there on the 21ſt, to the Number of about Three-ſcore and ten, the Prince deſir'd them to conſider of the beſt Methods to call a Free Parliament, and to purſue the Ends of his Declaration, which he left to be perus'd by their Lordſhips, and ſo withdrew. After the Reading of the Declaration, the Lords voted their Thanks to his Highneſs for coming over; and the better to conſider of the moſt effectual Means to obtain the Ends of his Declaration, and ſettle a Form of Government, they reſolv'd to aſſemble for the future in their Houſe at *Weſtminſter*. For which Purpoſe they nam'd Five of the moſt able Lawyers to aſſiſt them in their important Conſultations, and to explain to them the Laws and Conſtitution of the Realm, in the room of the Judges, who were, moſt of them, abſent from *London*. It was afterwards propos'd, that the whole Aſſembly ſhould ſign the ſame Engagement or Aſſociation, which the Nobility and Gentry had already ſubſcribed at *Exeter*: To which Propoſal all agreed, except the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Nottingham*, the Lord *Wharton*, and all the Biſhops ſave that of *London*, who ſet his Hand to the Aſſociation: And the ſame Day declar'd, by way of Addreſs to the Prince, having utterly forgot the beloved Doctrine of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, That he and his Clergy came to pay their humble Duties to his Highneſs, for his great and moſt hazardous Undertaking for their Deliverance, and the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, with the Antient Laws and Liberties of the Nation: He added, That they gave daily Thanks to God, who had hitherto ſo wonderfully preſerved him; that they promiſed to continue ſo to do, and that he might be enabled to promote the Work he had ſo happily begun, and alſo perfect the ſame not only in this, but in other Chriſtian Kingdoms: He likewiſe ſuggeſted, that ſome of

Lords aſſemble at St. James's.

Clergy ſign the Aſſociation.

A. Reg. 1. the Diſſenting Miniſters were preſent, who having the ſame Senſe of his Coming hither, joined with them in rendring their humble and moſt grateful Acknowledgments to him.

The Prince having given them Thanks, briefly acquainted them with the chiefeſt End of his difficult and chargeable Expedition, That it was indeed to preſerve and ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, (not a Word of obtaining the Crown) which may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be none of his leaſt Aims; and aſſured them, he ſhould think nothing, not Life itſelf, too dear to hazard in promoting and perfecting ſo good a Work: He alſo made his ſolemn Acknowledgments to the Almighty for his Preſence with him, his Bleſſing hitherto upon his Endeavours and Arms, and deſired the Continuance of their Prayers for him.

King withdraws to France.

The King perceiving by theſe Proceedings what a deſperate Condition his Affairs were in, reſolv'd to betake himſelf to the Protection of the King of *France*; and therefore on the 23d, about Two or Three a-Clock in the Morning, he privately withdrew, without communicating his Deſign to any Body; no, not to the Earl of *Dumbarton*, who lay in the King's Chamber, and who did not wake till after his Majeſty was gone. He took only with him the Duke of *Berwick*; *Sheldon* and *Labadie*, went on Horſeback as far as a certain Place near the River, where Captain *Macdonel* waited to receive him in a ſmall Frigat; and having immediately put to Sea, with a favourable Wind, landed at *Ambleteuſe* in *France*. The King left behind him a Paper, containing his Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf, wrote with his own Hand, and in ſo moving a Stile, that muſt needs excite Compaſſion in the moſt hard-hearted Subject.

Upon the certain News that the King had left the Realm, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal immediately aſſembled in their Houſe at *Weſtminſter*; and after a long Debate, relating chiefly to the Prerogatives of a King of *England*, their Lordſhips agreed upon an Addreſs to be preſented to the Prince of *Orange*; *To deſire his Highneſs to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preſervation of the* K[illegible]

gion, Rights, Laws, Liberties, Properties, and the Peace of the Nation. And moreover, that his Highneſs would pleaſe to take into his particular Care the preſent Condition of Ireland, and endeavour by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual Means to prevent the Dangers threatning that Kingdom. All which they made it their Requeſt to his Highneſs, to undertake and exerciſe till the Meeting of the intended Convention on the 22d of January enſuing, at which time they doubted not but ſuch proper Meaſures would be taken, as would abundantly conduce to the Eſtabliſhment of theſe things, upon ſuch ſure and legal Foundations, that they might not be in danger of being again ſubverted. At the ſame time their Lordſhips ſigned another Paper, To deſire his Highneſs to cauſe Letters, Subſcrib'd by himſelf, to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Proteſtants; As likewiſe to the ſeveral Counties, Univerſities, Cities, Boroughs and Cinque Ports of England; Containing Directions for the chuſing ſuch a Number of Perſons to repreſent them, as were of Right to be ſent to Parliament, ſo as the Perſons thus to be choſen might Meet and Sit at Weſtminſter, on the 22d Day of January enſuing. Both theſe Addreſſes were ſigned by above 60 Peers, and preſented the ſame Day to the Prince of *Orange*. A.D. 1688.

Now becauſe the Commons have not the ſame Power to aſſemble as the Lords, the Prince of *Orange* put out a Paper on the 23d; Deſiring all ſuch Perſons as had ſerv'd as Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in any of the Parliaments that were held during the Reign of the late King Charles II. as alſo the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, to meet him at St. James's on the 26th of that Month.

Commons ſummoned to meet.

Purſuant to the Prince's Summons, ſeveral Members of the Parliaments in King *Charles*'s Reign, and the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, being met at *St. James*'s, his Highneſs acquainted them, That he had deſir'd them to meet him there, to adviſe with them of the beſt Manner how to purſue the Ends of his Declaration in calling a Free Parliament, for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the Reſtoring of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and Settling the ſame ſo, that they might not be in danger of being again ſubverted. Upon this they immediately repair'd to the Commons Houſe in *Weſtminſter*, and having choſen *Henry Powle* Eſq;

A. Reg. 1. Esq; for their Chairman, the first Question they debated was, *What Authority they had to assemble?* Whereupon 'twas agreed, that his Highness's Request was sufficient Warrant. The next Question was, *How his Highness could take upon him the Administration of Affairs without a distinguishing Name or Title?* Which Objection, started by Sir *Robert S* ——, was immediately baffled by Serjeant *Mainard*, who said, *That the Assembly would lose a great deal of time if they waited till Sir* Robert *could conceive how that was possible.* Another propos'd to offer the Government to his Highness, not for a Month only, but for a whole Year: To whom it was answer'd, That the Convention would consider of that. Others mov'd, that the Association that had been Sign'd by the Lords, might likewise be Subscribed by the Assembly; but it was carried, that the said Association should be left upon the Table, and every one be at liberty to sign it or not. After these previous Debates, they unanimously agreed to an Address, in the Preamble of which, *They return'd Thanks to his Highness for his coming into this Kingdom, and exposing his Person to so great Hazards, for the Preservation of their Religion, Laws and Liberties from the Miseries of Popery and Slavery*; and then went on, desiring his Highness to take upon him the Administration of Publick Affairs, to take care of *Ireland*, and to issue forth his Circular Letters for the meeting of the Convention. This Address being presented and read to the Prince on the 27th, his Highness took that Night to consider of a Matter of so much weight, and the next Day told the Lords in the Morning, and the Commons in the Afternoon; "That he had consider'd of their Advice, "and as far as he was able would endeavour to secure "the Peace of the Nation, until the Meeting of the "Convention in *January* ensuing; and for the con-"vening whereof, he would forthwith issue out Let-"ters according to their Desire. That he would also "take care to apply the Publick Revenue to the most "proper Uses, that the present Affairs requir'd; and "likewise endeavour to put *Ireland* into such a Con-"dition, that the Protestant Religion might be main-"tain'd in that Kingdom. And he likewise assured "them,

The Commons Address.

"them, that as he came hither for the Preſervation "of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws and Li- "berties of this Kingdom, ſo he ſhould always be "ready to expoſe himſelf to any Hazard for the De- "fenſe of the ſame. A.D. 1688.

Whilſt the King was at *Rocheſter*, Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, was extraordinary buſy in promoting Diviſions among the Peers; wherefore the Prince was no ſooner inform'd of his Majeſty's ſecond Departure, but his Highneſs ſent an Order to that Miniſter to leave the Kingdom in Four and twenty Hours. On the 30th, being *Sunday*, his Highneſs receiv'd the Holy Sacrament in the Royal Chapel of *St. James's*; and next Day the Juſtices of Peace of *Middleſex* waited upon his Highneſs with an Addreſs of Thanks for his coming over to deliver them from *Popery* and *Slavery*. Whereupon he caus'd a Declaration to be publiſh'd, *Authorizing Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, and other Officers and Miniſters, not being Papiſts, who upon the Firſt of* December *were in Office, to act in their reſpective Places.* The ſame Evening his Highneſs paid a Viſit to the Queen Dowager; and amongſt other Queſtions, ask'd her Majeſty, *How ſhe paſs'd the Time*, and *whether ſhe play'd at Baſſet?* The Queen took this Opportunity to ſpeak, at a diſtance, in favour of the Earl of *Feverſham*, and anſwer'd his Highneſs, *That ſhe had not play'd at it ſince the Abſence of her Chamberlain, who us'd to keep the Bank.* The Prince of *Orange* took the Hint, and aſſur'd her Majeſty, that he would not by any means interrupt her Majeſty's Diverſions, and the next Day order'd the Earl to be ſet at liberty.

Diſſenting Miniſters Addreſs.

On the 2d of *January* about Ninety Diſſenting Miniſters, moſt, if not all, of whom, had before addreſs'd King *James* for the Liberty of Conſcience he had granted them, and made great Profeſſions of Loyalty to him, attended the Prince at *St. James's* with their Addreſs, being introduced by the Earl of *Devonſhire*, with the Lords *Wharton* and *Wiltſhire*. In it they profeſſed their grateful Senſe of his hazardous and heroical Expedition, eſteem'd it a common Felicity that the Patriots of the Kingdom had concurred with

A. Reg. 1. with his Highneſs's Deſigns; that they in their Stations promiſed their utmoſt Endeavours to promote the deſirable Ends for which he had declared; that they would continually pray for his Preſervation, and the Succeſs of his Endeavours for the Defence and Propagation of the Proteſtant Intereſt throughout the Chriſtian World; that though they now appeared in a diſtinct Company from the Clergy of *London*, yet they did it not on a diſtinct Account; and that thoſe, who through Age and Infirmities were not able to be among them, concurred in the ſame grateful Senſe of their Common Deliverance. The Prince, in his Anſwer, aſſured them, He came purpoſely for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, wherein he was born and bred; that it was his own Religion, the Religion of his Country, and of his Anceſtors; that he was reſolved always to adhere to it, to do his utmoſt Endeavours for the Defence of it, and perfecting a firm Union among Proteſtants.

The Prince having diſpatch'd his Circular Letters for the Meeting of the Convention, and for the preventing Diſorders that might happen in any Place of Election, order'd, *Jan.* 5. all Regiments, Troops and Companies to march out of the Quarters where ſuch Elections ſhould be made, the ſeveral Garriſons only excepted. Next his Highneſs bent his Thoughts upon Modelling the *Engliſh* Army. He firſt caus'd a Review to be made of all the Forces, and then gave Directions to the Lord *Ranelaugh*, their Pay-maſter, to pay them their Arrears, and to the Lord *Churchil* to make a Reform of eight of the new rais'd Regiments, *viz.* five of Horſe, and three of Foot; which however extended no farther than the Officers, nor did it reach thoſe neither who had ſerv'd before, and were willing to be employ'd under his Highneſs. Beſides this Reform, the 4th Troop of Life-Guards, commanded by the Lord *Dover*, was disbanded, to make room for the *Dutch* Life-Guard; and thoſe Regiments that would not ſerve, had others, on whom the Prince could depend, put into their places: And being now inform'd, that divers Soldiers, contrary to his Intentions and the Laws of the Land, were quar-

ter'd in private Houſes, his Highneſs iſſued out a De- *A.D.1688.*
claration, ordering that none of the Forces ſhould pre-
ſume to quarter in any private Houſe, without the vo-
luntary Conſent of the Owner.

The Declaration the Prince of *Orange* had caus'd to be diſpers'd in *Scotland*, did not miſs of its Effect, particularly among the *Presbyterians*. The Lord Chancellor, upon the News of King *James*'s being withdrawn, reſign'd immediately the Great Seal, and retir'd from *Edinburgh*; and the Populace of that City, with an uncontroul'd Fury, inſulted and rifled, not only the *Roman* Catholicks, but alſo ſome of the Epiſcopal Party. The Prince being inform'd of theſe Commotions, he aſſembled ſuch of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry as were then in *London*, and told them; *That the only Reaſon that induc'd him to engage in ſo great an Undertaking was, that he ſaw the* Laws *and* Liberties *of theſe Kingdoms overturn'd, and the* Proteſtant Religion *in imminent Danger. And ſeeing that there were ſo many Noblemen and Gentlemen of their Nation in Town, he had call'd them together, that he might have their Advice what was to be done for ſecuring the* Proteſtant Religion, *and reſtoring their* Laws *and* Liberties *according to his Declaration.* Aſſoon as his Highneſs was retir'd, theſe Lords and Gentlemen went to the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*; and having choſen the Duke of *Hamilton* their Preſident, after ſome Hours reaſoning, they agreed upon the Particulars of their Advice, which they order'd to be drawn up in Writing. The next Day the Draught was preſented to the Aſſembly, to which they made ſome Amendments relating to the Calling of a General Meeting of the States of *Scotland*: But as they were about to part, the Earl of *Arran* propos'd to them, *That they ſhould move the Prince of* Orange *to deſire the King to return, and call a Free Parliament, which would be the beſt way to ſecure the* Proteſtant Religion, *and their Properties, and to heal all Breaches.*

This Propoſal ſeem'd to diſſatisfy the whole Aſſembly; and therefore being met again the Day following, Sir *Patrick Hume* took notice of it, and deſir'd to know if there was any that would ſecond it; but none appearing to do it, he ſaid, that what the Earl had propos'd

A. Reg. 1. propos'd was evidently oppoſite and ungrateful to the Prince of *Orange*'s Undertaking, his Declaration, and the good Intentions of preſerving the *Proteſtant Religion*, and of reſtoring their Laws and Liberties; and farther deſir'd, that the Aſſembly ſhould declare this to be their Opinion. The Lord *Cardroſs* ſeconded Sir *Patrick*'s Motion; but the Duke of *Hamilton* wav'd it, alledging, that their Buſineſs was to prepare an Advice to be offer'd to the Prince; and the Advice being ready to go to the Vote, there was no need that the Aſſembly ſhould give their Senſe of the Earl's Propoſal, which never before nor after Sir *Patrick*'s Motion, any had pretended to own or ſecond, ſo that it was fallen, and out of doors; and that the Vote of the Aſſembly, upon the Advice, brought in by their Order, would ſufficiently declare their Opinion: This being ſeconded by the Earl of *Sutherland*, the Lord *Cardroſs*, and Sir *Patrick* did acquieſce in it; and thereupon the Aſſembly voted unanimouſly, that his Highneſs ſhould be humbly advis'd and deſired, *To take upon him the Adminiſtration of all Affairs, both Civil and Military; the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenues and Fortreſſes of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *and to call a General Meeting of the States of that Nation, to be holden at* Edinburgh *the 14th Day of* March *enſuing*. This Addreſs being ſubſcrib'd by 30 Lords, and about 80 Gentlemen, was preſented on the 10th, in their Preſence at *St. James*'s by the D. of *Hamilton*, their Preſident, to the Prince; who thank'd them for the Truſt they repos'd in him, and deſir'd time to conſider of ſo weighty an Affair.

On the 14th of *January* his Highneſs met the *Scotch* Lords and Gentlemen again, and then told them, *That in purſuance of their Advice, he would, until the Meeting of the States in* March *enſuing, give ſuch Orders concerning the Affairs in* Scotland, *as were neceſſary for the Calling of that Meeting, for the preſerving of the Peace, the applying of the Publick Revenue to the moſt preſſing Uſes, and putting the Fortreſſes in the Hands of Perſons in which the Nation could have a juſt Confidence. And he farther aſſur'd them, That they ſhould always find him ready to concur with them in every thing that might be found neceſſary for ſecuring the*

Proteſtant

Proteſtant Religion, *and reſtoring the* Laws *and* Liberties *of their Nation.* A.D. 1688.

Nor was the Prince leſs ſolicitous about the Preſervation of *Ireland*, which Kingdom was recommended to him not only by the *Engliſh* Convention, but alſo by an Addreſs of the *Iriſh* Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry, aſſembled for that purpoſe in the Duke of *Ormond*'s Houſe, who at the ſame time preſented his Highneſs with the Draughts of the chief Ports of that Kingdom. His Highneſs was juſtly afraid that *Tirconnel* would remain Faithful to the King, being ſupported by a numerous Army, and a powerful *Popiſh* Party; but upon a Report that he had propos'd in the Council to make the Lords *Granard* and *Montjoy*, both *Proteſtants*, the firſt Lieutenant, the other Major General, and to reſtore the Arms to the Proteſtants, it was thought fit to ſummon him, by a Letter, to ſubmit to the preſent Adminiſtration, and to receive thoſe Troops which his Highneſs deſign'd for the Security of *Ireland*; aſſuring him, that the *Roman* Catholicks there ſhould enjoy the ſame Liberty they had in King *Charles* II. time. Colonel *Richard Hamilton* willingly undertook the Meſſage; but being arriv'd at *Dublin*, inſtead of promoting his Highneſs's Intereſt, he acted in concert with the Earl of *Tirconnel* to oppoſe it.

Mr. *Temple*, the only Son of Sir *William Temple*, being the Perſon that poſſeſſed the Prince, *Tirconnel* would lay down the Sword, in caſe he ſent to him to require it. When he found he was diſappointed, it ſo affected his Mind, that he drown'd himſelf afterwards in the *Thames* at *London-Bridge*, leaving a Note behind to this Effect: "That his Folly in undertaking a Thing, which he was not capable to "accompliſh, had done the King a great Prejudice. "He wiſh'd Succeſs to his Enterprizes, and that he "might have one more capable to ſerve him "than *John Temple*.

Upon the firſt Notice given by a Letter from the Prince to the Court of Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, that there was great occaſion for an immediate Supply of Money, beyond what the preſent Condition of the Revenue could furniſh,

A. Reg. 1. furniſh, for the Charge of the Navy, paying off part of the Army, and ſending a ſpeedy Relief for the defence of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Ireland*. And propoſing that for anſwering thoſe great Ends, ſuch a Sum of Money ſhould be advanced by the City, by way of Loan, as they could conveniently ſpare; which would be ſecur'd, and repaid with full Intereſt at the end of ſix Months; an unanimous Vote immediately paſt, That they would ſupply his Highneſs with Two hundred thouſand Pounds, which was the Sum demanded, and which was raiſed in four Days, one ſingle Man having ſubſcrib'd 60000 Pounds towards it.

The two and twentieth Day of *January* being come, both Houſes of the *Convention* met at *Weſtminſter*, and immediately proceeded to the Choice of their Speaker. In the Houſe of Peers, the Marqueſs of *Hallifax* carried it againſt the Earl of *Danby*; and in that of the Commons Mr. *Powle* was unanimouſly choſen. The Chairs being thus fill'd, a Letter from the Prince was read in both Houſes, where-

The Prince's Letter to the Convention. in his Highneſs told them: "That he had endea-
"vour'd, to the utmoſt of his Power, to perform
"what was deſir'd from him, in order to the
"publick Peace and Safety. And that he did not
"know that any Thing had been omitted, which
"might have tended to the Preſervation of them,
"ſince the Adminiſtration of Affairs was put into his
"Hands: That it now lay upon them to lay the
"Foundations of a firm Security for their Religion,
"their Laws, and their Liberties: That he did not
"doubt, but that by ſuch a full and free Repreſen-
"tation of the Nation, as was now met, the Ends
"of his Declaration would be attain'd. And ſince
"it had pleas'd God hitherto to bleſs his good In-
"tentions with ſo great Succeſs, he truſted in him,
"that he would compleat his own Work, by ſend-
"ing a Spirit of Peace and Union to influence their
"Counſels, that no Interruption might be given to
"a happy and laſting Settlement. That the dan-
"gerous Condition of the Proteſtants in *Ireland* re-
"quir'd a large and ſpeedy Succour. And that the
"preſent State of Things abroad oblig'd him

" tell them, that next to the Danger of *unſeaſonable* A.D. 1689.
" *Diviſions* among themſelves, nothing could be ſo
" fatal as too great *Delays* in their Conſultations.
" That the *States*, by whom he had been enabled
" to reſcue this Nation, might ſuddenly feel the ill
" Effects of it; both by being too long depriv'd of
" the Service of their Troops which were then
" here, and of the Convention's early Aſſiſtance of
" them, againſt a powerful Enemy, who had de-
" clar'd War againſt them. And that as *England*
" was, by Treaty, already engag'd to help them
" upon ſuch Exigencies, ſo he was confident that
" their chearful Concurrence to preſerve this King-
" dom, with ſo much hazard to themſelves, would
" meet with all the Returns of Friendſhip, as *Proteſ-*
" *tants* and *Engliſhmen*, whenever their Condition
" ſhould require it."

The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons thereupon repreſented to the Aſſembly, the dangerous State of the Nation, and the fatal Conſequences of Anarchy; the deplorable Condition of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, and how much *England* might be affected by the Loſs of that Kingdom: And laſtly, the Growth of the exorbitant Power of *France*, and the vaſt Deſigns of that turbulent and aſpiring Monarch, not only the Perſecutor of the Proteſtant Religion, but likewiſe the ſworn Enemy of *England*; exciting the Aſſembly to put the Nation into a Poſture, not only to ſecure themſelves againſt all his Attempts, but alſo to make ſuch a powerful Diverſion in the very Bowels of his Dominions, as that they might recover their firſt Conqueſt of *France*, and reunite to the Imperial Crown of *England* the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, which, by an undiſputable Right, belong to it. This Speech was receiv'd with univerſal Applauſe, and a Day of *Publick Thankſgiving* was appointed; and they voted an Addreſs, to which the Lords gave their unanimous Concurrence, to this Effect; " That the Lords and
" Commons, being highly ſenſible of the great Deli-
" verance of this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary*
" *Power*; and that their Preſervation was, next un-
" der God, owing to his Highneſs, return'd their

A. Reg. 1. " moſt humble Thanks and Acknowledgments to " him, as the glorious Inſtrument of ſo great a Bleſ- " ſing. They further acknowledged the great Care " his Highneſs had been pleas'd to take, in the Ad- " miniſtration of the Publick Affairs of the King- " dom to that Time. And moſt humbly deſired " him, that he would take upon him the Adminiſ- " tration of Publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, " and the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenue, for the " Preſervation of their Religion, Rights, Laws, Li- " berties and Properties, and of the Peace of the " Nation. And that his Highneſs would take into " his particular Care the preſent State of *Ireland*, and " endeavour, by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual Means " to prevent the Dangers that threaten'd that King- " dom. All which they made their Requeſt to his " Highneſs to undertake and execute, till further " Application ſhould be made by them, which ſhould " be expedited with all convenient Speed. And " they ſhould alſo uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to " give diſpatch to the Matters recommended to them " by his Letter."

The Prince's Anſwer was, " That he was glad " that what he had done had pleas'd them. And " ſince they deſir'd him to continue the Adminiſtra- " tion, he was willing to accept it. He recommended " to them the Conſideration of Affairs abroad, which " made it neceſſary for them to expedite Buſineſs; " not only for making a Settlement at Home upon a " good Foundation, but for the Safety of all *Europe*."

The Commons proceed on the Vacancy of the Throne.

King *James* having, by a Letter to the Privy-Council, and another to the Lords and Commons, done all he could to divert their Proceedings, though in vain, the Commons on the 28th proceeded to take into Conſideration the State of the Nation, and the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, of which Mr. *Hamden* was choſen Chairman. The firſt that ſtood up was Mr. *Dolben*, Son to the late Archbiſhop of *York*, who made a long Speech, tending to prove, that the Throne of *England* was vacant, King *James* the Second, both by his Violation

tion of the Laws, and his voluntary deſerting theſe Kingdoms, having forfeited his Right, and abdicated the Government. A Member of the oppoſite Party made a ſmart Reply to that unexpected Aſſertion, *That the Throne was vacant.* Whereupon Sir *Richard Temple* ask'd him, *If the Throne were not vacant, what Buſineſs had they in that Place? and what need there was of calling a Convention?* Sir *Richard* made a very Eloquent Speech to back Mr. *Dolben*'s Poſition, which occaſion'd a Debate of four or five Hours, which being ended, the Houſe made the following Vote, perhaps the moſt remarkable in all our Records. *A.D.* 1689.

Reſolved, *That King* James *the Second, having endeavour'd to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract between King and People; and by the Advice of* Jeſuits, *and other wicked Perſons, having violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, has Abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby Vacant.*

The Party of thoſe who were for inviting King *James* to return, did not find themſelves ſtrong enough to divide the Houſe; ſo that next Day the Lords began to conſider the Vote of the Houſe of Commons with a great deal of Circumſpection; and being reſolved into a Committee of the whole Houſe, of which the Earl of *Danby* was Chairman, the firſt Motion was made not to agree with the Commons, that *the Throne was vacant*, but only to ſuppoſe it, leaving it to be farther examined afterwards, in order to cut ſhort ſeveral other Queſtions, by determining this firſt, *Whether the Throne being vacant, it ought to be fill'd up by a Regent or a King?* This Queſtion was debated with a great deal of Learning and Skill, and not a little Warmth. Among the reſt the Earl of *Nottingham* fetch'd many Arguments from our *Engliſh* Story to ſupport his Opinion for a Regency, adding a freſh Inſtance from *Portugal*, where *Don Pedro* had only the Title of Regent confer'd upon him whilſt his depos'd Brother was alive. This the Marqueſs of *Hallifax* and the Earl of *Danby* ſtrenouſly oppoſed; ſo that the Queſtion being put to

A. Reg. 1. the Vote, 51 were for a King, and 49 only for a Regency, *viz.* The Dukes of *Somerſet*, *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton*, *Beaufort* and *Northumberland*; the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Clarendon*, *Rocheſter*, *Craven*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Scarſdale*, *Cheſterfield*, *Litchfield*, *Yarmouth* and *Lindſey*, Viſcount *Weymouth*; The Lords *Coventry*; *Brook*, *Leigh*, *Ferrers*, *Maynard*, *Chandois*, *Jermain*, *Arundel* of *Trerife*, *Dartmouth*, *Godolphin*, *Griffin*, and five more; the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Winchester*, *Ely*, St. *Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Chicheſter*, *Rocheſter*, St. *Davids*, *Oxford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Lincoln*: The Earls of *Huntingdon* and *Mulgrave* did not appear in the Houſe. My Lord *Churchill* kept at Home upon ſome Indiſpoſition. As for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he was really indiſpos'd; but had he been in the Houſe he would certainly have voted for a Regency; ſo that of all the Biſhops, none but thoſe of *London* and *Briſtol* were for a King. However, this Party was ſoon fortified by four Dukes, *viz.* the Duke of *Ormond*, and the three natural Sons of King *Charles* II.

Whilſt the Lords were debating that Preliminary Queſtion, the Commons paſt a Vote, declaring that Popery was inconſiſtent with the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and excluding for ever all *Roman* Catholicks from the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, to which the Houſe of Peers gave their Concurrence; and propos'd withal to add a Clauſe, That no King of *England* ſhould marry a *Roman Catholick*.

On the 4th Day the Lords went farther upon the Vote of the Houſe, and put this Queſtion, *Whether or no there was an Original Contract between King and People*? Which Queſtion occaſion'd many hot Diſputes, not a few maintaining, that Kings held their Crowns by Divine Right; which others as warmly denied, aſſerting, that all Power Originally belong'd to the Community, and to the King only by mutual Compact. Thereupon the Houſe being divided, 53 were for this laſt Poſition, and 46 only for the Negative; by which it appear'd that the Party that were for the Regency began to loſe Ground. The next Queſtion was, *Whether King* James *had broke that Original Contract*? Which after a ſmall Debate was carried

ried in the Affirmative. The laſt Day of *January* their Lordſhips took into Conſideration the Word *Abdicated*, and concluded that *Deſerted* was more proper. They next examin'd the Word *Vacant*, and put the Queſtion, *Whether King* James *having broke that Original Contract between him and his People, and deſerted the Government, the Throne was thereby Vacant?* This Queſtion was carried in the Negative by eleven Voices. A.D. 1689.

The Lords and Commons Debates about the Word Vacant.

Having ſent the Vote with the Amendments to the Commons, they gave their Reaſons for their diſſent: *That to the firſt Amendment the Commons did not agree, becauſe the Word* Deſerted, *did not fully expreſs the Concluſion neceſſarily inferr'd from the Premiſes, which their Lordſhips had agreed to, viz.* That King *James* the Second had endeavour'd to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the *Original Contract* between King and People, and had violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom: *That the Word* Deſerted *reſpected only the withdrawing, but the Word* Abdicated *reſpected the Whole; for which purpoſe the Commons made choice of it. That the Commons could not agree to the Second Amendment, to leave out the Words,* And that the Throne is thereby vacant, *Firſt, Becauſe they conceiv'd, that as they might well infer from ſo much of their own Votes as their Lordſhips had agreed unto,* That King *James* the Second had Abdicated the Government, and that the Throne was thereby vacant.; *ſo if the Commons ſhould admit their Lordſhips Amendment, that he had only* Deſerted *the Government, yet even thence it would follow, that the* Throne is vacant, *as to King* James *the Second*; Deſerting *the Government, being in true Conſtruction,* Deſerting the Throne. 2dly. *That the Commons conceiv'd they needed not prove to their Lordſhips, that as to any other Perſon the Throne was alſo* vacant; *Their Lordſhips, as the Commons conceived, having already admitted it, by their* Addreſſing the Prince of *Orange*, to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, *&c. and by appointing Days of Publick* Thankſgiving *to be obſerv'd throughout the whole Kingdom, all which the Commons conceiv'd to imply, that it was their Lordſhips Opinion,* That the Throne was vacant, *and to ſignify ſo much to the People of this Kingdom. And* 3dly, *That*

A. Reg. 1. *it is from thoſe who are upon the Throne (when there are any ſuch) from whom the People of* England *ought to receive Protection, and to whom, for that Cauſe, they owe the Allegiance of Subjects; but there being none now from whom they expected* Regal *Protection, and to whom for that Cauſe, they owed the Allegiance of Subjects, the Commons conceiv'd,* the Throne was vacant.

Upon this the Lords and Commons, by their Managers, had a free Conference, and after many learned Arguments on both ſides, and a Report made of the ſame in the Houſe of Lords, and the Queſtion being put, Whether their Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſhould be declar'd King and Queen? Thoſe who were for the Affirmative carried it by Twenty Voices, being Sixty Five againſt Forty Five, ſo that this Vote paſt.

" Reſolved, by the Lords Spiritual and Tempo-
" ral, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, That the Prince and
" Princeſs of *Orange* ſhall be declar'd King and
" Queen of *England*, and of all the Dominions there-
" unto belonging."

On the 7th of *February*, the Lords explain'd this Reſolution by voting, That *the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange *ſhould be King and Queen of* England, *&c. for their Natural Lives, and Life of the longer Liver of them, and that the ſole and full Regal Power be in the Prince only in the Name of both. And that after their Deceaſes the Crown ſhould belong to the Heirs of the Body of the Princeſs; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue to the Princeſs* Anne *of* Denmark, *and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Prince of* Orange; *and for Default of ſuch Iſſue to the Perſon that ſhould be nam'd, and in ſuch manner as ſhould be limited and regulated by Act of Parliament; and for Default of ſuch Limitation and Regulation, to the Lawful Heirs of the ſaid Prince of* Orange.

On the 12th the Princeſs of *Orange* arrived from *Holland*, and the Lords and Commons having in the mean time agreed upon a Declaration, containing the Reaſons why King *James* had forfeited his Crown; aſſerting the undoubted Rights and Liberties of the Subject; ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, and

" appoint-

appointing the new Oaths. And the Prince and Princeſs on the 13th being ſeated on two Arm-Chairs under a Canopy in the Banqueting-Houſe, both Houſes of the *Convention* waited upon their Highneſſes in a Body, and cauſed the Clerk of the Crown to read the *Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at* Weſtminſter. A.D. 1689.

"Whereas the late King *James* the Second, by "the Aſſiſtance of divers evil Counſellors, Judges, *of Right.* "and Miniſters employ'd by him, did endeavour to "ſubvert and extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, and "the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom; by Aſ- "ſuming and Exerciſing a Power of Diſpenſing with, "and Suſpending of Laws, and the Execution of "Laws, without Conſent of Parliament. By com- "mitting and proſecuting divers worthy Prelates, "for humbly petitioning to be excuſed from concur- "ring to the ſaid aſſumed Power. By iſſuing and "cauſing to be executed, a Commiſſion under the "Great Seal, for erecting a Court called, *The Court "of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.* By levying "Money for and to the Uſe of the Crown, by Pre- "tence of Prerogative, for other time, and in other "manner, than the ſame was granted by Parliament. "By raiſing and keeping a Standing-Army within "this Kingdom in time of Peace, without Conſent "of Parliament; and Quartering Soldiers contrary "to Law. By cauſing ſeveral good Subjects, being "Proteſtants, to be diſarm'd at the ſame time, when "Papiſts were both armed and employ'd contrary to "Law. By violating the Freedom of Election of "Members to ſerve in Parliament. By Proſecutions "in the Court of *King's-Bench* for Matters and Cauſes "cognizable only in Parliament; and by divers "other Arbitrary and Illegal Courſes. And whereas "of late Years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified Perſons "have been return'd and ſerv'd on Juries in Trials, "and particularly divers Jurors in Trials for High- "Treaſon, who were not Freeholders; And ex- "ceſſive Bail had been required of Perſons commit- "ted in Criminal Caſes, to elude the Benefit of the "Laws made for the Liberty of the Subjects. And

A. Reg. 1. " Exceſſive Fines have been impos'd, and Illegal " and Cruel Puniſhments inflicted. And ſeveral " Grants and Promiſes made of Fines and Forfeitures " before any Conviction or Judgment againſt the Per- " ſons upon whom the ſame were to be levied. All " which are utterly and directly contrary to the " known Laws and Statutes, and Freedom of this " Realm.

" And whereas the ſaid late King *James* the Se- " cond, having Abdicated the Government, and the " Throne being thereby vacant, his Highneſs the " Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleaſed Almighty " God) to make the Glorious Inſtrument of delive- " ring this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary " Power) did by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual " and Temporal, and divers principal Perſons of " the Commons, cauſe Letters to be written to the " Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Proteſtants, " and other Letters to the ſeveral Countries, Cities, " Univerſities, Burroughs, and Cinque-Ports, for " the chuſing of ſuch Perſons to repreſent them, as " were of Right to be ſent to Parliament, to meet " and ſit at *Weſtminſter* upon the 22d Day of *January* " in this Year 1688, in order to ſuch an Eſtabliſh- " ment, as that their Religion, Laws and Liberties, " might not again be in danger of being ſubverted. " Upon which Letters, Elections having been ac- " cordingly made; And thereupon the Lords Spiri- " tual and Temporal, and Commons, purſuant to " their reſpective Letters, and Elections, being now " Aſſembled in a full and free Repreſentative of this " Nation, taking into their moſt ſerious Conſidera- " tion the beſt Means for attaining the Ends afore- " ſaid, do in the firſt Place (as their Anceſtors in " like Caſe have uſually done) for the Vindicating " and Aſſerting their antient Rights and Liberties, " declare, 1. That the pretended Power of ſuſpend- " ing Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal " Authority, without Conſent of Parliament, is il- " legal. 2. That the pretended Power of diſpen- " ſing with Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by " Regal Authority, as it hath been aſſumed and ex- " erciſed of late, is illegal. 3. That the Commiſ-

" ſion

" ſion for erecting the late *Court of Commiſſioners for* A.D.1689.
" *Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, and all other Commiſſions and
" Courts of the like Nature, are Illegal and Per-
" cious. 4. That levying of Money for or to
" Uſe of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogativ
" without Grant of Parliament, for longer time
" or in other manner than the ſame is or ſhall be
" granted, is illegal. 5. That it is the Right of
" the Subjects to Petition the King; and all Com-
" mitments and Proſecutions for ſuch Petitioning,
" are illegal. 6. That the raiſing or keeping a
" Standing Army within the Kingdom in time of
" Peace, unleſs it be with Conſent of Parliament, is
" againſt Law. 7. That the Subjects which are
" Proteſtants may have Arms for their Defence ſui-
" table to their Condition, and as allowed by Law.
" 8. That Elections of Members of Parliament
" ought to be free. 9. That the Freedom of Speech,
" and Debates or Proceedings in Parliament ought
" not to be impeached or queſtioned in any Court or
" Place out of Parliament. 10. That exceſſive Bail
" ought not to be required, nor exceſſive Fines im-
" poſed, nor cruel and unuſual Puniſhments inflict-
" ed. 11. That Jurors ought to be duly impannell'd
" and return'd, and Jurors which paſs upon Men in
" Trials of High-Treaſon ought to be Freeholders.
" 12. That all Grants and Promiſes of Fines and
" Forfeitures of particular Perſons before Conviction,
" are illegal and void. 13. And that for Redreſs
" of all Grievances, and for the amending, ſtreng-
" thening and preſerving of the Laws, Parliaments
" ought to be held frequently. And they do claim,
" demand, and inſiſt upon all and ſingular the Pre-
" miſes, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties:
" And that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings, or
" Proceedings, to the Prejudice of the People in any
" of the ſaid Premiſes, ought in any wiſe to be
" drawn hereafter into Conſequence or Example.
" To which Demand of their Rights they are par-
" ticularly encouraged by the Declaration of His
" Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only
" means for obtaining a full Redreſs and Remedy
" therein.

" Having

Reg. 1. " Having therefore an intire Confidence, that his " ſaid Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* will perfect the " Deliverance ſo far advanced by Him, and will ſtill " preſerve them from the Violation of their Rights, " which they have here aſſerted, and from all other " Attempts upon their Religion, Rights and Liber- " ties; The Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſem- " bled at *Weſtminſter* do reſolve, That *William* and " *Mary* Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, be, and be " declared, King and Queen of *England*, *France* and " *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, " to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the ſaid " Kingdoms and Dominions, to Them the ſaid " Prince and Princeſs during their Lives, and the " Life of the Survivor of them; and that the ſole " and full Exerciſe of the Regal Power be only in, " and executed by the ſaid Prince of *Orange*, in the " Names of the ſaid Prince and Princeſs during " their joint Lives; and after their Deceaſes, the " ſaid Crown and Royal Dignity of the ſaid King- " doms and Dominions to be to the Heirs of the " Body of the ſaid Princeſs; and for Default of ſuch " Iſſue, to the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the " Heirs of her Body; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, " to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Prince of " *Orange*. And the ſaid Lords Spiritual and Tem- " poral, and Commons, do pray the ſaid Prince and " Princeſs of *Orange* to accept the ſame accordingly. " And that the Oaths hereafter mention'd be taken " by all Perſons of whom the Oaths of Allegiance " and Supremacy might be required by Law, inſtead " of them; and that the ſaid Oaths of Allegiance " and Supremacy be Abrogated.

" I A. B. *do ſincerely promiſe and ſwear, That I will* " *be Faithful, and bear true Allegiance to Their Majeſties* " *King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY.

So help me God.

" I A. B. *do ſwear, That I do from my Heart, Ab-* " *hor, Deteſt, and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this* " *Damnable Doctrine and Poſition*, That Princes Ex-

" communicated

" communicated or Deprived by the Pope, or any A.D. 1685
" Authority of the See of *Rome*, may be Depoſed
" or Murthered by their Subjects, or any other
" whatſoever. *And I do declare, That no Foreign Prince,*
" *Perſon or Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought*
" *to have, any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence,*
" *or Authority Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, within*
" *this Realm.* So help me God.

After the Reading of this Declaration the Marqueſs of *Halifax*, Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, made a Tender of the Crown to their Highneſſes, in the Name of both Houſes, whereupon the Prince of *Orange* return'd the following Anſwer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THIS is certainly the greateſt proof of the Truſt you have in Us, that can be given, which is the thing that makes Us value it the more; and We thankfully Accept what you have Offered. And as I had no other Intention in coming hither, than to preſerve your Religion, Laws and Liberties; ſo you may be ſure, That I ſhall endeavour to ſupport them, and ſhall be willing to concur in any thing that ſhall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my Power to advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation.

A learned Biſhop, on the Anniverſary of the Reſtoration, in a Sermon at Court many Years after theſe things happened, deliver'd himſelf concerning the Prince and them, in this manner. " A Prince
" was born ſome Years before the *Reſtoration*, that he
" might be ripe, both in Age, and Abilities, for
" the performing the great Deſign of the Revo-
" lution, juſt when the Attempts to ruin us
" ſhould be ripening into Execution: And was
" afterwards, by a kind Diſpoſition of Provi-
" dence, to make the way eaſier, married into the
" *Royal Family*, from which he deſcended. And
" accordingly, when the Scene of Ruine was opened
" ſo plainly, that no Eye was *then* too blind to ſee it,
" he appear'd in all the Maturity of Wiſdom, and
" Vigour of Action: A Prince, inur'd to Labours

" and

Reg. 1. " and Hardſhips from his Birth; prepar'd for the " great Work, by his perſonal Accompliſhments; " directed to it by his Deſcent, and his Marriage; " and qualified for it by his Intereſt and Authority *without*, as well as by an uncommon Greatneſs of Soul *within*. Such a peculiar Conjunction of every thing deſirable in the Perſon, to undertake a Work, " hazardous enough, one would imagine, to deter " the greateſt Minds from thinking of it; and ſuch " a Diſpoſition of the various Intereſts of the *States* " and *Kingdoms* of *Europe*, as both required and ſup- " ported the Undertaking; muſt appear very ſur- " prizing, in ſo critical a Moment of Time: When, " if we ſpeak within the Compaſs of Human Views, " nothing but ſo unparallel'd a *Combination* of *Circum- " ſtances* could have afforded even the leaſt Hopes of " Succeſs. "

His firſt Privy-Council.

The King being advanced to the Throne, his firſt Care was to conſtitute his Privy-Council, and the Perſons he thought fit to make choice of, were Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marqueſſes of *Wincheſter* and *Hallifax*, the Earls of *Danby*, *Lindſey*, *Oxford*, *Shrewsbury*, *Bedford*, *Devonſhire*, *Macclesfield*, *Nottingham*, *Bath*, and *Dorſet*; the Viſcounts *Falconberg*, *Mordant* and *Newport*; the Lords *Wharton*, *Delamere*, *Montague*, *Lumley*, and *Churchill*; Monſieur *Bentinck*, Mr. *Henry Sidney*, Mr. *Edward Ruſſel*, Mr. *Henry Powle*, Mr. *Richard Hampden*, Sir *Henry Capel*, *Hugh Boſcawen* Eſq; and Sir *Robert Howard*. He made the Earl of *Danby*, Preſident of the Council; the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, Lord Privy-Seal; the Earl of *Devonſhire*, Steward of the Houſhold; Mr. *Bentinck*, Groom of the Stole, and Privy-Purſe; the Lord *Newport*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold; Mr. *Wharton* Comptroller, and Sir *John Lowther* Vice-Chamberlain, who were all made Privy-Councellors. Monſieur *Overkirk*, Maſter of the Horſe; Mareſchal *Schomberg*, Maſter of the Ordnance; the Lord *Montague*, Maſter of the Great Wardrobe; Mr. *Zuleſtein*, Maſter of the Robes; the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Principal Secretary of State; the Biſhop of *London*, Dean of the Chapel;

Other Promotions.

the

the Lord *Lovelace*, Captain of the Band of Penſioners; A.D. 168
the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Mordant*, *Lumley* and *Churchill*, and Mr. *Sidney*, Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber; the Lord *Wiltſhire*, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*'s Son, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, *John How* Eſq; Vice-Chamberlain; Mr. *Villers*, Maſter of the Horſe, and the Counteſs of *Derby* firſt Lady of the Bed-Chamber: The Earl of *Nottingham* was ſoon after made the other Secretary of State; the Great Seal was put into Commiſſion, in the Hands of Sir *John Maynard*, *Anthony Kecke* and *William Rawlinſon*, Eſqrs; the Admiralty was put into Commiſſion, and Admiral *Herbert*, the Earl of *Carbery*, Sir *Michael Wharton*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Sir *John Chicheley*, Sir *John Lowther* of *Whitehaven*, and Mr. *Sacheverel*, were intruſted with the Management of it; as the Lords *Mordant*, *Delamere*, *Godolphin*, Mr. *Hampden*, and Sir *Henry Capel*, were with the Treaſury, and Doctor *Burnet* was made Biſhop of *Sarum*.

Upon his Advancement to the Throne, he wrote a Letter to the States of *Holland* to notify the ſame; wherein he aſſured them, 'That his new Dignity, 'inſtead of diminiſhing the Affection he ever had, 'and the Care he ever took for the Preſervation and 'Proſperity of their Republick, would only ſerve to 'enable him to diſcharge his Office of Stadtholder 'with more Weight and Succeſs, towards the Benefit 'and Advantage of their State; and that during his 'Reign he would make it his conſtant Buſineſs, and 'endeavour to eſtabliſh and maintain a perfect Intelligence, as alſo an inviolable Friendſhip between 'his Kingdoms and the United Provinces, for the 'Safety, Welfare and Repoſe of both States, and 'Support of the Proteſtant Religion.' The ſame Expreſs carried alſo a Letter for the Diſcharge of the Earl of *Sunderland*, who had been ſeized at *Rotterdam*. *His Letter of Notification to the States.*

The King, by the Advice of his Council, having thought it neceſſary to turn the Convention into a Parliament, told them, 'He came thither to aſſure 'them that he ſhould never do any thing that might 'juſtly leſſen their good Opinion of him; that the 'Condition of their Allies abroad, and particularly 'that *The King's Speech to the Parliament.*

A. Reg. 1. ‘ that of *Holland*, was ſuch, that unleſs ſome ſpeedy ‘ Care were taken of them, they ran a greater ha- ‘ zard than they would have them expoſed to; that ‘ a good Settlement at Home was neceſſary, not on- ly for their own Peace, but for the Support of the Proteſtant Intereſt both here and abroad; that the ‘ State of *Ireland* was ſuch, that the Dangers were grown too great to be obviated by any ſlow Methods. He left the proper Forms to them.’

Several Members of the Commons growing diſcontented, the ſame ſoon appeared, and the Queſtion being put, *Whether the Revenue was expired by the Vacancy of the Throne? Or whether it was devolved on their Majeſties?* The firſt part of the Queſtion was carried in the Affirmative. The Lords about the ſame time were mortified with the *ill* Succeſs of their Bill for the better Regulating of the Trials of the Peers of *England*, which was dropt by the Commons..

Now it was that the Diſſenting Miniſters preſented a very dutiful Addreſs to his Majeſty, and his Anſwer was:

The King's Anſwer to the Diſſenters Addreſs. *I Take kindly your good Wiſhes, and whatever is in my Power, ſhall be employed for obtaining an Union among you. I do aſſure you of my Protection and Kindneſs.*

The King was pleaſed to ſend two Meſſages, one to the Lords about detaining ſome ſuſpected Perſons; and the other to the Commons, about remitting the grievous Tax of Hearth-Monies, which was a good ſtraining Policy in him, and had its Effects, and was anſwered by a moſt dutiful and thankful Addreſs; and having alſo acquainted both Houſes with King *James* his ſailing for *Ireland* with a good Body of Troops from *France*, the Lords and Commons joined in another to his Majeſty. To which he anſwered, ‘ That their Addreſs, in the Manner, as well as Matter, ‘ had every thing in it, that ought to recommend ‘ it to him. He aſſured them he would never abuſe ‘ the Confidence they put in him, being fully perſuaded that there was no ſure Foundation of a good

‘ Agree-

Agreement between a King and his People, A.D. 1689.
'but a mutual Trust, which when once broken, a
'Government was half dissolved: That it should
'therefore be his chief Care never to give any Par-
'liament Cause to distrust him; and the best Me-
'thod he could use for that purpose, was never to
'expect any thing from them, but what should be
'their own Interest to grant.

'That he came over for the Good of the King-
'dom; and since it was their desire that he was in
'that Station, he would persue the same Ends that
'brought him; that God had been pleased to make
'him Instrumental to redeem them from the Ills
'they feared, and that it was still his Desire as well
'as Duty, to serve them in their Religion, Laws and
'Liberties: That he had told them lately of the Ne-
'cessity of assisting their Allies, and more especially
'*Holland*, whose Readiness to relieve them at so much
'Hazard and Expence, needed no other Argument
'to move them to the Consideration of it: That as
'he was then a Witness of their Zeal and Affection
'to second his Endeavours, even with the Neglect
'of their own Safety; so he was now sensible of the
'inevitable ruin they had drawn upon themselves in
'giving them Assistance, if they should not return
'it to them. That they had really exhausted them-
'selves very much; and he was confident their Ge-
'nerosity would have as little Bounds towards the
'States, as they had towards them; and that they
'would not only enable him to make good the Trea-
'ty with them, and repay what they had actually
'laid out upon that Occasion, but that they would
'further support them, to the utmost of their Abi-
'lities, against the Power of their Enemies, who must
'be theirs too, by their Interest and Religion, and
'who certainly designed the Ruin of *Holland* to be
'a Step for their Destruction.

'Then he set before them the deplorable Condition
'of *Ireland*; That it was not thought advisable to at-
'tempt the reducing of it otherwise than by a consi-
'derable Force; and which, by the Blessing of God,
'would make the Work shorter, and consequently the

'Charge

A. Reg. 1. ‘ Charge eaſier; that there muſt be ſuch a Fleet fitted out, as might in Conjunction with the States, make them entire Maſters of that Sea.

He concluded, ‘ That thoſe things would amount to a great Sum, and muſt of Conſequence be a preſent Weight to the People; but conſidering that neither their Religion, nor their Safety, could probably be ſecured without them, nothing could be too great a Price for their Preſervation; and he would engage his ſolemn Word to them, that whatever they ſhould give to thoſe publick Ends, ſhould be ſtrictly applied to them; and that as they freely offer'd to hazard all that was dear to them, ſo he ſhould as freely expoſe himſelf for the Support of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Safety and Honour of the Nation.”

The Defection of the Royal *Scotch* Regiment of Horſe, Quartered at *Abingdon*, and of about five hundred Soldiers of *Dunbarton's* Regiment, which were ſoon reduced, conſequently was not ſo mortifying to the Court, as that the major Part of the Biſhops, and divers Temporal Lords, refuſed the new Oath of Fealty, and ſubſcribing the Declaration. On the 16th of *March* he made a Speech to both Houſes, and in the Cloſe of it ſays, ‘ That as he doubted not ‘ but that they would ſufficiently provide againſt ‘ Papiſts, ſo he hoped they would leave room for ‘ the Admiſſion of all Proteſtants that were willing ‘ and able to ſerve, which Conjunction in his Service would tend to the better uniting them among ‘ themſelves, and ſtrengthen them againſt their common Adverſaries.’

This Admiſſion of Diſſenters into Offices was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Church-Party, and would by no means go down, though the other ſide tried to effect it by two ſeveral Clauſes, one in the Houſe of Lords, and the other in that of the Commons: But his Meſſage about a General Pardon was more agreeable, and in time had a better Effect.

On the ninth of *April* his Majeſty gave the Royal Aſſent to an Act for Eſtabliſhing the Coronation-Oath,

Oath, which by Directions from the Court was provided to be Administred either by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the Biſhop of *London*, the laſt of whom was pitched upon, leſt the other would have refuſed his Conſent. Next Day, which preceded that of the Coronation, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer divers Titles of Honour; his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark* was made Baron of *Ockingham*, Earl of *Kendal*, and Duke of *Cumberland*; the Marqueſs of *Winchester*, Duke of *Bolton*; *William Bentinck* Eſq; Baron of *Cirencester*, Viſcount *Woodſtock*, and Earl of *Portland*; Viſcount *Falconberg*, made Earl of *Falconberg*; Lord Viſcount *Mordant*, made Earl of *Monmouth*; the Lord *Montague*, Viſcount *Mounthermer* and Earl of *Montague*; the Lord *Churchill*, Earl of *Marlborough*; *Henry Sidney* Eſq; Baron of *Milton*, and Viſcount *Sidney* of *Sheppey* in the County of *Kent*; Viſcount *Lumley* of *Waterford* in *Ireland*, Viſcount *Lumley* of *Lumley*-Caſtle in the County-Palatine of *Durham*, and Earl of *Scarborough*; the Viſcount *Cholmondely* of *Kells* in *Ireland*, Baron *Cholmondeley* of *Witchmalbank*, alias *Namptwich* in *Cheſhire*; Sir *George Huet*, Baron of *James-Town*, and Viſcount *Goran* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. His Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Thomas Pilkington* Eſq; Lord-Mayor of *London*; and Mareſchal *Schomberg*, (who with the Earl of *Devonſhire* had already, on the third, been elected Knights Companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter) was Naturalized by Act of Parliament, and ſoon after created Duke of *Schomberg*.

A.D. 1689.

Creations of Honour.

The Day after the Coronation, which was on the 11th, the Commons in a full Body waited upon their Majeſties in the Banqueting-Houſe, to congratulate them upon that Solemn Occaſion, which was performed by Mr. *Powle*, their Speaker; and to whom the King made Anſwer:

Gentlemen,

WE return you our hearty Thanks for the Kindneſs and Reſpects that you have upon all Occaſions ſhewed to both of Us; We ſhall take Care to the beſt of our Power of all things that conduce to the Good of the Kingdom; and I do

The King's Anſwer to the Congratulation of the Commons.

A. Reg. 1. *I do not doubt but by God's Aſſiſtance and Yours, we ſhall be able in a ſhort time to make you a flouriſhing People.*

Being alſo addreſs'd to by them for his ſupporting the Church of *England*, he returned Anſwer by the Earl of *Nottingham*, 'That though he had many Occaſions of aſſuring them, he would maintain the 'Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſhed; yet he 'was well pleaſed with repeating thoſe Promiſes, 'which he was reſolved to perform, by ſupporting 'that Church, whoſe Loyalty he doubted not would 'make him to anſwer their juſt Expectations; that 'as his Deſign of coming over was to reſcue them 'from the Miſeries they laboured under, ſo it 'was a great Satisfaction to him, that by the Succeſs 'God had given him, he was in a Station of de'fending that Church, which had effectually ſhewn 'her Zeal againſt Popery, and ſhould always be his 'peculiar Care; and he hoped the Eaſe they deſign'ed to Diſſenters, would contribute very much to 'the Eſtabliſhment of that Church; and therefore 'he earneſtly recommended to them, that the Occa'ſions of Differences, and mutual Animoſities might 'be removed; and that as ſoon as might be he would 'ſummon a Convocation.'

Paſſes Bills. On the 24th the King paſſed the Bill for impowering his Majeſty, to apprehend and detain all ſuch Perſons as he ſhould find juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect were conſpiring againſt the Government; another for removing Papiſts from the City of *London*, &c. a Third for taking away Hearth-Money; a Fourth for the Encouraging of the Exportation of Corn; and a Fifth for making the Statute effectual, made in the firſt Year of King *James* II. concerning the Haven and Pierre of *Great Yarmouth*.

King's Anſwer about Sarsfield. Their Majeſties had been but a ſhort while advanced to the Throne, when a noble Lord acquainted the King, that Colonel *Sarsfield* was in Town, talked at a high Rate, and being a Man of a deſperate and daring Nature, it might be adviſable to ſecure him, for fear he might aſſaſſinate his Perſon. The King, who was of an intrepid Mind, far enough from

from fearing such an Attempt, only answered, *Let him do it if he dares.* A.D. 1689.

Scotland being yet an independent Kingdom; tho' the Duke of *Gordon*, a Papist, kept Possession of *Edenburgh* Castle, yet a Convention met without the City, of which Duke *Hamilton* was chosen President. Both King *William* and King *James* directed Letters to them, and they were both read, but without any regard to that of the abdicated King's. They passed an Act on the 29th of *March*, approving the Address of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry at *London*, to the Prince, and therein acknowledged the great Benefit their Nation received by the Prince, in delivering them from the eminent Encroachments on their Laws, and Fundamental Constitution, and from the near Dangers which threath'd the Overthrow of the Protestant Religion, and they concluded with desiring him to accept of the Administration of the Government of that Kingdom. And having the same Day read some Letters from several Lords and Gentlemen in *Ireland*, craving Assistance of the Convention, they ordered Two thousand Muskets, and Twenty Barrels of Powder to be immediately sent them, and that two small Frigates should cruise between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for mutual Intelligence between both Kingdoms, both which were afterwards taken by one *French* Privateer.

The Scotch Convention's Address to the King.

While these things were in Agitation, there were Heads at Work to countermine all: Viscount *Dundee* continued some time about *Whitehall* after the Abdication, but afterwards retired to *Scotland*; and having held a private Conference with the Duke of *Gordon*, for disturbing the publick Tranquility, he was ordered to appear before the Convention; but instead of that retires with about forty Horse to *Linlithgo*: And the House finding, that not only he, but also the Advocate-General *Mackenzy*, five Bishops, the Earls of *Hume*, *Dumferling*, *Lauderdale*, *Berly*, *Callender*, and Viscount *Stermont* absented themselves, they sent the Mace to require their Attendance, though to little purpose. And in a short time having declared the Throne vacant; that King *James*, in plain *Scotch*,

A. Reg. 1. had forefaulted, and drawn up their Declaration of Right, they reſolved, That *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, ſhould be King and Queen of *Scotland*: And the Earl of *Argyle*, Sir *James Montgomery*, and Sir *John Dalrymple*, who were the Commiſſioners from the *Scotch* Convention, being arrived at *London*, attended their Majeſties, ſitting on their Thrones in the Banqueting-Houſe; they firſt preſented the Letter of the Eſtates to his Majeſty, then the Inſtrument of Government; thirdly, their Grievances, which they deſired might be redreſſed; and laſtly, an Addreſs to the King for converting the Convention into a Parliament. When all had been read, his Majeſty ſaid to the Commiſſioners, *When I engaged in this Undertaking, I had a particular Regard and Conſideration of* Scotland, *and therefore I did put forth a Declaration in relation to that as well as to this Kingdom, which I intend to make good and effectual to them. I take it very kindly* Scotland *has expreſt ſo much Confidence and Affection to me; they ſhall find me willing to aſſiſt them in every thing that concerns the Well-being and Intereſt of that Kingdom, by making what Laws ſhall be neceſſary for the Security of their Religion, Property and Liberty, and to eaſe them of what may be juſtly grievous to them.* Then the Earl of *Argyle*, with the other Commiſſioners, tendred the Coronation Oath to their Majeſties, which was diſtinctly pronounced by the Earl Word by Word, while their Majeſties repeated the Sentences after him, holding up their Right Hands all the while, according to the Cuſtom of *Scotland*. It's very obſervable, that when the King came to that Clauſe which ſaid, *We ſhall be careful to root out all Hereticks*, he declared, *He did not mean by thoſe Words, that he was under any Obligation to become a Perſecutor.* To which the Commiſſioners made Anſwer, *That neither the meaning of the Oath, nor the Law of* Scotland, *did import it.* Whereupon the King replied, *That he took the Oath in that Senſe*, and called the Commiſſioners, and others there preſent, to be Witneſſes of his ſo doing.

Declared King and Queen of Scotland.

King's Speech to the Scotch *Commiſſioners.*

The King and Queen take the Scotch *Oath.*

The Convention hereupon was turned into a Parliament, wherein Duke *Hamilton* was made High-Commiſſioner;

Commiſſioner; the Epiſcopal Government was ſoon abolished, and the Presbyterian Church ſet up; during which the Siege of the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* was ſo vigorouſly carried on, that it was on the 13th of *June* ſurrendred to Sir *John Lanier* at Diſcretion: Yet *Dundee* gathered Strength among the *Highlanders* for the late King, between whoſe Parties and *Mackay*'s paſſed ſeveral Skirmiſhes; but more particularly a moſt remarkable one on the 16th of *July*, near *Blair* in the County of *Athol*, where *Mackay* with 4000 Foot, four Troops of Horſe and Dragoons attacked *Dundee*, who had 6000 Foot under his Command, and 100 Horſe; the Fight was very obſtinate, and laſted from five in the Afternoon till Night; but *Mackay* at laſt was forced to retreat, for expecting the *Athol* Men would ſide with him, they treacherouſly took to the other ſide: He got, in ſome Diſorder, with the broken Remains of his Army to *Sterling*. But the Death of *Dundee* did more than compenſate for the other's Loſs, ſeeing he was the Life of the Party, who afterwards were every where worſted; and more particularly once and again at St. *John's Town*, where the ſingle Regiment of the Earl of *Angus*, in the laſt of theſe Conflicts, under the Command of the brave Lieutenant-Colonel *Cleeland*, gave ſo entire a Defeat to their whole Power, which conſiſted of near 4000 Men, that they never after could make up any conſiderable Body, and therefore the chiefeſt among them ſubmitted to their Majeſties Clemency. *A.D.* 1689. Edinburgh Caſtle ſurrendred.

Ireland was bleeding all this while, though all King *James*'s Power could not reduce the weak Town of *Derry*; but in *England* the Commons having voted the yearly Sum of 1200000 *l.* for the Support of the Crown, and 600000 *l.* for the Maintenance of the Forces to be employed in the reducing of *Ireland*, they prepared a Poll-Bill, which having paſſed both Houſes, was on the firſt of *May* preſented to the King, who gave the Royal Aſſent to it.

The Emperor's Envoy, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and the Miniſters of the States, repreſented to his Majeſty how *France* had declared their reſpective Maſters her Enemies for being his Friends, and

A. Reg. 1. earneſtly ſolicited him to proclaim War againſt that Crown, which he was no ways averſe too, nor his People neither, who in Parliament, without any Neceſſity of Court-Management, on the 25th of *April* preſented him with an Addreſs, wherein his Commons humbly laid before him their earneſt Deſire of his entring into ſuch a War. To which he anſwer'd,

The Commons Addreſs the King to declare War againſt France.

The King's Anſwer.

'That he received it as a Mark of the Confidence 'they had in him, which he took very kindly, and 'ſhould endeavour by all his Actions to confirm 'them in it; that his own Ambition ſhould never 'be an Argument to incline him to engage in a War 'that might expoſe the Nation either to Danger or 'Expence: But in this Caſe he looked upon the 'War ſo much already declared in effect by *France* 'againſt *England*, that it was not ſo properly an Act 'of Choice, as an inevitable Neceſſity in their own 'Defence: That he ſhould only tell them, that as 'he had ventured his Life, and all that was dear to 'him, to reſcue the Nation from what it ſuffered, 'he was ready ſtill to do the ſame, in order to the 'preſerving it from all its Enemies: And as he did 'not doubt of ſuch an Aſſiſtance from them, as ſhould 'be ſuitable to their Advice to him, to declare War 'againſt a powerful Enemy, ſo they might rely upon him, that no part of what they ſhould give for 'the carrying it on with Succeſs, ſhould be diverted 'by him to any other uſe.'

CHAP. II.

A further Detection of this Reign till the Death of Queen MARY.

HIS Majeſty, though now actually engaged in a Foreign, and I may ſay a Domeſtick War, yet put forth his Proclamation to invite the *French* Proteſtants to come and ſettle amongſt us; and well knowing

knowing that nothing could tend more to the eſta- A.D. 1689.
bliſhing of his Throne, than a due Adminiſtration of Juſtice, he filled the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall* with the worthy and learned Perſons following, *viz.* Sir *John Holt* was made Lord Chief-Juſtice, Sir *William Dolben*, Sir *William Gregory*, and *Giles Eyres* Eſq; Juſtices of the *King's-Bench*; Sir *Henry Polexfen* Lord Chief-Juſtice, and Sir *John Powell*, *Thomas Rokesby*, and *Peyton Ventris* Eſq; Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*; Sir *Robert Atkins* Lord Chief-Baron, Sir *Edward Neville*, *Nicholas Lechmere* and *John Turton* Eſqrs; Barons of the *Exchequer*; *John Trenchard* Eſq; Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*, Sir *George Treby* Attorney, and *John Somers* Eſq; Sollicitor to their Majeſties. While the Places of Judicature were thus filled up, three *Roman* Catholicks of Note were committed to the Tower, I mean the Lord *Montgomery*, Son to the Marqueſs of *Powis*, the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, and the Lord *Clifford*; and becauſe the Earl of *Arran's* Petition was found defective, he was confined a Month longer. *Judges made.*

The firſt Engagement at Sea, even before the War was proclaimed, was on the firſt of *May*, between Admiral *Herbert* and Count *Chauteaurenaud* in *Bantry-Bay*; where the latter having already landed his Succours, and all the Advantages imaginable both as to Wind, the Bay and Strength, the *Engliſh*, though they ſhewed much Courage and Bravery in the Attempt, yet came off with the loſs of a hundred Men killed, and about three hundred wounded. It was reported, when the King had the firſt Account of this Fight, he ſhould ſay, That an Action was neceſſary in the beginning of a War, but it would be raſh in the Courſe of it. However, the Fleet being come back to *Portſmouth*, the King ſome time after went from *Hampton-Court* down thither, both to haſten the refitting of the Fleet, and to diſtribute Rewards to the Officers and Soldiers that had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Action: Here it was that the Admiral was declared Earl of *Torington*, and the Captains *John Aſhby* and *Clowdeſly Shovel* Knighted; and each Seaman had a Gratuity of 20 Shillings, and his Majeſty's Bounty extended farther *Bantry-Bay Fight.*

A. Reg. 1. to the Relicts of thoſe who had loſt their Lives in his Service.

On the 22d of *July*, the King paſſed the Bill of one Shilling in the Pound. It was reported that when this Tax came to be demanded of a Country Farmer, he ask'd who and what it was for, and being anſwer'd accordingly; he replied, *We pay very dear for the Swap.* In the *interim* they reverſed the Attainders of ſuch Patriots, as had undeſervedly ſuffered in the late Reigns, I mean thoſe of the Lord *Ruſſel*, *Alicia Liſle*, and *Algernoon Sidney*; they alſo reverſed the Judgment againſt Mr. *Johnſon*. But all that *Oates* was able to obtain this Seſſions, was only an Addreſs from the Lords, at the Deſire of the Commons, That whereas he had already received a ſevere Puniſhment for the Perjury whereof he had formerly been convicted, and that ſome of the ſaid Puniſhments would be ſtill continued upon him, unleſs they ſhould be remitted by his Majeſty, his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to grant him his Pardon, which he readily did, and received him into his Protection, granting him a Penſion of 300 Pounds a Year for his Subſiſtance, which occaſioned Reflections of various kinds.

The King on the 28th of *June* made a healing Speech in Parliament, with a View of allaying the frequent Heats and Animoſities between both Houſes, which obſtructed the Publick Buſineſs. The Diſpute about limiting the Succeſſion to the Houſe of *Hanover* was terminated by the Birth of the Duke of *Glouceſter*. And the Lords addreſſing his Majeſty about a Debt due to ſome of their Body from K. *Charles*, while the Bill was depending about the paying off the Charge of the States-General in his Expedition, he told their Lordſhips he was ſenſible of their Behaviour towards him on that Occaſion, and could not forget it. When the aforeſaid Bill had the Royal Aſſent, the Speaker made a notable Speech to him; and having acknowledged the great Services done by the *Dutch* to the *Engliſh*, he at the ſame time very artfully reminded the *Dutch* of their former Obligations to the *Engliſh*.

King paſſes the Bill to pay the Dutch and others.

The

The other Acts now paſſed were, 1. An Act for prohibiting a Trade with *France*; 2. To prevent the Exportation of Wool; 3. For appointing Commiſſioners for executing the Act of 12 *d.* in the Pound; 4. For the Relief of the *Iriſh* Proteſtants; 5. An Act repealing the Statute againſt multiplying Gold; and laſtly, one to explain another made in the Reign of King *James* I. concerning Tanned Leather. The Parliament was prorogued to the 20th of *September*, and from thence adjourned to the 19th of *October* following; and ſo this famous Seſſion terminated. A.D. 1689.

Dr. *Lake*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, departed this Life about this time: He declared on his Death-bed for the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance and Paſſive-Obedience; he being then under Suſpenſion, and expecting Deprivation. The Declaration was read, and ſubſcribed by him, in the Preſence of Dr. *Green*, the Pariſh-Miniſter, Dr. *Hicks*, Dean of *Worceſter*, Mr. *Jenkin*, his Lordſhip's Chaplain, Mr. *Powel*, his Secretary, and Mr. *Wilſon*, his Amanuenſis, who all Communicated with him. And this ſeem'd to lay the Foundation of that Schiſm in the Church, which afterwards broke out very barefacedly, and ſtill ſubſiſts. *Biſhop of Chicheſter's Death and Declaration.*

In *Ireland* the Colonels *Cunningham* and *Richards*, failing to put Succours into *Derry*, on the 30th of *July* the *Montjoy* of *Derry*, commanded by Captain *Brown*, and the *Phenix* of *Colerain*, by Captain *Douglaſs*, being both laden with Proviſion, were convoy'd thither by the *Dartmouth* Frigate, with much Difficulty; which ſo diſcouraged the *Iriſh*, that they quickly raiſed the Siege.

Iniskillin, another Town in the North of *Ireland*, appeared very reſolute againſt the *Iriſh*, and proved very ſucceſsful in many Rencounters they had with the Enemy; but more particularly one extremely remarkable, on the ſame Day that *Derry* was relieved; for about 6000 *Iriſh* being on their March againſt them, under an experienced Officer, Major-General *Mackarty*, the *Iniskilliners* under Colonel *Floyd* marched near twenty Miles to meet them, and at a Place call'd *Newton-Butler*, fought and routed them, took *Iniskilliners defeat the Iriſh.*

Mackarty

A. Reg. 1. *Mackarty* Priſoner, and killed and drowned nigh Three thouſand of them, tho' they themſelves were not above Two thouſand in all, and did not loſe above 20 Men, and had about 50 wounded.

The Levies having been carry'd on ſucceſsfully in *England* for the Reduction of *Ireland*, the Army under Duke *Schomberg* landed on the 13th of *Auguſt* near *Carickfergus* in *Ireland*: The Place was beſieged, and ſoon capitulated. The Articles were ſcarce agreed on, when *Mackarty Moor*, the Governor, was got into the Duke's Kitchin in the Camp; which made the Duke ſmile, and forbear inviting him to Dinner, ſaying, *If he had ſtay'd like a Soldier with his Men, he would have ſent to him; but if he would go and eat with Servants in a Kitchin, let him be doing.*

Duke Schomberg *landed in* Ireland.

Carickfergus taken.

The Duke marching further into the Country, and encamping at *Dundalk*, the Place proved very fatal to the *Engliſh* Soldiers, and yet the *Iriſh* Army would not venture to attack them, and the General found greater Dangers from among his own Men; for ſome *French* Papiſts, that had liſted themſelves in the Proteſtant Regiments of that Nation, carried on a Conſpiracy: Now a Captain of one of theſe Regiments being inform'd, that four of his Soldiers and a Drummer, who were *Roman* Catholicks, deſign'd to deſert, he ſeized them, and found Letters about one of them to Monſieur *d'Avaux*; and upon a ſtricter Examination, the Party confeſſed he received the Letters from one *Du Pleſſis*, who was alſo a Papiſt, and now a private Soldier in one of the *French* Regiments, but had been formerly a Captain of Horſe in *France*, from whence he was forced to retire for Murder. This Perſon being ſeized, ingeniouſly confeſs'd he had written to King *James* and the *French* Ambaſſador, to inform them there were divers Papiſts in the three *French* Regiments, whom he promiſed to bring over to the *Iriſh* Camp, upon condition he might have the Command of them, and his Pardon in *France*. Hereupon he and his five Accomplices were brought to their Trials, condemned, and executed. After which the *French* Colonels made ſtrict Inquiry, and finding in all about Two hundred and fifty Papiſts among them, they were ſecured by the General's Order, and ſent Priſoners

Conſpiracy in the Engliſh *Army.*

Priſoners into *England*, and from thence into *Holland*, where they were ſet at liberty. A.D. 1689.

The Succeſs of the *Inniskillingers* againſt a Body of *Iriſh*, was damp'd by the Surrender of *Sligo* to the Enemy: The Command of the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries in the *Netherlands*, the King conferred on the Earl of *Marlborough*, where nothing of moment occurred ſave a Skirmiſh at *Walcourt*; which being nothing deciſive, we ſhall obſerve, that the King at *Newmarket* receiv'd a dutiful Addreſs from the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; to which he made Anſwer; "That as God had bleſ- "ſed him in his Undertaking, ſo he would faithfully "diſcharge his Truſt in preſerving the Church of *Eng-* "*land*, and giving all Protection and Favour to the "Univerſities." *King's Anſwer to the Addreſs of the Univerſity of Cambridge.*

On the 19th of *October* the Parliament met, and the Marqueſs of *Hallifax* being laid aſide from being Speaker to the Houſe of Lords, Sir *Robert Atkins*, Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, had a Commiſſion granted him for executing that Office: His Majeſty told them, "He eſteem'd it one of the greateſt Misfortunes that "could befal him, that in the beginning of his Reign "he was forced to ask ſuch large Supplies, tho' he "had this Satisfaction, that they were deſired for no "other Purpoſes, but the carrying on thoſe Wars in- "to which he had entred with their Advice, and Aſ- "ſurance of their Aſſiſtance; nor could he doubt of "the Bleſſing of God upon an Undertaking wherein "he did not engage out of a vain Ambition, but from "the Neceſſity of oppoſing thoſe who had ſo viſi- "bly diſcovered their Deſigns of deſtroying our Re- "ligion and Liberties.

Then having mentioned the Dangers he had run for the ſake of the Nation, he recommended Expedition to them, becauſe of the Congreſs that was to be at the *Hague*, in order to concert Meaſures to carry on the War; and having with recommending the Bill of Indemnity to them: The Speech, which met with an univerſal Applauſe, and was acknowledged by the ſolemn Thanks of both Houſes, was compoſed by his Majeſty himſelf, who produced it the Day before in Council, writ with his own Hand, telling them, "He knew moſt of his Predeceſſors

"were

A. Reg. 1. " were wont to entruſt the Drawing of ſuch Speeches " to their Miniſters, who generally had their private " Aims and Intereſts in view; to prevent which, he " had thought fit to write it himſelf in *French*, be- " cauſe he was not ſo great a Maſter of the *Engliſh* " Tongue; therefore he deſired them to look it over, " and change what they found amiſs, that it might be " tranſlated into *Engliſh*.

Things were not eaſy in *Scotland* all this while, there were ſtill a number of Rebels in the Highlands under the Command of Colonel *Cannon*; and the Grievances of the Nation having not been fully redreſt by the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, ſeveral Members of that Aſſembly petitioned the King for their ſpeedy Sitting; neither were the Commons of *England* leſs ſolicitous about ſecuring the Liberty of the Subject; and the Attorney General brought in a Bill of Indemnity in ſuch ample manner as might anſwer his Majeſty's Clemency and gracious Intentions, and the Commons unanimouſly voted a Supply of Two Millions Sterling to the King. Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, who had been one of thoſe who condemned K. *Charles* I. coming over at this time into *England*, with ſome hopes (as was then given out) of being employed in the Reduction of *Ireland*, was ſoon complained of by a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who had a great deal of reaſon to do it both upon account of *Ludlow*'s Crime, and his Eſtate; There were alſo Endeavours at this time to get the deceaſed Lord Chancellor *Jefferies*'s Eſtate and Honour forfeited, but without Succeſs.

The King ſometime before this having been addreſs'd to by the Commons to call a Convocation, he firſt granted a Commiſſion to prepare ſuch Matters as were proper to be debated therein, eſpecially in reference to an intended Comprehenſion: The Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Winchester*, *St. Aſaph*, *Rocheſter*, *Exeter*, *Salisbury*, *Bangor*, and *Cheſter*, with about 20 of the moſt eminent Doctors of Divinity, were of this Commiſſion: The firſt that concerted the Deſign of the Comprehenſion, was Dr. *Sancroft*, towards the end of the unhappy Reign of King *James*. That wiſe Prelate foreſeeing ſome ſuch Revolu-

Revolution as afterwards happen'd, begun to conſi- *A.D.* 1689.
der how utterly unprepared they had been at the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. to ſettle many things to the Advantage of the Church, and what a happy Opportunity had been loſt, for want of ſuch a previous Care, as he was therefore deſirous now ſhould be taken, for the better and more perfect Eſtabliſhment of it.

The Scheme was laid out, and the ſeveral Parts of it were committed, not only with the Approbation, but by the Direction of that great Prelate, to ſuch Divines as were thought to be moſt proper to be entruſted with it: His Grace took one Part to himſelf, another was committed to Dr. *Patrick*, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*; the Reviewing of the *Daily* Service of the Liturgy and Communion-Book, was refer'd to a Select Number of excellent Perſons, two of whom, if not more, were afterwards Biſhops, Dr. *Sharp*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and Dr. *Moore* Biſhop of *Ely*.

The King openly eſpouſed the *Comprehenſion*; and therefore a Commiſſion being iſſued out under the Great Seal, to a larger number of Biſhops, and other eminent Divines, to meet together and to conſider of thoſe Matters; they met in the *Jeruſalem-Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*: "They were a Set of Men, *ſays a learned* "*Prelate*, than which this Church was never, at any "one time, bleſt with either wiſer or better, ſince it "was a Church: Who it was that preſided in the "Convocation of this Province, *meaning the Lord Biſhop* "*of* London, to which this Project was next to be "refer'd, and who, had it gone on, muſt have had a "chief Hand in the Management of it, I need not ſay; "every one who knows any thing at all of his Cha- "racter, knows him to be too good a Friend to the "Eſtabliſhment of our Church, to have been capa- "ble of being engaged in any Deſign for the Subver- "ſion of it.

The Convocation met on the 21ſt of *November*, the Biſhop of *London* was choſen Prolocutor of the Upper Houſe, and Dr. *Jane* of the Lower; the laſt of which having in a Latin Speech extoll'd the Excellency of the Church of *England* above all other Chriſtian Communities, and concluded with theſe Words, *Nolumus*

Leges

A. Reg. 1. *Leges Angliæ Mutari:* His Lordſhip on his part made a Diſcourſe in the ſame Language, importing, "That "they ought to endeavour to come to Temper in thoſe "Things that were not eſſential in Religion, thereby "to open a Door of that Salvation to abundance of "ſtraying Chriſtians; it was their Duty to ſhew the "ſame Indulgence and Charity to the Diſſenters un-"der King *William*, which ſome of the Biſhops and "Clergy had promiſed to them under King *James*." He cloſed his Speech with theſe Words of *Joſeph* to his Brethren, *Ne tumultuamini in Conſiliis veſtris*, thereby exhorting them to Unanimity and Concord.

The Biſhop after this finding a Defect in the Commiſſion, for want of the Great Seal's being affix'd to it, and that being afterwards done, the Earl of *Nottingham* delivered it to the Convocation, with a Letter from the King containing in Subſtance; "That "his Majeſty had ſummoned that Convocation, not "only becauſe it was uſual upon holding a Parliament, "but out of a pious Zeal to do every thing that "might tend to the Eſtabliſhment of the Church of "*England*, which was ſo eminent a Part of the Re-"formation, and was certainly the beſt ſuited to the "Conſtitution of the Government, and therefore did "ſignally deſerve, and ſhould always both have his "Favour and Protection; That he doubted not but "they would aſſiſt him in promoting the Welfare of "it; ſo that no Prejudices with which ſome Men "might labour to poſſeſs them, ſhould diſappoint his "good Intentions, or deprive the Church from any "Benefit from their Conſultation. That his Majeſty "therefore expected that the Things which ſhould "be propos'd, ſhould be calmly and impartially con-"ſider'd by them; and aſſured them, that he would "offer nothing to them but what ſhould be for the "Honour, Peace and Advantage both of the Proteſtant "Religion in general, and particularly of the Church "of *England*.

The Earl at the ſame time made an eloquent Speech to the Aſſembly, wherein he exhorted them to lay aſide all Partial Prepoſſeſſions and Animoſities in their Proceedings. The Convocation thereupon agreed on an Addreſs of Thanks to the King, wherein they

they first acknowledged his Majesty's Favours towards the Church of *England*; and secondly, his Assembling them to endeavour the reconciling of the Dissenters. *A.D.1689.*

This was the first unhappy Foundation of the Differences of the Convocation, that more or less have been kept up in this Nation ever since; for the inferiour Clergy not agreeing to this last Part, another Address was drawn and presented to the King by the Bishop of *London*, Six of his Brethren, and several Doctors of Divinity, being solemnly introduced to his Majesty, sitting on his Throne in the Banqueting-House, by the Lord Chamberlain. The Substance of the Address was, That having received a most gracious Message from his Majesty, they held themselves bound in Duty and Gratitude to return their humble Acknowledgments for the same, and for the Pious Zeal and Care his Majesty express'd in it for the Honour, Peace, Advantage and Establishment of the Church of *England*; whereby they doubted not the Interest of the Protestant Religion, in all other Churches, which was dear to them, would be better secured under the Influence of his Majesty's Government and Protection. And they assured his Majesty, That in pursuance of that Trust and Confidence he repos'd in them, they would consider whatsoever should be offer'd to them without Prejudice, and with all Calmness and Impartiality; and that they would constantly pay the Fidelity and Allegiance which they had all sworn to his Majesty and the Queen. *Address to the King.*

His Majesty return'd his Lordship, and the rest of them, a very kind Answer, assuring them he would do all that he had promis'd, and all he could do for the Church of *England*, and that he would improve all Occasions and Opportunities for its Service.

The Majority of the Lower House seem'd to have a reserv'd Kindness for the Nonjuring Bishops and Clergy, and therefore one of the Members made a zealous Speech in behalf of the suspended Bishops; that something might be done to qualify them to sit in Convocation, yet so as that the Convocation might not incur any Danger thereby: But this Matter was too hard for them; and therefore it was left to farther

A. Reg. 1. ther Conſideration, while they labour'd to find out ſome other Buſineſs to divert them from that, for which they were call'd together.

When the Preſident and his Brethren ſaw the Diſpoſition of the Lower Houſe, they found it was to no purpoſe to communicate any Propoſals to them; and therefore the Convocation was prorogued to the 25th of *June*, and ſoon after with the Parliament diſſolv'd.

Some Uneaſineſs there was both in and out of Parliament about the ill State of Affairs in *Ireland*, where *Schomberg* put Commiſſary *Shales* under Arreſt; but the Commons addreſſing the King to know who had recommended him, he told them it was impoſſible for him to give an Anſwer to that Queſtion; but the Meſſage he ſent them expreſſing his Willingneſs Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to inſpect the State of the Army in *Ireland*, was receiv'd with much Applauſe.

Ld. Griffin's *Plot.* The Lords having often required the Lord *Griffin*'s Attendance, and he at laſt upon his Appearance deſiring time to conſider about taking the Oaths, ſoon after a Packet was diſcovered, which ſhew'd his true Inclinations; for ſending a Servant to a Pewterer to ſodder a Pewter Bottle with two Bottoms, between which there were Letters directed to King *James* and others, and an Account of ſome private Reſolutions of King *William*'s Council, he took out the Papers, and carry'd them to the Secretary of State: *Griffin* abſconded for a few Days; but not being able to get out of the Kingdom, he ſurrendred himſelf. The Houſe of Lords taking the Examination of the Matter into their Hands, and the intercepted Papers being the only Evidence againſt the Lord *Griffin*, he was ſet at liberty upon Bail; becauſe it had been reſolved a few Days before in that Houſe, that Colonel *Sidney* was unjuſtly condemn'd; nothing but Writings found in his Cloſet having been produced againſt him, and this the Earl of *Rocheſter* by a Parity of Reaſon urged in his favour.

The Commons taking the State of the Nation into Conſideration, ſome of them appeared diſſatisfied with the Miniſtry; and among them, Mr. *Hambden* Junior,

Junior, was not the leaſt. Here I muſt look a little back, and obſerve, that the Lords having appointed a Committee to enquire who had adviſed the *Quo Warrantos*, deſired that *Hambden* and *Trenchard* might appear before them to find out the Authors and Promoters of the Execution of the Lord *Ruſſel*, *Sidney*, *Armſtrong*, and *Corniſh*. It's certain that *Hambden* was able to give the Lords a great Light into that Affair, having been deeply engaged in that called the *Presbyterian Plot*; yet it ſeems that Inquiry was not ſo much intended againſt *Hambden*, as the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, who had endeavoured his Ruin by procuring a Note from the Duke of *Monmouth*, which made *Hambden* the chief Accomplice with the Lord *Ruſſel*; but the Duke afterwards repenting he had accuſed his Friend, earneſtly preſſed King *Charles* II, to whom the Marquiſs had delivered the Note, to give it up; which at laſt he obtained on this hard Condition, never to return into his Preſence. Mr. *Hambden* made a long Speech before the Committee, wherein he aim'd rather to recommend himſelf, than to diſcover the Authors and Promoters of the Executions of his late Friends: He extolled his Services to the preſent Government, and plainly inſinuated that the whole Intrigue of inviting the Prince over, had been managed by himſelf and Mr. *Johnſon*, a *Scotchman*. *Hambden* was indeed apt to over-value himſelf, and made ſeveral Offers to be Secretary of State; but the King thought him of too warm a Temper for a Place that required a ſedate judicious Man: One Day *Hambden*, with a Deſign to remind the King of his own Merits, repreſented to his Majeſty, that thoſe of Mr. *Johnſon* were ſtill left unrewarded: To which the King replied, That he had not forgot either Mr. *Hambden* or Mr. *Johnſon*. The King indeed deſigned the firſt to go his Envoy into *Spain*, and the other into *Switzerland*, which they both refuſed; and then Mr. *Cocks*, by *Hambden's* Recommendation, was ſent into *Switzerland*; and Mr. *Stanhope*, Unkle to the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, into *Spain*.

A.D. 1689.

Some Account of Mr. John Hambden.

Now it was that Mr. *Hambden* made a long Speech againſt thoſe who had the Management of Affairs; and ſaid, He could not but wonder to ſee thoſe very

A. Reg. 2. Perſons in the Miniſtry, whom the late King *James* had employ'd, even when his Affairs were moſt deſperate, to treat with the then Prince of *Orange*. He alledged the Example of *William* the Firſt, Prince of *Orange*, who never made uſe of the Duke of *Alva*'s Miniſters, and of ſome others; and moved that an Addreſs might be preſented to the King for removing thoſe Perſons from his Preſence and Councils: But having, at the ſame time, overſhot the Mark, and complained that ſeveral Commonwealths-men were employed by the Government, the Houſe knowing how ſome of his Family had adhered to the Republican Party, broke into a Laughter; and ſome of them ſtanding up in defence of the Perſons ſtruck at, alledged, the Reaſon why they were deputed to the Prince of *Orange*, was not becauſe they were in King *James* his Intereſt, but rather becauſe they had all along diſapproved of his Conduct; and as ſuch, had the general Approbation of the Nation, and were moſt likely to be agreeable to the Prince. However, the oppoſite Party in ſome meaſure gained their Point, by getting an Addreſs voted; whereby they ſhould repreſent to his Majeſty the Miſcarriages of *Ireland*, and the Fleet; and to deſire he would be pleaſed to diſcover the Authors of them, that they might be brought to condign Puniſhment.

His Speech againſt the Miniſtry.

On the 16th of *December* the King gave the Royal Aſſent to an Act of two Shillings in the Pound for one Year; and to another, for declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and to ſettle the Succeſſion of the Crown; wherein there was a memorable Clauſe added by the Lords, and approved by the Commons, importing, "That the Kings and Queens of *England* "ſhould be obliged at their coming to the Crown, to "take the Teſt in the firſt Parliament that ſhould be "called at the beginning of their Reign; and that "if any King or Queen of *England* ſhould embrace "the Romiſh Religion, or marry with a Roman Ca-"tholick Prince or Princeſs, their Subjects ſhould be "abſolved of their Allegiance; and that the Crown "and Government of theſe Realms ſhould from time "to time deſcend to, and be enjoyed by ſuch Perſons, "being Proteſtants, as ſhould have inherited the "ſame,

King ſigns Bills.

" ſame, in caſe the ſaid Perſons ſo reconciled to the A.D. 1690.
" Church of *Rome*, or marrying a Papiſt, as aforeſaid,
" were naturally dead.

The Addreſs of the Commons about making a Yearly Allowance to the Princeſs *Anne*, without an Eſtabliſhment by an Act, pleaſed ſo that he told them every thing that came from them, was ſo agreeable to him, and particularly that Addreſs, that he ſhould do what they deſir'd. After which, his Majeſty, in a few Days, paſſed an Act to prevent Doubts and Queſtions about collecting the Publick Revenue, with another that ſhould puniſh Officers and Soldiers that mutinied or deſerted, and for puniſhing falſe Muſters. On the 16th of *January* 1690, the King ſigned more Bills; *viz.* An Act for an Additional Aid of Twelvepence in the Pound for one Year; and another for Charging and Collecting the Duties upon Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, at the Cuſtom-Houſe. The Commons were ſtill ſubject to Animoſities, and the Parties very ſtiff and obſtinate; ſo that his Majeſty was adviſed to put a final Stop to the Proceedings of this Parliament. And having on the 27th ſigned an Act for the Review of the Poll-Bill, and for an Additional Poll; another to prevent Vexatious Suits againſt ſuch as acted in order to the bringing in their Majeſties, or for their Service; and a third, for the better Security and Relief of the *Iriſh* Proteſtants, whereby the *Iriſh* Parliament was annulled. His Majeſty put an end to this Convention Parliament with his " Thanks for " their chearful Diſpatch of the Supplies, which, as " far as they would go, ſhould be employed to the " Purpoſes they were given: That it was a very ſenſible Affliction to him, to ſee his good People burthened with heavy Taxes: But ſince the ſpeedy " Recovering of *Ireland* was the only Means to eaſe " them, and to preſerve the Peace and Honour of the " Nation, he reſolved to go thither in Perſon, and endeavour to reduce that Kingdom, that it might no " longer be a Charge to this, he being now willing " again to expoſe his Perſon to ſecure to them the " quiet Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws and Liberties.

Signs more Bills.

A. Reg. 2. The Lord Privy Seal's Place being now vacant by the Reſignation of the Lord *Halliſax*, it was put into Commiſſion; for the Execution of which, *William Cheney* Eſq; Sir *John Knatchball* Bar. and Sir *William Pulteney*, were appointed: There was alſo a new Commiſſion for the Treaſury, of whom were Sir *John Lowther* *Richard Hampden* Eſq; (who was alſo made Chancellor of the *Exchequer*) *Thomas Pelham* Eſq; and Sir *Stephen Fox* Knight. Things were ſtill uneaſy in *Scotland*. Sir *Hugh Cameron* was now the Leader of the Rebels; and King *James*, to hearten them in his Intereſt, ſent two Frigates from *Dublin* laden with Cloaths, Arms and Ammunition, to them; on Board of which, were the Colonels *Buchan*, *Wachup*, and about 40 Commiſſion-Officers, who all got ſafe into the Iſle of *Mull*: with which the *Highlanders* were ſo encouraged, that they marched to the number of Fifteen hundred Men, as far as *Strathsbay* in the County of *Murray*, where they expected to be join'd by other Male-contents. To prevent this Acceſſion of Strength, Sir *Thomas Levingſton* with Eight hundred Foot, and ſix Troops of Dragoons, and two of Horſe, fell ſo unexpectedly upon them, that he not only routed them, but killed Five hundred upon the ſpot, and took a hundred Priſoners; among whom were four Captains, with other Inferior Officers. After which Sir *Thomas* took *Lethingdey* Caſtle; and Major *Ferguſon* was very ſucceſsful againſt the Rebels in the Iſle of *Mull*.

Scotch *Affairs.* And as for the Civil Affairs of that Kingdom, the Parliament meeting on *April* 15, the Earl of *Melvill*, the Lord High Commiſſioner, told them, The King was very ſorry he could not be there himſelf, according to their Deſires. And when he had laid before them what the King had done to deliver them from the Yoke they groaned under, he deſired an Aſſiſtance of Money for further ſecuring their Religion and Liberty; and laſtly, exhorted them to lay aſide all Animoſities and private Intereſt, and jointly to labour the Settlement of Publick Affairs: This Parliament firſt paſſed an Act for reſtoring the Presbyterian Miniſters, who had been thruſt out ſince the Firſt of *January*, 1661. And afterwards another, declaring all Rebels that were actually in Arms againſt King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

The

A.D. 1690.

The new Parliament in *England* meeting on the 20th of *March*, the King told them;

" That finding his Preſence in *Ireland* abſolutely neceſſary for the more ſpeedy reducing of that Kingdom, he continued his Reſolution of going thither as ſoon as might be; and he had now called them together for their Aſſiſtance, to enable him to proſecute the War with Speed and Vigour: Then having deſired them to make a Settlement of the Revenue; and how earneſt he was to extinguiſh, or at leaſt compoſe all Differences amongſt his Subjects, he intended to ſend them an Act of Grace, with Exceptions of ſome few Perſons only, but ſuch as might be ſufficient to ſhew his great Diſlike of their Crimes, and at the ſame time his Readineſs to extend Protection to all his other Subjects, who would thereby ſee that they could recommend themſelves to him by no other Methods than what the Laws preſcribed. Then recommending to their Conſideration an Union with *Scotland*; he ſaid he thought it moſt convenient to leave the Adminiſtration of the Government in the hands of the Queen during his Abſence; and if it ſhould be judged neceſſary, to have an Act of Parliament for the better Confirmation of it to her; and concluded, that the Seaſon of the Year, and his Journey into *Ireland*, would admit but of a very ſhort Seſſion, and therefore Diſpatch was yet more neceſſary. *K's Speech in Parliament.*

This Parliament ſeemed to be more of a piece than the former; and tho' at the times of Election, there were Apprehenſions they would be too much High Church, when they came together, they appeared to be more moderate than was expected; beſides, the Convening of this Parliament appearing more legal than the laſt, the Male-Contents had leſs cauſe of grumbling, tho' they did not appear now ſo numerous as to be able to make any conſiderable Number of Voices, ſo that they proceeded to the Settling of

A. Reg. 2. *Parliament ſettle the Revenue.*

the Revenue for the Support of the Civil Liſt; and notwithſtanding ſome Oppoſition, granted all the late King *James* had on the 20th of *December* 1688. as Rights of the Crown, except Chimney-Money: They ordered a Bill about the Crown Revenues, and that their Majeſties ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of ſuch Additional Exciſes, as had been granted to *Charles* II. and *James* II. and ordered that Revenue to be a Security for raiſing preſent Money: And they agreed further, to grant them for four Years the Cuſtoms which *Charles* II. and *James* II. had enjoy'd, and upon which their Majeſties might take up a Sum of Money as ſhould be regulated in Parliament: They alſo proceeded to a Bill for declaring guilty of High Treaſon, all thoſe that were actually in the Service of King *James* in *Ireland*, and have their Eſtates forfeited to their Majeſties, unleſs their Children were Proteſtants; and to another that Recognized all the Acts of the Convention-Parliament, by which the King and Queen were acknowledged to be lawful King and Queen of *England*.

The King on the 20th of *May*, paſſed a Bill for putting the Adminiſtration into the Queen's hands, not only during his Majeſty's Abſence in *Ireland*, but whenever his Affairs ſhould call him out of the Kingdom. It was order'd, That while his Majeſty was abſent, the Deputies and Lieutenants of the reſpective Counties, were authorized to raiſe the Militia in caſe of Neceſſity, and all Roman Catholicks order'd to repair to their Places of abode, and not to ſtir above five Miles from thence without leave; and all that held an Employment in the State, though never ſo inconſiderable, to ſwear Fidelity to the King and Queen. The Seſſion was happily concluded with an Act of Grace, wherein theſe following Perſons were only excepted.

Except alſo out of this preſent Act, *William* Marquiſs of *Powis*, *Theophilus* Earl of *Huntington*, *Robert* Earl *Sunderland*, *John* Earl of *Melfort*, *Roger* Earl of *Caſtlemain*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, *Nathaniel* Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, *Thomas* Lord Biſhop of *St. Davids*, *Henry* Lord *Dover*, *William Molineux*, Sir *Edward Hales*, Sir

Sir *Edward Herbert*, Sir *Francis Wythens*, Sir *Richard Holloway*, Sir *Edward Lutwych*, Sir *Richard Heath*, Sir *Thomas Jenner*, Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, *Edward Petre*, *Thomas Tindeſley*, alias *Tildeſley*, ——*Townley*, lately called Colonel *Townley*, *Rowland Tempeſt*, *Edward Morgan*, *Obadiah Walker*, *Robert Brent*, *Richard Graham*, *Philip Burton*, *Robert Lundy*, *Matthew Crone*; and alſo excepted *George* Lord *Jefferies* deceaſed. A.D. 1690.

Notice might have been taken before that the King, on the 17th of *April*, created the Lord Viſcount *Lumley*, Earl of *Scarborough*, the Lord *Delamere*, Earl of *Warrington*, and the Lord *Grey*, Viſcount *Longueville*; and much about the ſame time, the Earl of *Torrington* was declared Admiral of the Fleet, Sir *Ralph Delaval* Vice-Admiral, Mr. *Rook* Rear-Admiral, to command the Red Squadron; Mr. *Ruſſel* Admiral of the Blue, Sir *John Aſhby* Vice-Admiral, and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* Rear-Admiral. The Great Seal was alſo put into the hands of Sir *John Trevor*, Sir *William Rawlinſon*, and Sir *Geo. Hutchins*; and on the 4th of *June* his Majeſty ſet out for *Ireland*, after he had iſſued out his Proclamation for apprehending divers diſaffected Perſons, who had a Deſign againſt the Government. *New Titles and Offices.*

Before the King's Arrival in that Kingdom, Colonel *Woolſley* routed a great Body of *Iriſh* near *Belturbet*, Sir *John Lanier* took *Bedloe* Caſtle, Sir *Cloudeſly* the only Frigate King *James* had, in Dublin Bay; and D. *Schomberg* having beſieged *Charlemont* Caſtle, it was ſurrendred upon Articles. Col. *Woolſley*, who had been reinforc'd with a Party of *Danes*, made himſelf Maſter of the ſtrong Caſtle of *Balingargy* near *Cavan*; which made the *Iriſh* quit and burn ſeveral Caſtles on that ſide, and prepare to abandon *Dundalk*, *Ardee*, *Blaney* Caſtle, and *Crichmach-Croſs*.

Thus things ſtood in *Ireland* when the King landed there on the 14th of *June*, being attended by Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Scarborough* and *Manchester*, Mr. *Boyle*, and many other Perſons of Note. His Majeſty went that Evening in Duke *Schomberg*'s Coach to *Belfaſt*; and next Day, being *Sunday*, Dr. *Royſe* preached before him on *Heb. 6. 11. Through Faith they have ſubdued Kingdoms*; *King lands in Ireland.*

A. Reg. 2. upon which occaſion he ſaid, 'My Chaplain has begun the Campaign bravely.' Two or three Days after he went to *Lisburn*; from whence he paſſed to *Hillsborough*, and there publiſh'd an Order, forbidding the preſſing of Horſes, and the committing any Violence on the Country-People. But finding things were not carried on according to his Mind, he expreſs'd his Diſſatisfaction, and ſaid, *He did not come there to let Graſs grow under his Feet.* After which he order'd the whole Army to encamp at *Loughbritland*; where he review'd them, and found them to conſiſt of 36000 Men, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *French* and *Danes*, all in good Order. From *Loughbritland* he marched to *Dundalk*, and was ſo well pleaſed with the Proſpect of the Country, as he rode along, that he ſaid to thoſe about him, *It was worth fighting for.* Not long after the King's Arrival in that Kingdom, his Majeſty obſerving a young Officer wore a Patch upon his Face, ask'd one of a much ſuperior Rank who he was, and the Occaſion of his having that Patch; and being told that his Name was *Jones*, that he had been wounded the Year before in the Face at the Battel of *Gillycranky* againſt *Dundee* in *Scotland*, and that it was to cover the Scar that he wore it: The King reply'd, *It's more honourable in a Soldier to wear a Scar than a Patch.* Upon which Mr. *Jones* being told what the King ſaid, took it off, and never uſed it after. This is that Mr. *Jones* who behaved himſelf ſo bravely in *Spain* in the laſt War, under my Lord *Peterborough*, where he arrived to be a General Officer; and is now Lieutenant-Governor of *Kingſton upon Hull*.

Now the King advancing with his Army near the *Boyne*, and obſerving there was a Hill to the Eaſt of the Enemies Camp, and North from the Town, he went thither to view, and found them to be encamped all along the River in two Lines. Here *Scravenmore* ſaying, that they were *Une Petite Armee*, but a handful of Men; the King anſwer'd, *They might have a great many Men in the Town, and that there was alſo a Hill to the South-weſt, beyond which part of their Army might be encamp'd: However*, ſaid the King, *we ſhall ſoon be better acquainted with their Numbers.* The King rode on from

from thence to the Paſs at the *Old-Bridge*, and ſtood upon the ſide of the Bank, within Musket-ſhot of the Guard, there to make his farther Obſervations; and in ſome time rid about Two hundred Paces up the River, nigh the Head of all the Enemies Camp. While the Army was marching on, his Majeſty alighted, and ſate him down upon a riſing Ground, where he reſted about an Hour. This the Enemy perceiving, they immediately planted two Field-pieces oppoſite to him; and his Majeſty was no ſooner mounted again, but the *Iriſh* fired at him, and with the firſt Shot killed a Man and two Horſes, within an hundred Paces of him. This Ball was preſently ſucceeded by another, that had like to put a Period to his Life; for the Ball having firſt graz'd on the Banks of the River, at its riſing glanced on the King's Right Shoulder, took out a piece of his Coat, and tore the Skin and Fleſh, and afterwards broke the Head of a Gentleman's Piſtol. The Enemy obſerving ſome Diſorder among thoſe that attended the King, preſently concluded he was ſlain: Which falſe Report flew not only preſently to *Dublin*, but even to *Paris*; where the Mob expreſs'd their Joy by Bonfires and Illuminations. The King's Wound being dreſs'd, he continu'd on Horſeback: And having called a Council of War, about Nine at Night, he declared he was reſolv'd to paſs the River the next Day. This was at firſt oppoſed by Duke *Schomberg*, as too dangerous an Attempt: Lieutenant General *Douglas* was to command the Right Wing of Foot, and Count *Schomberg* the Horſe, who were to march early to *Stone-Bridge*, and other Fords up the River, to flank the Enemy, or get between their Camp and *Drogheda*, while a Body of Foot were to force their way at the Paſs of *Old-Bridge*. Towards the cloſe of the Evening the Cannon ceaſed on both ſides. The Word that Night was *Weſtminſter*; and the King himſelf rode about 12 at Night, with Troops, quite through the Army. The Firſt of *July* being come, which proved a very clear Day, about Six in the Morning, *Douglas* with the Foot marched towards the Right, and Count *Schomberg* with the Horſe; which being obſerved by the Enemy, they drew

A.D. 1690.

K. William wounded.

Battle of the Boyne.

A. Reg. 2. drew out their Horſe and Foot to oppoſe them. The Right Wing of the *Engliſh* were all order'd to paſs at *Slane*; but upon better Information from Guides, ſeveral Regiments were commanded to go over at other Fords between the Camp and that Place. When the Horſe drew near the River, a Regiment of the Enemies Dragoons made a ſhew of oppoſing their Paſſage; but being ſoon forced to give way with Loſs, the *Engliſh* got over, and bravely advanced towards the Enemies main Body, drawn up in two Lines. *Douglas* did the ſame; but having only ſix Battalions to 24 Squadrons of Horſe, he ſent for more of the firſt; and in the mean time, according to the Earl of *Portland*'s Advice, the Horſe and Foot were intermixed for their greater Security. However, more Foot being come up, this Diſpoſition was preſently alter'd, all the Horſe drawn to the Right, whilſt the Foot moved towards a Bog to the Left, between them and the Enemy. The *Iriſh* hereupon retreated in ſome haſte towards *Duleck*, and were vigorouſly purſued by *Schomberg* with the Horſe; who falling in among their Foot, killed a great many of them.

The King not knowing what had paſſed, yet ſuppoſing the Right Wing might by this time have paſs'd the River, order'd the Paſs at *Old-Bridge* to be attacked. The *Dutch* Blue Guards being to the Right, were the firſt that took the River. They beat a March all the while, till they got to the River-ſide, and then bravely went in eight or ten a-Breaſt, and found themſelves almoſt up to the Middle preſently in the Stream. The Enemy, who had lined the Houſes, Hedges, and Breaſt-works on the other ſide, did not fire till our Men were got towards the middle of the River; and then a whole Peal of Shot came from all Quarters upon them, but without loſs. Being got aſhoar, they drew up into two Files, and fir'd upon the *Iriſh*, who abandon'd their Intrenchments: But before the third Battalion of that Regiment had paſſed the Ford, five of the *Iriſh* advanced within Piſtol-ſhot of the *Dutch*; who receiv'd them ſo warmly, that they retreated with the loſs of ſome Men, and one of their Colonels. Thereupon the *Dutch* marched beyond the Village,

and

and repuls'd a Squadron of King *James* his Horſe, that would have ſtop'd their Progreſs: And advancing as far as the Hedges in the open Field, the *Iriſh* Horſe came down upon them with greater Numbers, and much Fury; but the *Dutch* ſtood ſo firm and cloſe, and other Regiments coming up to their Aſſiſtance, that the *Iriſh* were forced to retire. Hereupon a Squadron of freſh Horſe advanced to ſupport them, but were ſtoutly repulſed by the *French* Proteſtants and *Inniskilliners*. A.D. 1690.

In the mean time the *Danes* came up to the left, as did the Brigades of *Hanmore* and *la Meloniere* on the right; the firſt were ſo valiantly attack'd in Front by *Hamilton*'s Horſe, that they were forced to retreat, and ſome of them to croſs the River again: Duke *Schomberg* perceiving this Diſorder, and ſeeing the *French* Proteſtants were alſo left expoſed without a Commander, he immediately paſſed the River in order to lead them; and was no ſooner got over, but he encourag'd his Country-Men by ſaying, *Allons Meſſieurs, voila votre Perſecuteurs*: Come on Gentlemen, there are your Perſecutors, pointing to the *French* Papiſts in the Enemies Army: He had ſcarce ſpoke the Words, when about 16 of King *James*'s Guards, who returned full ſpeed to their main Body, after the Slaughter of their Companions, and whom the *French* Refugees ſuffered to paſs, as thinking they were on their ſide, fell furiouſly upon the Duke, and gave him two Wounds over the Head, which yet were not mortal; hereupon *Cambon*'s Regiment firing upon the Enemy, the Duke, as it was believed, was ſhot through the Neck by them through a fatal Miſtake, of which Wound he preſently died; not long before which, Dr. *Walker*, ſo famous for his Services in the Siege of *Derry*, received a Wound in the Belly, which he ſurvived but a few Moments.

The King during all theſe Actions, accompanied with the Prince of *Denmark*, paſſed the River with the Left Wing of Horſe, and that with ſome Difficulty, ſince his Horſe was bogged on the other ſide, and himſelf forced to alight, till one of his Attendance diſengaged his Steed. As ſoon as the Men were got

on

A. Reg. 2. on the oppoſite Shore, and drawn up in order, his Majeſty drew his Sword, which was yet troubleſome to him, his Arm being ſtiff with the Wound he had received the Day before, and marched at the Head of them towards the Enemy, who were advancing again in good order towards the *Engliſh* Foot, that had now got over the Paſs, and moved boldly towards the *Iriſh*, though they were double their Number. When the two Bodies had almoſt got within Muſquet-ſhot of one another, the Enemy diſcerned the Left Wing of the *Engliſh* Horſe moving towards them; at which they retreated up the Hill to the little Village of *Dunmore*, where the *Engliſh* coming up with them, and the Enemy reſuming Courage, fac'd about, and made the *Engliſh* Horſe ſhrink, though they had the King at the Head of them. Thereupon the King rode to the *Inniskilliners*, and asked them, *What they would do for him?* Their Officer telling them who he was, and what Honour was done them, they advanced with his Majeſty at the Head of them, and received the Enemies Fire; but the King then wheeling to the left to fetch up his own Men again, the *Inniskilliners*, through a Miſtake, retir'd after him above an hundred Paces. This made the King move to the left, to put himſelf at the Head of ſuch *Dutch* Troops as were advancing; while the *Inniskilliners*, growing ſenſible of their Error, went on again ſucceſsfully to the Charge: Some of Duke *Schomberg*'s Horſe were alſo here, and behaved themſelves very well, taking one or two of the Enemies Standards; while another Party commanded by Lieutenant General *Ginkle*, charged in a Lane to the left; but they were overpowered, and forced to retreat. This being obſerved by a Party of Sir *Albert Cuningham*'s Dragoons, and another of Colonel *Leviſon*, they order'd the Men to alight and line a Hedge, as alſo a ruined Houſe that flanked a Lane, from whence they poured in their Fire upon the Enemy: However, the Dragoons did excellent Service in this place by ſtopping the Enemy, who came up very boldly, and our Horſe having the opportunity of rallying here, as they did to the Right, the Enemy after Half an Hour's ſharp Diſpute were beat back again with conſiderable loſs on the other ſide: Lieutenant

tenant General *Hamilton* finding that his Foot did not answer his Expectations, he put himſelf at the Head of the Horſe, which being defeated by ours, he was wounded in the Head, and taken Priſoner. When he was brought to the King, his Majeſty ask'd him whether the *Iriſh* would fight any more? *Yes*, ſaid he, *An't please your Majeſty, upon my Honour I believe they will, for they have a good Body of Horſe ſtill*: When he named *his Honour*, the King looked wiſtly upon him, and repeated once or twice, *your Honour*, intimating that what he aſſured upon his Honour, was not to be credited, ſince he had forfeited that before by ſiding with the Earl of *Tyrconnel*; and this was all the Check he gave him for his Breach of Truſt. A.D. 1690.

While theſe things happen'd on this ſide, our Men on the Right moved towards *Duleck*; and the Enemy gave way before them, and the King's Troops were now every where victorious, though the loſs of the Enemy was computed at no more than 1500 Men, and among them ſome Perſons of Note; as the Lord *Dungan*, the Earl of *Carlingford*, Sir *Neal O Neal*, &c.

The King himſelf received no manner of Hurt in the Action, though he was in all the height of it, only a Cannon Ball carried away a piece of his Boot: His Majeſty did all that the greateſt Captains could do upon ſuch an Occaſion, and demeaned himſelf throughout with that Conduct, Gallantry, Reſolution and Preſence of Mind, that was ſo peculiar to himſelf, and was ſuch a Poiſe for the Battle to incline to his own ſide, that his very Enemies confeſt, that if the *Engliſh* changed Kings with them, they would fight the Battle over again.

King *James*, after this Defeat, making the beſt of his Paſſage to *France*, we muſt obſerve, that his Adherents in *England*, during King *William*'s Abſence, were labouring all they could to Re-inthrone him; to which end it was agreed, that while part of the *French* Fleet ſhould bear up the *Thames*, to give Countenance to the Jacobites in *London*, and deſigned an Inſurrection in ſeveral Places at once; certain Perſons were to have taken upon them the Adminiſtration of Affairs, till the return of King *James*, who was to leave his Army to the Management of his Generals in *Ireland*, and to haſten *Affairs of England.*

A. Reg. 2. ſten with all Speed into *England*: The other part of the *French* Fleet having joined their Gallies, was to have landed Eight thouſand Men at *Torbay*, with Arms for a greater Number; after which, they were to ſail into the *Iriſh* Sea, to prevent the Return of King *William* and his Forces; and the Male-contents among the *Scotch*, were to have revolted at the ſame time in divers Parts of that Kingdom; but however things were in reality, the whole Project ſeemed to have been founded upon a Preſumption, that the *Engliſh* Fleet ſhould be firſt beaten by the *French*.

The *French* Fleet having entred our Channel, for ſome time hovered about the *Engliſh* Coaſt, expecting the Effect of the Conſpiracy, of which the Queen had no ſooner Intimation, but ſhe order'd the Earl of *Torrington* to fight the Enemy: Accordingly the Admiral on the 24th of *June* ſailed from St. *Helens*, the Wind at *North-Eaſt*, and ſtood towards the *French* Fleet, which was ſeen the Evening before off *Freſh-Water-Gate* in the *Iſle of Wight*; but the Wind taking them ſhort, he came to an Anchor off *Dunneſe*, within five Leagues of the Enemy, who at 8 next Morning were at *Compton-Bay*: In the Afternoon ſeveral *Dutch* Men of War joined the *Engliſh* Fleet, as did ſome other *Engliſh* Men of War that had been cruiſing abroad. On the 30th of *June*, the Day before the famous Battle of the *Boyne*, the two Fleets appear'd off *Beachy*, which by the way obviates that common Miſtake that runs in the Mouths of many to this Day, that the King would not have hazarded a Battle, had he not had Advice in his Pocket of the beating of the Fleet, which he kept ſecret till the Action was over; for it would be impoſſible he ſhould receive it in the time. The *Dutch* having the Van-Guard, about Nine in the Morning began the Fight, as did alſo ſome of the *Engliſh*; but being not ſeconded by the reſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet, ſeveral of the *Dutch* Ships, after they had fought moſt gallantly, were either burnt, ſunk, or diſabled, and the *Engliſh* fared not much better, for ſuch as engaged were very much ſhattered: The Fight continued from Morning till Evening, the *Dutch* maintaining their Stations with ſo much Reſolution and Bravery againſt the whole *French* Force, which

conſiſted

conſiſted of 82 Men of War, that they had much ado to eſcape being all deſtroyed: *Torrington* was afterwards brought to his Trial, and acquitted; and all thoſe I have ever met with, that underſtood Naval Affairs, avow'd his Conduct ſaved the Fleet, and perhaps the Kingdom. A.D. 1690.

The Queen having omitted nothing that might contribute to our Security at Home, and to ſatisfy the *Dutch* for the loſs of their Ships; let us return again to *Ireland*: The Conſequence of his Majeſty's Victory at the *Boyne*, was the Surrender of *Drogheda*, (which would not yield to *Cromwell* but by Storm) and on the 3d of *July* the Duke of *Ormond*, and his Unkle Monſieur *Overkirk*, having with nine Troops of Horſe ſecured *Dublin*, the King next Day, with the whole Army, marched that way; and on the 8th rode in a triumphant Manner into *Dublin*, and going directly to St. *Patrick*'s Church, he returned Thanks to the Almighty for his late Victory: The old Mayor and Aldermen waited upon his Majeſty, and the People endeavoured by all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy, to expreſs a juſt Senſe of their great and happy Deliverance. On the 7th, he by Proclamation offered his Protection to all *Iriſh* that would ſubmit: On the 9th he marched away with part of the Army Weſtward, while *Douglas*, with another Body, was order'd to go and attack *Athlone*; but the Place being ſtrong and well provided, he could not take it. About the ſame time the King reduced by Proclamation King *James*'s Copper-Money, to the Value or Standard of the like Copper-Money formerly current in *Ireland*. K. William enters Dublin.

The King by the 12th of *July* reached *Kill-Kullenbridge*, and that Morning paſſing by the Neſs, and finding a Soldier robbing a poor Woman, he was ſo enraged at it, that he beat him firſt with his Cane, and then commanded that both he and ſome others guilty of the like Crimes, ſhould be hanged; but tho' ſome People were ſo audacious as to put an ill Conſtruction on this Action of the King's, as ſavouring of Cruelty and Arbitrarineſs; yet it had ſo good an Effect upon that Part of the Army, that the Country was ſecured from any Violence done by the Soldiers during the whole March. The Army on the 21ſt

Incamping

A. Reg. 2. Incamping at *Carick*, from thence Maj. General *Kirk*, with his own Regiment, and Colonel *Brewer's*, as alſo a Party of Horſe, were ſent towards *Waterford*; which *Kirk* ſummoned, but there being two Regiments there in Garriſon, they refuſed to ſurrender; but their Anſwer was in very civil Terms, and ſoon after ſending out to know what Conditions they might have, which were the ſame with *Drogheda*, they did not like them: Yet underſtanding more Forces were ordered againſt them, they capitulated and marched out on the 25th, and were conducted to *Mallow*; the Fort of *Duncannon*, a ſtrong Place which commands the River of *Waterford*, was alſo ſurrendred to his Majeſty upon the ſame Articles, which laſt Place was viewed by the King the Day it was given up: Here his Majeſty took care that no Perſon ſhould be moleſted; and among the reſt, my Lord *Dover* was admitted to a more particular Protection from the King, as having before applied himſelf at *Hilsborough*, by Major General *Kirk's* means, to deſire a Paſs for himſelf and his Family into *Flanders*: The Lord *George Howard* ſubmitted alſo to his Majeſty.

Waterford ſurrendred to him.

King leaves the Army, and ſoon returns.

The News of the Defeat of our Fleet in the Channel by the *French*, and ſome Apprehenſions of the ill Conſequences thereof in *England*, was very probably the true Cauſe why the King, on the 17th of *July*, left the Camp, in order to imbark for *England*; but upon freſh Advices from hence, he ſoon return'd to form the Siege of *Limerick*, and thereby to make an end of the War in one Campaign.

He forms the Siege of Limerick.

The King, by a Trumpeter, ſummon'd the Town to ſurrender. Many of the Garriſon were for Capitulating; but Monſieur *Boiſeleau* the *French* Governor, the Duke of *Berwick*, *Sarsfield*, and ſome others, ſtifly oppoſed it; and *Boiſeleau* ſent the Trumpeter back with a Letter to Sir *Robert Southwell* Secretary of State, importing, *That he was ſurpris'd at the Summons; and that he thought the beſt way to gain the Prince of* Orange's *good Opinion, was by a vigorous Defence of the Town which his Maſter had entruſted him with.* A Party of Dragoons was ſent to the Ford of *Annaghbeg*, about two Miles above the Town, where ſix Regiments of the Enemies Foot, three of Horſe, and two of Dragoons, were poſted

poſted on the other ſide of the River, with a Breaſt-work to cover them: They all fired upon our Men; but did them no manner of Hurt. Such indeed was the Advantage of the Enemy, that the *Engliſh* expected to meet with great Difficulties in paſſing this River, which is very rapid: But the *Iriſh* abandoned their Station in the Night; ſo that Lieutenant General *Ginkle*, who was commanded with a Detachment to force his way over, perform'd it next Morning, the 10th of *Auguſt*, with 5000 Horſe and Foot, without any oppoſition. The King himſelf ſoon after went over the *Shannon*, and there poſted three Regiments of Foot, with ſome Pieces of Cannon. On the other hand, the *Iriſh* were raiſing Forts between the Aſſailants and the *Iriſh* Town, one to the South-Gate, and the other towards the Eaſt, which proved of great uſe to them, but not ſo much a Diſadvantage to the Beſiegers as the ſurprizing of their Train of Artillery, which was coming up to join them. A.D. 1690.

It was reported a *Frenchman*, and one of the Gunners, having deſerted the Day before from the Army into *Limerick*, gave the Enemy an Account where the *Engliſh* Train lay: The King had order'd Sir *J. Lanier*, with Five hundred Horſe, to march and meet it: But however it came about, it was about Two in the Morning before the Party ſet out, and even then advanced ſlowly, till ſeeing a Light in the Air, and hearing a great rumbling Noiſe, they juſtly conjecture the Train was blown up: For the Artillery having the Day before marched beyond *Cullen* to the old ruinous Caſtle of *Baltenedy*, about ſeven Miles from the Camp, *Sarsfield* lurked all that Day in the Mountains; and being inform'd how things lay, he had Guides which directed him to the very Spot; where falling upon the Guard before they were aware, he cut ſeveral of them in pieces, with many of the Waggoners, and ſome Country People, that were carrying Proviſions to the Camp. The *Engliſh* commanding Officer ſeeing how it was, ſounded to Horſe; but moſt of the Men that endeavour'd to fetch their Horſes from grazing, were cut in pieces, and the reſt put to ſhift for themſelves; ſo that there were in all about ſixty Perſons ſlain. *Engliſh train ſurprized by Sarsfield.*

A. Reg. 2. The News of this Adventure was very unwelcome in the Camp, and occaſion'd Murmurings: However the Siege went on; and the Trenches being open'd on the 17th, when they had receiv'd ſome great Guns from *Waterford*, a Battery was rais'd below the Fort, to the right of the Trenches, which diſmounted ſome of the Enemies Cannon. The ſame Day the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with the Major-Generals *Kirk* and *Tetteau*, and Brigadier *Steward*, with ſeven Battalions, entred the Trenches, advancing Three hundred Paces, and maſter'd two Redoubts. The Trenches on the 18th were relieved by *Douglas*, *Sidney*, *Naſſau*, and *Steward*; and the King himſelf riding in the thickeſt of the Enemies Fire, to *Cromwell's* Fort, as his Horſe was juſt entring into the Gap, he was ſtay'd by a Gentleman that came to ſpeak with him, when that very moment a Cannon-Ball fell into the very Place, and did no other Harm than beating the Duſt all about the King; who took little notice, but alighting, went and laid himſelf down on the Fort. On the 20th the Beſiegers attacked a Redoubt of the Enemy, and took it, after an obſtinate Fight, putting 40 of them to the Sword. Now all the Batteries being finiſh'd, the Trenches advanced within 30 Paces of the Ditch, a Breach made in the Wall near St. *John's* Gate, and part of the Paliſadoes on the Counterſcarp beaten down by the 26th; the King next Day commanded the Cover'd Way or Counterſcarp, and two Towers or Forts that were on each ſide of the Breach, and contiguous to the Wall, to be attacked; and that the Men ſhould advance no farther, but make a Lodgment there, which they did with unparallell'd Bravery; but not ſtopping there, and the *Iriſh* ſeeing the Smalneſs of their Numbers, they return'd, and beat them out.

A Redoubt taken.

Siege of Limerick raiſed.

The King, who ſtood nigh *Cromwell's* Fort all the while, when the Buſineſs was over, return'd to his Camp very much concern'd at the Diſappointment, as indeed the whole Army was; where an Intermixture of Anger and Sorrow might be obſerv'd in every Body's Countenance. Wherefore upon the 30th of *Auguſt* it was thought fit to raiſe the Siege; and the King having conſtituted the Lord *Sidney*, and the preſent

Lord

Lord *Coningsby*, Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, and intruſted Count *Solms* with the Command of the Army (who ſoon after conſigned it into the Hands of Lieutenant-General *Ginkle*). His Majeſty, with the Prince, and other Perſons of Quality, embark'd at *Duncannon* Fort on the 5th of *September*, and next Day arrived ſafe in *King's Road* near *Briſtol*; from whence he reached *Windſor* on the 9th, where he was receiv'd with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy. A.D. 1690. *Returns to England.*

The Queen in the mean time had fitted up a Fleet of Men of War: My Lord of *Marlborough* landed at *Cork* on the 21ſt of *September*, with the Land Forces from on Board under his Command. Next Day five or ſix hundred Seamen and others of the Marine Regiment, were employ'd to draw the Cannon along, and to mount them before the Town; which they did with great Cheerfulneſs and Bravery, with the D. of *Grafton* at the Head of them, tho' two Troops of Dragoons and a Body of Foot appear'd without the Town, who upon our Mens firing ſome Field-pieces, preſently retired. The Earl was to act in this Expedition in concert with ſome other Troops that were towards that part of *Ireland* before, commanded by the D. of *Wirtemberg*, who being both Lieutenant-Generals, there happen'd a warm Diſpute between them, the firſt laying Claim to the Command becauſe he was a Prince, and the other, with great Temper, inſiſting upon his Right both as he was eldeſt Officer, and becauſe he lead the Troops of his own Nation; whereas the D. of *Wirtemberg* was only at the Head of Auxiliaries: The wiſe Monſieur *Maloniere* interpoſing, the Earl was content to ſhare the Command, leſt his inſiſting on his full Right ſhould retard the Service. The Earl accordingly, the firſt Day, commanded, and gave the Word *Wirtemberg*; and the Duke commanded the next, and gave the Word *Marlborough*. Here it was the brave Duke of *Grafton* loſt his Life: However, the Earl uſed ſuch Dexterity, Expedition, and excellent Conduct firſt in the Siege of *Cork*, and then of *Kingſale*, that the King was pleas'd to ſay, He knew no Man ſo fit for a General as the Earl, who had ſeen few Campaigns. *L. Marlborough takes Cork and Kingſale.*

A. Reg. 2. We now find the Duke of *Savoy* entred into the Grand Alliance againſt *France*; and the Count *de la Tour*, having diſpatched his Buſineſs at the *Hague*, imbarked for *England*, and at his firſt publick Audience delivered himſelf to the King in theſe Terms:

SIR,

Count de la Tour (*Envoy from the Duke of* Savoy) *his Speech to his Majeſty.*

" His Royal Highneſs congratulates your Majeſty's glorious Acceſſion to the Crown, due to your Birth, merited by your Virtue, and maintained by your Valour. Providence ordain'd it for your Sacred Head, for the Accompliſhment of Heaven's Deſigns from all Eternity; that Providence, which after long forbearance, raiſes up choſen Inſtruments at length to ſuppreſs Violence, and protect Juſtice. The wonderful Beginnings of your Reign are aſſured Preſages of the Bleſſings which Heaven is preparing for the Integrity of your Intentions, which have no other Aim than to reſtore this flouriſhing Kingdom to that Grandeur which it anciently enjoyed; and to break off thoſe Chains, under the Weight of which all *Europe* at preſent Groans. This Magnanimous Deſign, ſo worthy the Hero of our Age, ſoon fill'd his Royal Highneſs with unſpeakable Joy, though he were reſtrained to keep it undiſcloſed for a time in the Privacies of his Heart; and if afterward he could not forbear to let it break forth, the Obligation of that Happineſs is due to your Majeſty, who has at length inſpir'd him with Hopes of that Liberty, after ſo many Years Servitude. My Words, and the Treaty I have already ſigned at the *Hague* with your Majeſty's Envoy, but faintly expreſs my Maſter's paſſionate Deſire to unite himſelf to your Majeſty by an inviolable Devotion to your Service. The Honour which he has of being one that is related to your Majeſty, has knit the firſt Knot of this Union; and the Protection you granted him with ſo much Generoſity, has brought it to the Perfection of being indiſſoluble. Theſe are the ſincere Sentiments of his Royal Highneſs, with which I dare not preſume to intermix any of my own: For how ardent ſoever my Zeal may be, how profound ſoever my Veneration

" of

" of your Majeſty's Glory, I know not how better to A.D. 1690.
" expreſs it, than by the Silence of Reſpect and Ad-
" miration.

The ill Succeſs of the Battle of *Fleurus* in the *Netherlands*, and wherein the *Dutch* ſuffered much, we can but juſt mention; and obſerve now, that the King having receiv'd the ſolemn Congratulations of the Nobility, Clergy, City of *London* and others upon the glorious Succeſs of his Arms in *Ireland*, met his Parliament on the 2d of *October*, and expreſt himſelf to them to this effect; " That he had uſed his beſt *King's Speech in Parliament.*
" Endeavours to reduce *Ireland* into ſuch a Condition
" that it might be no longer a Charge to *England*:
" And God had bleſs'd his Endeavours with ſuch
" Succeſs, that he doubted not but he ſhould have
" been fully poſſeſt of that Kingdom by this time,
" had he been enabled to have gone into the Field as
" ſoon as he ſhould have done, and as was more eſpe-
" cially neceſſary in *Ireland*, where the Rains are ſo
" great, and begin ſo early. He then extolled the
" Bravery of the Army: And having ſaid he had
" asked no Revenue for himſelf, but what he had
" readily ſubjected to be charged to the Uſes of the
" War; He would command all the Publick Ac-
" compts to be laid before the Houſe of Commons;
" by which they would ſee, that the real Want of what
" was neceſſary beyond the Fonds given, and the not
" getting in due time that for which Fonds were aſ-
" ſigned, had been the principal Cauſes why the Ar-
" my was in ſo much Arrear of their Pay, and the
" Stores both for the Navy and the Ordnance not
" ſupplied as they ought to be.

" That it was too plain, by what the *French* had
" let them ſee ſo lately, that if the preſent War were
" not proſecuted with Vigour, no Nation in the World
" was expoſed to greater Danger: That he would
" lay before the Commons, the State of what would
" be neceſſary for the Support of the Fleet and Ar-
" mies: Recommended to their Care, the Clearing
" of his Revenue, ſo as to enable him to ſubſiſt, and
" to maintain the Charge of the Civil Liſt: That
" the whole Support of the Confederacy abroad,

A. Reg. 2.

would absolutely depend upon the Speed and Vigour of their Proceedings. Then having taken notice of the Fidelity and Affection of his People, he could not conclude without taking notice also, how much the Honour of the Nation had been expoſed by the ill Conduct of the Fleet: He hoped they would agree with him in this Concluſion, *That whoever goes about to obſtruct or divert your Applications to theſe Matters, preferably to all others, can neither be my Friend nor the Kingdoms.*

Proceedings of the Commons on Supplies.

The Lords firſt, and then the Commons, having preſented their Addreſſes, the Commons the ſame Day, to make good their Aſſurances of Affection to the Government, voted, That a Supply ſhould be given to their Majeſties for the entire Reduction of *Ireland*, ſecuring the Peace of this Kingdom, and carrying on a vigorous War againſt *France*. As for the particular Methods of raiſing the Money, I ſhall not concern myſelf much about them; only they would have raiſed a Million of Money upon the Credit, and by the Sale of the Forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*; but that not ſucceeding, they however brought in a Bill for Attainting the Perſons that were or had been in Rebellion in *England* or *Ireland*, for confiſcating their Eſtates, and applying them to the uſe of the War; only there was a Clauſe added, for reſerving a Proportion of the Forfeitures to the King's Diſpoſal: However the Bill, when ſent to the Lords, lay dormant there a great while; and no Meſſages of the Commons could bring them to take it into Conſideration, and ſo it entirely dropt. The Parliament was very forward in promoting the neceſſary Supplies for the Government; and his Majeſty, on the 25th of *November*, having given the Royal Aſſent to a Bill for doubling the Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, he made a Speech to both Houſes; intimating, "That he took that Occaſion to aſſure them, he

King's Speech in Parliament.

"was extreamly ſenſible of the Readineſs the Commons had ſhewn in granting him ſuch large Supplies; That he ſhould not be wanting on his Part to "ſee them carefully applied to thoſe Uſes for which "they intended them: That the Poſture of Affairs

"abroad

" abroad neceſſarily required his Preſence at the *Hague*, before the End of the Year; and conſequently he deſired them to loſe no time in diſpatching and perfecting of ſuch farther Supplies as were ſtill neceſſary for the Navy and Army; and not for them only, but it was alſo high time to put them in mind of making ſome Proviſion for the Expence of the Civil Government, which had no Funds for its Support; ſince the Exciſe, and all the other Branches of the Revenue, had been applied to other publick Uſes; and therefore he earneſtly recommended it to their ſpeedy Conſideration." A.D. 1690.

The Parliament made ſo good a Diſpatch, that by the 20th of *December* there was a Bill ready for the Royal Aſſent, for granting to their Majeſties certain Impoſitions upon *Eaſt-India* Goods and Manufactures, and upon all wrought Silks, and ſeveral other Goods and Merchandizes; another for the Continuance of ſeveral Acts therein mentioned, for the laying ſeveral Duties upon Wine, Vinegar and Tobacco. The King having paſſed them, with ſome private Bills that Day, took the Opportunity to acquaint both Houſes, *That the Poſture of Affairs abroad would not admit of deferring his Journey to the* Hague, *much beyond that time; and that he put them in mind of it now, in hopes that Conſideration would prevail with them to uſe all poſſible Diſpatch of what ſtill remained to be done for the more vigorous Proſecution of the War*: And concluded with telling the Commons, *That if ſome Annual Proviſion could be made for augmenting the Navy, and building ſome new Men of War, it would be a very neceſſary Care at that time, both for the Honour and Safety of the Nation.* *Another Speech.*

Some time before this, his Majeſty made Colonel [illegible]*uts* Baron of *Gowran* in *Ireland*; from whence the Lord Viſcount *Sidney* being recalled from being Lord-Lieutenant, was now made Secretary of State in *England*. His Majeſty alſo conſtituted my Lord *Godolphin*, Sir *John Lowther*, *Richard Hambden* Eſq; Sir *Stephen Fox*, and *Thomas Pelham* Eſq; to be Commiſſioners of the Treaſury: The Duke of *Zell* was alſo

A. Dom. 1691. now elected Knight of the Garter. In the mean time the Commons took his Majesty so right, in respect to his last Speech, that they soon voted a Supply of 570000 *l.* for the building of seven and twenty Men of War; and having for this and other Ends, granted their Majesties several Additional Duties of Excise, and passed a Bill for encouraging the Distilling of Brandy and Spirits from Corn, and for laying several Duties upon Low Wines, his Majesty passed both on the fifth of *January*, and then made a Speech to both Houses; wherein among other things he assured them, 'That he should not make 'any Grant of the forfeited Lands in *England* or '*Ireland*, till there was another Opportunity of set- 'tling that Matter in Parliament in such manner 'as should be thought most Expedient.' Then expressing his Satisfaction with the Proofs they had given him of their good Affection, he told them, 'Every Day produced still fresh Instances of the 'Restlesness of their Enemies, both at Home and 'Abroad, in designing against the Prosperity of this 'Nation and the Government established; but he 'doubted not but the Union and good Correspondence 'between him and his Parliament, and his earnest 'and constant Endeavours for their Preservation on 'the one Hand, joined with the Continuance of 'their Zeal and Affection to support him on the 'Throne, would, by the Blessing of God, be at all 'times too strong for the utmost Malice and Contri- 'vance of their common Enemies.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

The Speech being ended, the Lord Chief-Baron, Speaker of the House of Lords, declared to both Houses, 'That it was his Majesty's Pleasure, that 'they should adjourn themselves until the 31st of '*March* next; and that if his Majesty shall think 'fit that the Parliament should then sit, he would 'give them timely notice thereof by his Proclama- 'tion.' And accordingly both Houses of Parliament did adjourn to the 31st of *March* following.

It was not without good Reason that the King took Notice of the Restlesness of his Enemies; for about this time a Plot was discovered, wherein the Lord *Preston* was the Person of most Note concerned:

He

He was a Viſcount of *Scotland*, and having about the beginning of the King's Reign, preſented to the Houſe of Lords a Patent from King *James*, dated from *Verſailles* the 31ſt of *January* 168⅞, whereby he was created an *Engliſh* Baron, their Lordſhips voted him guilty of High-Treaſon. However, they thought fit to refer the Examination of that Matter to the Judges. *Preſton* pretended, that the Patent being dated one Day before the Meeting of the Convention, which had voted the Throne vacant, it ought therefore to be valid. It was anſwered, the Vacancy was ſuppoſed to begin from the Moment King *James* left the Kingdom; whereby he abdicated the Government. Next Day the Judges brought his Lordſhip in guilty of an High Miſdemeanor; for which he was committed to the Tower, but ſome time after, acknowledging his Fault, and begging Pardon, the Petition was rejected by his ſubſcribing himſelf Viſcount *Preſton*, without expreſſing of what Kingdom; but rectifying that the next Day, and it being alledged in his behalf, that by accepting a Patent from King *James*, he never meant to affront King *William*, but only to ſecure his own Perſon from Impriſonment; he being at that time proſecuted at Law by the Lord *Montague*, for a great Sum of Money, being the Salary and Profits of the Great Wardrobe, which he had bought of the Earl of *Sandwich*, had a Patent of the King for it, for Life, and yet was taken from him, and given to the Lord *Preſton* by King *James*; he was releaſed from his Confinement without giving Bail.

A.D. 1691.

Lord Preſton's Patent canvaſſed.

The Project of the Plot was this; That being unable of themſelves to reſtore the King, they ſhould endeavour to obtain Aſſiſtance from *France*, and that Delays being dangerous, ſending Letters into *France* hazardous, and the Court of St. *Germains* factious and treacherous, ſome Man of Quality and known Ability ſhould go over to tranſact the Matter for the whole Party. The Lord *Preſton*, Mr. *Aſhton*, and Mr. *Elliot*, were the Perſons pitch'd upon; but the whole Plot being diſcovered, Captain *Billop* attended their Motion, and took them a little beyond *Graveſend*; *Preſton* and *Aſhton* being tried and found guilty,

His Plot.

the

A. Reg. 3. the laſt was executed; but the other diſcovering the whole Conſpiracy upon Oath, obtain'd his Pardon; and *Elliot* for want of Evidence was not tried at all.

King goes for Holland. The King ſets out for *Holland* with a noble and numerous Retinue. His Convoy conſiſted of twelve Men of War, and ſeven Yachts: They made the *Dutch* Coaſt after a troubleſome Voyage; the Froſt had been ſo ſevere, and the Ice near the Shore was ſo great, that it appear'd to be extremely dangerous to attempt Landing. The King, with whom the Sea did not agree, and whoſe Affairs required his Preſence Aſhore, went in a Shallop, and order'd the Seamen to put off: The Seamen ſeem'd unwilling to it, as were all the Perſons of Quality who were about his Majeſty, who would have diſſuaded him from it, by repreſenting the prodigious Danger to which he muſt expoſe his Perſon: But nothing being able to move him from his Reſolution, they put away from the Fleet, and quickly loſt ſight of them. In the mean time Night came on, and the King remained for eighteen Hours together, expoſed to the Injuries of the Air and Cold, to the Mercy of the Sea, and to Privateers; having nothing but his Cloak to cover him; and the Sea ran ſo high, that the Waves waſhed him and his Company in the Shallop. At laſt the Shallop by break of Day got near the Iſle of *Goree*, where he reſolved to go aſhore and refreſh himſelf; and having met with a Fiſherman's Cottage, he went in thither; whither the Magiſtrates of the Iſland quickly came to wait upon him: But he not willing to tarry for the better Accommodations they offered him, went on Board again, and happily landed at *Orange Polder*. He was received with great Magnificence, and he made his Publick Entry into the *Hague* amidſt the loud Acclamations of, *Long live the King*; to ſay nothing of the noble Illuminations made throughout the whole Town.

Congreſs at the Hague. Amongſt the great and illuſtrious Perſonages that came to attend his Majeſty, were the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Brandenburgh*; the Dukes of *Zell* and *Wolfenbuttel*; Prince *Chriſtian Louis* of *Brandenburgh*; the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*; Prince *Waldeck*; the Prince of *Naſſau*, Stadtholder of *Friezland*; the Princes of

Naſſau

Naſſau Sarbrug, *Naſſau Dillemburgh*, and *Naſſau Idſtein*; the Duke Adminiſtrator of *Wirtemberg*; the two Princes of *Anſbach*; the Landgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, and his Brother; the Duke of *Sax Eyſenach*; Prince *Philip Palatine*; the Duke of *Zulsbach*; the Prince of *Wirtemberg Nieuſtadt*; the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, and his Brother; the Duke of *Courland*, and Prince *Ferdinand* his Brother; the Prince of *Anhalt Zeerboſt*; the Landgrave of *Homberg*; three Princes of *Holſtein Beck*; the Duke of *Holſtein*; Prince of *Commercy*; Prince *Palatine* of *Birkenfelt*; to which we may add the Princeſs of *Naſſau Frieſland*; the Princeſs of *Rauville*; the Counteſs of *Soiſſons*; the Princeſs of *Sax Eyſenach*, and other illuſtrious Perſons. It would be too tedious to give the Names of all the Counts, and publick Miniſters that appear'd on this ſolemn Occaſion. Thoſe noble Perſons of his Majeſty's own Subjects that attended him upon this Solemnity, were the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Ormond*, with the Earls of *Devonſhire*, *Dorſet*, *Eſſex*, *Nottingham*, *Scarborough* and *Selkirk*; my Lord Biſhop of *London*; my Lords *Dramlendrits* and *Durſley*; the Earls of *Portland* and *Monmouth*, Duke *Schomberg*, his Brother Count *Meynhard*, *&c.* A.D. 1691.

His Majeſty at this famous Congreſs repreſented to them, 'That the imminent Dangers wherein they 'found themſelves, ſufficiently diſcovered the Er- 'rors that have been committed; ſo that he had no 'need to uſe many Arguments to ſhew them the 'Neceſſity of taking juſter and better Meaſures; 'That in the Circumſtances they were in, it was 'not time to deliberate, but to act; That the Ene- 'my was Maſter of all the chief Fortreſſes that 'were the Barrier of the Common Liberty; and that 'he would quickly poſſeſs himſelf of all the reſt, if 'a Spirit of Diviſion, Slowneſs and particular Inte- 'reſt continued among them; That every one ought 'to remain perſuaded, that their reſpective particu- 'lar Intereſts were comprized in the general one; 'That the Enemy's Forces were very ſtrong, and 'that they would carry things like a Torrent before 'them; That it was in vain to oppoſe fruitleſs 'Clamours *K. William's Speech to the Congreſs.*

A. Reg. 3. ‘ Clamours and Complaints, or unprofitable Proteſtations againſt Injuſtice; That it was neither ‘ the Reſolution of a barren Diet, nor the Hopes of ‘ ſome Men of Fortune, ariſing from frivolous Foundations, but Soldiers, ſtrong Armies, and a prompt ‘ and ſincere Union between all the Forces of the ‘ Allies that muſt do the Work; and that theſe ‘ muſt be brought to oppoſe the Enemy without ‘ Delay, if they would put a ſtop to his Conqueſts, ‘ and ſnatch out of his Hand the Liberty of *Europe*, ‘ which he held already under a heavy Yoke.’ Then drawing to a Cloſure, he proteſted as to himſelf, ‘ He would neither ſpare his Credit, Forces, nor ‘ Perſon, to concur with them in ſo juſt and neceſſary a Deſign; and that he would come in the ‘ Spring at the Head of his Troops, faithfully to ‘ make good his Royal Word, which he had ſo ſolemnly engaged to them.’

This Speech took ſo well, that the Congreſs reſolved to imploy no leſs than Two hundred and twenty two thouſand Men againſt *France*; but it muſt be obſerv'd, that notwithſtanding the large Proportions promiſed by divers Princes and States of *Germany*, *England* and *Holland* were forced chiefly to bear the Burden of the War and pay them.

The Congreſs Reſolution. The Reſolutions of the Congreſs were not to make Peace, 1. Till *Lewis* XIV. had made Reparation to the Holy See for whatſoever he had acted againſt it, and till he had annul'd and made void all thoſe infamous Proceedings againſt the Holy Father *Innocent* XI. 2. Till he had reſtored to each Party concern'd, what he had taken ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, and till he had demoliſhed *Briſac*, and delivered up the Country of *Ceay* to the Canton of *Bern*. 3. Till he had reſtored to the Proteſtants all their Poſſeſſions and Goods, and till there were an entire Liberty of Conſcience throughout the whole Extent of the *French* Dominions. 4. Till the Eſtates of the Kingdom ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in their antient Liberties, ſo that the Clergy, the Nobility, and the third Eſtate, might enjoy their antient and lawful Privileges: And till the Kings for the future ſhould be obliged to call

call together the ſaid Eſtates, when they deſired any Supply, without the Conſent of whom they ſhould not raiſe any Money after any manner, or for any Pretence whatſoever. 5. Till the Tax upon Salt, that upon the Third Eſtate, and an infinite number of other unreaſonable Taxes and Impoſitions ſhould be aboliſhed for ever. 6. Till he had reſtored to the Parliaments their antient and rightful Authority, that ſo they might be enabled to diſtribute to every one Juſtice freely and without Reſtraint, according to their Conſciences. 7. Till all the Towns of the Kingdom ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in their antient Privileges, and till their Revenues were reſtored, which had been taken from them with ſuch Violence and Injuſtice. A.D. 1691.

The Allies might take what Reſolutions they pleaſed, the *French* King was reſolved to be beforehand with them in the Field; and therefore having divided his Army into two Parts, he with one of them beſieged and took *Nice* from the Duke of *Savoy*; and as early as the 15th of *March*, with a Detatchment of the other inveſted *Mons*, before which Place he came in Perſon, accompanied by the Dauphin, Duke of *Orleans*, and the Duke of *Chartres*: The Trenches by the 26th were advanced about a hundred and fifty Paces on each ſide. The *French* the ſame Day attacked the Mill of *Hion*, with the Redoubt that covered it, which after a good Reſiſtance they bravely carried by Dint of Sword; at the ſame time they raiſed large Batteries, and with threeſcore Pieces of Cannon and twenty Mortars, made terrible Havock in the Town; where the Prince *de Bergue* was Governor, who had a Garriſon of about ſix thouſand Horſe and Foot. However, by the firſt of *April* they filled the Ditch of an imperfect Hornwork on the South of the Town towards the Gate of *Charlemont*, and then boldly attacking that Hornwork, began to make a Lodgment upon it; thereupon the Beſieged, headed by ſome of their braveſt Officers, attempted to beat them off at firſt with good Succeſs, but the Aſſailants rallying, regained their Poſt, drove the Enemy into the Town, and puſhed on the Siege with ſo much the more Vigour, as

A. Reg. 3. as that they were informed the King of *England* was advancing to raiſe it.

Indeed, the King, upon the News of the Siege, returned from *Loo* to the *Hague*, from whence he diſpatched Prince *Waldeck* to *Hall* near *Bruſſels*, where the Forces were to rendezvous. The King himſelf on the 26th of *March* went to *Breda*, from whence he advanced to *Vilvord*, arrived on the ſixth of *April* at *Hall*; where, though he had an Army of about fifty thouſand Men, yet the *Spaniards* had been ſo careleſs and ſlow, that there was nothing provided for the Expedition, no, not ſo much as the neceſſary Carriages; ſo that the *French* had leiſure to go on with their Siege; and though in the Attack they made upon one of the Half-Moons on the ſeventh, they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, yet the Burghers were ſo terrified with their Bombs, that they preſſed the Governor to capitulate; which he refuſing, they ſent a Drum of their own to beat a Parley, and threatned to open the Gates, and to deliver both him and the Garriſon into the Beſiegers Hands: This made the Governor at laſt comply, ſo that the Town was ſurrendred, *April* 20th, upon honourable Terms. The King of *England* hereupon left the Army and return'd for *England*.

Mons ſurrendred to the French.

His Majeſty, after his return, was buſy in giving the neceſſary Orders for the entire Reduction of *Ireland*, and the fitting out a ſtrong Fleet, which Admiral *Ruſſel* was appointed to Command in chief. And that the vacant Eccleſiaſtical Dignities might be filled up, Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Patrick*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, was tranſlated to *Ely*; Dr. *Richard Kidder*, Dean of *Peterborough*, was promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*; Dr. *Fowler* to that of *Gloceſter*; Dr. *Cumberland* to *Peterborough*; Dr. *Moor* to *Norwich*; and Dr. *Grover* to *Chicheſter*. Dr. *Sherlock* was promoted to the Deanery of St. *Paul's*; Dr. *Cumber* to that of *Durham*; Dr. *Talbot* to *Worceſter*; Dr. *Woodward* to *Sarum*: And on the ninth of *May* Dr. *Sharp*, Dean of *Canterbury*, was nominated to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, in the Room of Dr. *Lamplugh* deceaſed; Dr. *Ironſide*

Divers Eccleſiaſtical Promotions.

Ironſide, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, ſucceeded Sir *Herbert Croſts*, in the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*; and Dr. *John Hall* was made Biſhop of *Briſtol*. Among all the Non-Jurors, Mr. *Dodwell* was reputed to be a Man of the moſt pervicacious Humour; of which King *William* was ſo ſenſible, that he would often ſay to Dr. *Teniſon* late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *That Mr.* Dodwell *wanted to be in Priſon, but he ſhould diſappoint him.* A.D. 1691.

His Majeſty made no long ſtay in *England*, but being reſolved to go and command the Confederate Army in *Flanders*, he landed in *Holland* on the ſecond of *May*; where at preſent we'll leave him, and ſee what Succeſs his Arms met with in the total Reduction of *Ireland*. General *Ginkle*, who commanded the Army in chief, ſoon became Maſter of *Ballymore*; from hence after ſome Days ſtay, the Army marched towards *Athlone*, where they ſoon forced the Enemy to retire over the Bridge to *Connaught* ſide, and then planted Batteries againſt the *Iriſh* Town; the Cannon and Mortars began to play very briskly on the North ſide of the Caſtle, where it was weakeſt, and continued to do ſo next Day, when the Pontoons came up. The 25th of *June* was ſpent in raiſing Batteries below and above the Bridge, while a third was erected without the Town Wall by the River ſide, oppoſite to a Baſtion the *Iriſh* had made on the other ſide of the River: The *Engliſh* laboured very hard to gain the Bridge; and on the 27th in the Evening, burnt the wooden Breaſt-work the Enemy had made on the other ſide of the broken Arch; next Morning they laid their Beams over, and partly planked them; which a Party of the Beſieged endeavouring to ruin, they were all ſlain in the Attempt. However, ten of their freſh Men, not diſcouraged hereat, ſet about the Work, and bravely effected it, by throwing down the Planks and Beams into the River, maugre all the Fire and Skill of the *Engliſh*. This made the General reſolve to carry on the Work by a cloſe Gallery on the Bridge, to paſs the *Shannon* next Day; but they met with ſuch Oppoſition, eſpecially by having their Gallery burnt by the Beſieged, that any farther Attack was deferred

Athlone Beſieged.

Engliſh paſs the Shannon.

A. Reg. 3. ferred for that Day. On the 30th the General called a Council of War, where it was warmly debated, whether they had beſt make another Attempt, or draw off; and though there were not wanting great Reaſons for the latter, yet the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Major-Generals *Mackay*, *Talmaſh*, *Ruvigny* and *Tetteau*, and Coll. *Cambon* alledg'd, that no brave Action could be perform'd without Hazard; that the Attempt was like to be attended with Succeſs, and proffered themſelves to be the firſt that ſhould paſs the River, and attack the Enemy. The Detatchment drawn out the Day before, was ordered ſtill to be in a Readineſs, and the General commanded they ſhould be brought down by ſix, the uſual Hour of relieving the Guards, that the Enemy might not ſuſpect the Deſign: The Signal given, Captain *Sandys*, and two Lieutenants, lead ſix Grenadiers, all in Armour, and twenty a breaſt ſeconded by another Body of Foot, and with an unparallel'd Reſolution took the Ford, a little to the left of the Bridge, againſt a Baſtion of the Enemies, the Stream being very rapid, and the Paſſage exceeding difficult, by reaſon of ſome great Stones that were in the River. At the ſame time the *Engliſh* great and ſmall Shot began to play from their Works and Batteries upon thoſe of the Enemy on the other ſide, who fired again like Hail upon thoſe that paſt the River: But at length the latter moſt gallantly forced their way, thro' all the Fire and Smoak of the Enemy, and having gained the oppoſite Bank, the reſt laid Planks over the broken Part of the Bridge, while others were preparing the Pontoons, whereby the *Engliſh* paſſed over ſo faſt, that in leſs than half an Hour they became Maſters of the Town. The Beſiegers had not above fifty Men killed in this conſiderable Action, where they found now more Obſtruction from the Rubbiſh and Stuff beaten down by their Cannon than from the Enemy; which made the Soldiers curſe and ſwear bitterly; and gave occaſion to that excellent Perſon, Major-General *Mackay*, to tell them, 'They had more Reaſon to fall down 'upon their Knees, and thank God for the Victory;

Engliſh *take* Athlone.

and

and that they were brave Men, and the beſt of Men, if they would ſwear leſs. *A.D.* 1691

The *Iriſh* Army under *St. Ruth* retiring, poſted themſelves on the other ſide of *Aghrim* Caſtle, and were extended from the Church of *Kilcommodon*, on the Right to *Courtnapori*, about two Miles in length. There was a Rivulet ran on their Left, with ſteep Hills and little Bogs on each ſide, near unto which was a large red Bog almoſt a Mile over; at the end whereof ſtood the Caſtle of *Aghrim*, commanding the way that led to their Camp, paſſable for Horſe no where but juſt at the Caſtle: This Moraſs extended itſelf to the Right where there was another Paſs at *Urachree*, having a riſing Ground on each ſide of it, and the *Iriſh* Camp lay along the Ridge of a Hill, on each ſide of which ſtood two *Daniſh* Forts, about half a Mile diſtance from the Bog below, and this cut into many ſmall Incloſures, which the *Iriſh* lined very thick with ſmall Shot, and managed a Communication between them.

The General having viewed the Enemies Camp, found it to be very advantageouſly ſituated: However, on the 12th of *July* the Army was commanded early in the Morning to advance towards the Enemy; but the Weather proving Foggy, they did not move till it was about twelve a Clock. The General at the ſame time having reviewed the Poſture of the Enemy, and finding it abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould make himſelf Maſter of the Paſs of *Urachree*, he ſent a *Daniſh* Captain with ſome Horſe to force it; but they failing, he ordered two hundred of *Cunningham*'s Dragoons to march to certain Ditches near the Ford, to keep the Enemy from coming over, while the Army continued their March. By this time it was two a Clock, and the General finding it neceſſary to gain that Ford, and the other ways that led to the Right of the *Iriſh* Camp, commanded *Cunningham*'s Dragoons at the Ditch to advance towards a Party of the Enemy poſted on the other ſide; who thereupon, with another, retired behind a Hill nearer the Camp, where a great Body was poſted. Now all theſe being ſtill re-inforced by others, obliged the *Engliſh* Dragoons to retreat; upon which the General *Battel of Aghrim.*

A. Reg. 3. ral order'd *Eppinger*'s Dragoons to get between thoſe Bodies and the Enemies Camp. They were ſeconded by my Lord *Portland*'s Horſe, who behaved themſelves here with exceeding great Bravery: What was at firſt only a Skirmiſh, engaged a conſiderable Body on both ſides. The Battel being reſolved on, Major-General *Mackay* began the Fight on the Enemies Right, and about half an Hour after four the *Engliſh* Left Wing moved on, and the Battel began afreſh by five. The Ditches were ſtrongly lined by *Iriſh* Muſqueteers, and their Horſe advantageouſly poſted to ſupport them, and both behaved themſelves beyond expectation; the Fight continued on the Left almoſt an Hour and a half, before the Center and the Right of the Army began to engage: In the mean time the main Army advanced, and *Mackay*, and the other Officers, obſerving ſeveral Bodies of the Enemies Horſe and Foot drawn off from the Left, and move towards the Right, where they were hard put to it by the *Engliſh*, our General ordered the Foot to march over the Bog, which fronted the Enemies main Body. The Regiments of *Erle*, *Herbert*, *Creighton*, and *Brewer*, going over the narroweſt Place, had orders to march to the loweſt of the Ditches adjoining to the ſide of the Bog, and there to poſt themſelves till the Horſe could come about by *Aghrim* Caſtle and ſuſtain them, and till the other Foot had marched over the other Bog before, where it was broader, and were ſupported by *Foulk*'s and Brigadier *Stewart*'s Regiments. *Erle*'s and the other Regiments advanced over the Bog, moſt of them paſſing up to the middle in Mud and Water; and upon their near Approach to the Ditches, received the Enemies Fire, which yet did not hinder them from marching to the loweſt Hedge, and to beat the *Iriſh* from thence, and ſo on from Hedge to Hedge till they were got very near their main Body. But the *Iriſh* had ſo well ordered the Matter, that they had an eaſy Paſſage for their Horſe among all thoſe Hedges and Ditches; which being obſerved by the valiant Colonel *Erle*, he encouraged his Men by telling them, there was no way to come off, but to be brave. However, the *Engliſh* being both flanked

ed and fronted, and expoſed to all the Enemies Fire from the neighbouring Hedges, they were forced from their Ground, and to rereat again to the Bog with conſiderable loſs; and among others, the brave Colonels *Eyre* and *Herbert* being taken Priſoners, the former after being twice taken and retaken, at laſt got clear of the Enemy, but the other was barbarouſly murthered by the *Iriſh*. A.D.1691.

While things paſſed here, Colonel *St. John's*, Colonel *Tiffin's*, the Lord *George Hamilton*, the *French* Refugees, and other Regiments were marching over below upon the Bog; no ſooner were they got within twenty Yards of the Ditches, but the *Iriſh* fired very furiouſly upon them; which the other ſuſtained with Intrepidity. The Battel ſeem'd doubtful for ſome time: And while the Infantry was thus engaged, *Ruvigny's* Regiment of *French* Horſe, and Sir *John Lanier* being poſted on the Right, the latter was afterwards drawn to the Left, where they did great Service, and the Right Wing of the *Engliſh* Horſe were in the mean time making the beſt of their way to ſuccour the Foot; being ſenſible of the extream danger they were in, and that all lay at Stake. The Cavalry, beſides the Showers of Bullets poured on them, from the Body of the Enemies Dragoons and Foot, poſted under a Covert place, was likewiſe obliged to preſs and tumble over a very dangerous Paſs; but having with incredible Bravery ſurmounted all theſe Difficulties, they lodged themſelves at laſt in a dry Ditch, in the hotteſt of the Enemies Fire from *Aghrim* Caſtle, and ſome old Walls and adjoining Hedges.

The *Engliſh* Foot all this while laboured under very great Diſadvantage in the Center, which being obſerved by *Talmaſh*, he haſted with ſome freſh Men to their Relief, and ordered the broken Regiments to halt and face about, which they immediately obeyed and bravely charged the *Iriſh*, who had advanced upon them to the very Center of the Bog, and marched boldly up to their old Ground from whence they had been beaten. At the ſame time *Mackay* fell upon the Enemy with a good Body of Horſe on their Left; and *Ruvigny*, at the Head of

A. Reg. 3. *Oxford*'s Horſe, ſupported by his own, moved along the ſide of the Bog, and bore all down before him. And now the Horſe and Foot of the *Engliſh* Right, and the *Iriſh* Left Wing, being mixed, there was nothing but a continual Fire, and a very ſharp Diſpute all along the Line. However, the Fight did not appear much longer doubtful, for *St. Ruth* being killed with a Cannon Ball, and his Guards going off at the ſame time: This was no ſooner obſerved by the *Iriſh* Horſe, but many of them drew off alſo, and in a ſhort time their Army was driven to the top of *Kilcommodon-Hill*, where their Camp had lain, which was levelled and expoſed to the *Engliſh* Shot more openly.

St. Ruth *killed.*

While all this was doing in the Right and Center, the *Engliſh* to the Left, that firſt engaged, bravely maintain'd their Ground: However, little happened on their ſide for near two Hours together; neither did the *Daniſh* Horſe and Foot that were on the Left of all, diſturb the Enemy as yet, but kept in Awe ſeveral Bodies of Horſe and Foot that faced them on the other ſide of the Rivulet: But then perceiving *Mackay*'s Battalions in the Center to drive the Enemy before them, left thoſe Bodies that faced them ſhould fall back to the Relief of the flying Party, they engaged them very briskly; and the *Iriſh* being on the Decline, they all fled out of the Field, their Foot being miſerably ſlaughtered by the *Engliſh* Horſe and Dragoons, and their Horſe purſued near three Miles; but the Night coming on, with a thick miſty Rain, prevented a further Slaughter. However, it was computed, that no leſs than four thouſand of the *Iriſh* were ſlain upon the Spot; and of the *Engliſh* ſeven hundred killed, and as many wounded.

Galloway *ſurrendred.*

The Conſequence of this Victory was the ſurrendring of *Galloway* on Articles, and the beſieging of *Limerick*; which, though vigorouſly carried on, and that in the mean time the *Iriſh* abandon'd ſeveral ſmall Places in the Country, and Brigadier *Leviſon* routed many of their Parties in the County of *Kerry*, and likewiſe that the Bombs did very great Execution

tion upon their Camp, and in the Town; yet it was warmly debated on the 17th of *September*, whether they ſhould proſecute the Siege or march over the River, and deſtroy all the Enemies Forage in the County of *Clare*, and then turn the Siege into a Blockade. It was reſolved on the 19th to paſs the River with a Detatchment, either to preſs the Siege on that ſide, or at leaſt to burn the Enemies Forage: And the firſt Day a Battery was raiſed between *Ireton*'s Fort, and the old Church, to flank the *Iriſh*, in caſe of an Aſſault from *St. John*'s Gate: Four Mortars were brought from the great Battery to *Mackay*'s Fort; the latter place being judged the fitteſt for bombarding, ſince the whole Town lay in a Line from thence; and Orders were given in caſe of an Alarm from the *Iriſh* Troops without, that every Regiment ſhould ſtand to their Poſts aſſigned them. *Ginkle* on the 22d paſs'd the *Shannon*, with ſtrong Detatchments of Horſe and Dragoons, ten Battalions of Foot, and fourteen Pieces of Cannon; leaving the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, *Mackay* and *Talmaſh* to command on this ſide. Now it was that all the *Engliſh* Grenadiers, ſuſtained by four Regiments of Foot, were commanded to attack the Works that cover'd *Thomond* Bridge, being a Fort to the Right, above a Muſket-ſhot from the Bridge, and another to the Left, ſomewhat nearer, beſides ſeveral other Fortifications. The Diſpute was hot and obſtinate for a while, and the Attack extreamly hazardous; the Beſieged plying the Aſſailants with their Cannon from the King's Caſtle, and two or three Batteries more, as alſo with their Small-ſhot from the Wall: However the *Iriſh*, being very much preſſed upon by the Grenadiers, abandoned their Poſts; upon which a ſtrong Detatchment was ſent from the Town to ſupport them. But the *Engliſh* advanced with that Courage and Bravery, that they beat the Enemy, and purſu'd them over the Bridge into the Town.

A.D. 1691. Limerick Beſieged.

The *Engliſh* hereupon lodged themſelves within ten Yards of the Bridge; and the *Iriſh* finding now all Communication cut off between them and their Horſe, and beginning to deſpair of the *French* Succours, entertained ſome Thoughts of Surrendry: For ſoon

A. Reg. 3 after the Action, *Wachup* looking out of a Tower, called to *Scravenmore*, and desired leave to come and speak with him, which was readily granted; and the same Liberty for *Sarsfield* to speak with Major General *Ruvigny*, who towards Evening returned into the Town. They both came out again the next Day, and desired a Cessation of Arms for three Days, till they could send to Lieutenant-General *Sheldon*, who lay with about fifteen hundred Horse at *Six-mile* Bridge, to the end they might be included in the General Capitulation: This being in like manner granted them, the Prisoners in the Town were thereupon released. On the 26th Hostages were exchanged, and the *Irish* sent out their Proposals next Day, but in such extravagant Terms, that the General returned Answer, *That though he was a Stranger to the Laws of* England, *yet he understood that what they insisted on was so far contradictory to them, that he could not grant any such thing.* Hereupon he ordered a new Battery to be raised; but upon the Request of the *Irish*, sent them in twelve Articles, which proved to be the Basis of the Capitulation. On the first of *October*, the Lords Justices of *Ireland* arrived in the *English* Camp, and after some further Conferences with the Commissioners on the part of the Garrison and their Troops in the County of *Clare*, the Articles for the Surrender of the City of *Limerick*, and the Castles of *Ross* and *Clare*, with all the other Places and Castles held still by the *Irish* in that Kingdom, were on the third of that Month finally concluded: They consisted of two Parts, Civil and Military; the first being signed by the Lords Justices and General, and the other only by the General. The Articles indeed are long; but the entire Reduction of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and the Terms upon which it was done being a very material Part in this King's Reign, they may have a Place in the Appendix.

Limerick surrendred.

His Majesty's Fleet this Year, commanded by Admiral *Russel*, did all that was possible to bring that of *France* to an Engagement, who industriously declined it, their main Design being to disturb our Trade, and particularly to intercept the *Turkey* Fleet, which

which they could not effect: While the King himself, at the Head of the Confederate Army, provoked the Duke of *Luxemburg* ſeveral times to fight; but the King had no ſooner quitted the Army, but the Duke, upon their Decampment, fell with a Body of Horſe upon their Rear, and did them ſome Damage. A.D. 1691.

The King after his Return to *England*, having convened his Parliament, made a Speech to them on the 22d of *October*, importing, "That he hoped the "good Succeſs with which it had pleaſed God to "bleſs his Arms in *Ireland*, would not only be a "great Encouragement to them to proceed the more "cheerfully in their Work, but would be looked "upon as an Earneſt of future Succeſſes, which their "timely aſſiſtance might, by God's Bleſſing, pro- "cure to them all. He did not doubt, but they "would take Care to pay the Arrears of that Army, "which had been ſo deſerving, and ſo proſperous in "the Reducement of *Ireland* to a peaceable Condi- "tion: And he aſſured them, there ſhould no Care "be wanting on his Part to keep that Kingdom, as "far as poſſible, from being burdenſom to *England* "for the future. He doubted not but they were all "ſenſible, That it would be neceſſary to have a "ſtrong Fleet next Year, and early at Sea; That "the great Power of *France* would as neceſſarily re- "quire that they ſhould maintain a very conſiderable "Army ready upon all Occaſions: And he did not ſee "how it was poſſible to do this with leſs then ſixty "five thouſand Men." *King's Speech in Parliament.*

Both Houſes congratulated his Majeſty upon his ſafe and happy Return, after ſo many Hazards to which he had expoſed his Perſon, and upon the Succeſs of his Arms, in the Reduction of *Ireland*, and at the ſame time aſſured him that they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power, in carrying on a vigorous War againſt *France*, in order to procure an honourable and laſting Peace to his own Dominions, and to ſecure his Neighbours from the Injuries and Invaſions of the common Oppreſſor; hoping with his Majeſty that the Victories of the laſt Sum-

A. Reg. 3. mer were happy Preſages of the Proſperity of his future Enterpriſes.

In the mean time a fatal Accident had like to have befallen his Majeſty's Palace of *Kenſington*, which took Fire on the tenth of *November*, and burnt down the *Stone Gallery*, but ſtop'd before it reach'd their Majeſties Appartment: It was ſaid when the King firſt heard Fire cried, that he ſhould immediately ſay, *Where is my Sword*; as ſuppoſing perhaps there might be ſome treachery in it. The Parliament, notwithſtanding the time ſpent by them, in the Affairs of the *Eaſt-India* Company, in enquiring into the State of the Nation, and the Proceedings of the Fleet laſt Summer, and other Matters, yet went on with the Supplies; and having by the 24th of *December* paſſed a Bill for granting to their Majeſties certain Impoſitions upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for one Year, and another for abrogating the Oath of Supremacy in *Ireland*, and appointing other Oaths. The King was pleaſed to give the Royal Aſſent to them, as well as to ſeveral private Bills; and a Week after, which was the laſt Day of the Year, he returned to the Houſe of Lords, and paſſed the Bill for a Land-Tax, then made a Speech to both Houſes, returning them Thanks for what they had done, and aſſuring them, "It ſhould be his greateſt Care, that the Aſſiſtances given him might be ſo applied, as to render them moſt Effectual for the Ends they deſign'd "them: But he was to take Notice at the ſame "time, with ſome Trouble, that the new Year was "already come, while our Preparations for it were "not only more backwards, but thoſe of our Enemies in greater Forwardneſs than they were the "laſt Year: He was therefore neceſſitated moſt earneſtly to recommend to the Gentlemen of the "Houſe of Commons, the haſtning ſuch farther Supplies as they deſign'd to enable him with, for the "Proſecution of the War."

Acts paſſed.

King's Speech in Parliament.

Some time before this, both Houſes were engaged in a warm Diſpute about the Bill for Regulating Trials in Caſes of High-Treaſon: This Bill having been laid aſide by the Lords in the preceding Seſſions,

ſions, was now again brought in, and paſſed by the Commons. The Lords, beſides other Amendments, added this Clauſe to it, *That upon the Trials of any Peer or Peereſs, for any Treaſon, or Miſpriſion of Treaſon, all the Peers who had a Right to Vote and Sit in Parliament, ſhould be duly ſummoned twenty Days at leaſt before every ſuch Trial; and that every Peer ſo ſummoned, and appearing on ſuch Trials, ſhould Vote in the Trial of ſuch a Peer and Peereſs, ſo to be tried, he and they firſt taking the Oaths mentioned in an Act of Parliament, made in the firſt Year of King* William *and Queen* Mary, *entituled*, An Act for Abrogating the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and appointing other Oaths, and ſubſcribing and audibly repeating the Declaration, *mentioned in an Act of Parliament, made in the thirtieth Year of King* Charles II. *entituled*, An Act for the more effectual preſerving the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling Papiſts from Sitting in either Houſe of Parliament. There was a free Conference held between the Lords and Commons about the Affair, which occaſion'd great Debates in both Houſes, and was followed by three other free Conferences; the Reſult of all which was, that the Lords inſiſted on their Clauſe, and that the Commons adhered to their Diſagreement to it. *A.D.* 1692. *Bill for Regulating Trials in Caſes of High-Treaſon.*

Now the *Daniſh* Miniſter having complain'd of the Book called, *An Account of* Denmark, writ by Mr. *Moleſworth*, and talking one Day with the King about it, the Envoy ſaid, That if he had been a Subject of *Denmark*, his Maſter would have ſtruck off his Head for it: To which the King reply'd, *That the Government of* England *was regulated by the Laws, which were the Rule both for King and People to go by; but as for Mr.* Moleſworth, *if the Envoy would give himſelf the trouble to go and tell him what he had ſaid, he did not doubt but he would put his Words into the next Edition of his Book.* *Mr.* Moleſworth's *Account of* Denmark.

The Commons were alſo amuſed a little with *William Fuller's* pretended Diſcoveries of a Plot againſt the Government; but failing to produce the Perſons, he deſired and obtained Paſſes for, he was at laſt unanimouſly voted by the Commons to be a notorious

A. Reg. 4. torious Impoſtor, a Cheat, and a falſe Accuſer, having ſcandalized their Majeſties and the Government, abuſed that Houſe, and falſly accuſed ſeveral Perſons of Honour and Quality; and they addreſt the King to order the Attorney-General to proſecute him.

Theſe, and other Interruptions, did not hinder ſeveral Bills to be ready for the Royal Aſſent by the 24th of *February*, viz. *An Act for raiſing the Militia; for better Collecting the Duties upon Low-Wines, and againſt Correſponding with their Majeſties Enemies; For the more effectual Diſcovery and Puniſhment of Deer-ſtealers; For better repairing the High-ways; For Encouragement of Breeding and Feeding of Cattel; For the Relief of Creditors againſt fraudulent Devices; For the better explaining and ſupplying the Defects of former Laws; For the Settlement of the Poor; For taking away Clergy from ſome Offences, and bringing others to Puniſhment:* But the only publick Act was the Poll-Bill.

Bills paſſed.

This done, the King expreſt his Thanks to the Commons "for the great Supplies granted him for "the Proſecution of the War, and aſſured them he "would take care ſo to diſpoſe of the Money as "that the whole Nation might be entirely ſatisfied "with the Application of it. Then acquainting "them with his Intentions of going beyond Sea "very ſpeedily, he thought it neceſſary to put an "End to that preſent Meeting: The Seaſon of the "Year being ſo very far advanced that it might "prove of the laſt ill Conſequence to continue it "any longer."

King's Speech in Parliament.

Before his Majeſty left *England*, the Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Ranelagh*, the Lord *Cornwallis*, and Sir *Edward Seymour* were ſworn of his Privy-Council; my Lord of *Pembroke* was removed from being firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, to be Lord Privy-Seal, and the Lord *Cornwallis* brought into his Place; Sir *Edward Seymour*, and Mr. *Charles Mountague* made Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and my Lord *Sidney* Lieutenant General and General Governor of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. About the ſame time my Lord *Faulkland* and my Lord *Lexington* having been made Privy-Counſellors, his Majeſty left *Kenſington* on the

ſixth

ſixth of *March*, and landed on the 16th in *Holland*, A.D.1692. and after ſome ſtay at the *Hague*, went to *Loo*, and from thence after ſome time to the Army; of which by and by.

Now you are to underſtand, That his Majeſty had no ſooner turned his Back, but it was rumoured up and down every where that the late King *James* was ready to Land in *England* with a great Army, in order to which he ſet forth his Declaration; wherein there was a Deduction of his own Right, and the pretended Grievances of the Nation exhibited, and a Pardon offered to all that would ſubmit to his Government; theſe following Perſons only excepted, *viz.* the Duke of *Ormond*, Marqueſs of *Winchester*, the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Bath*, *Danby*, and *Nottingham*; and the Lords *Newport*, *Delamere*, *Wiltſhire*, *Colcheſter*, *Cornbury*, [illegible] *Churchil*; the Biſhops of *London* and *St. Aſaph*; Sir *Rob. Howard*, Sir *John Worden*, Sir *Sam. Grimſton*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, Sir *George Treby*, Sir *Baſil Dixwel*; Sir *James Oxenden*, Dr. *John Tillotſon*, Dr. *Gilbert* [illegible], *Francis Ruſſel*, *Richard Leveſon*, *John Trenchard* [illegible]; and *Charles Duncomb* Citizen of *London*; together with all ſuch as offered perſonal Indignities to him at *Feverſham*; and thoſe who as Judges and Jury-men had a Hand in the Murder of Mr. *Aſhton*, Mr. *Croſs*, &c. And likewiſe all Spies, and ſuch as had betrayed his Council, during his late Abſence from *England*. *Perſons excepted in K. James's Declaration.*

The Queen, to obviate the Deſign, order'd a Camp to be form'd at *Portſmouth*; commanded all Papiſts to quit *London*, and the Parliament to meet on the 24th of *May*, and ſit to do Buſineſs in a time when the Nation was threatned with a powerful Invaſion from abroad. She likewiſe cauſed diligent Search to be made after diſaffected Perſons; and by Proclamation required the apprehending of *Robert* Earl of *Scarſdale*, *Edward Henry* Earl of *Litchfield*, *Edward* Lord *Griffin*, *Charles* Earl of *Newburgh*, *Charles* Earl of *Middleton*, *Charles* Earl of *Dunmore*; the Lord *Forbes*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Granard*, *James Griffin* Eſq; Sir *John Fenwick*, Sir *Theophilus Oglethorp*, Sir *Andrew Foreſter*, Colonel *Henry Slingsby*, *James Graham* Eſq; *Proclamation to ſeize diſaffected Perſons.*

—— *Orby*

A. Reg. 4. —— *Orby* Eſq; ſecond Son of Sir *Tho. Orby* deceas'd; Colonel *Edward Sackville*, *Oliver St. George* Eſq; Son of Sir *Oliver St. George*, Major *Thomas Soaper*, *Charles Adderley* Eſq; *David Loyd* Eſq; *George Porter* Eſq; Son of *Thomas Porter* Eſq; deceaſed, and *Edward Stafford* Eſq;. She likewiſe ordered the Militia of *London* and *Middleſex* to be in a readineſs, and took all other Precautions neceſſary for the Defence of the Government.

On the other hand K. *James* leaving *Paris* went for *Havre de Grace*, in order to carry on the intended Expedition, while the Queen, who had Information of theſe things, gave immediate Orders for fitting out the Fleet. And having ordered the Militia of the Kingdom to be in a readineſs, ſome Forces deſigned for *Flanders* were countermanded; which together with other Troops remaining in the Kingdom, and in ſome time after form a Camp near *Portſmouth*. But for all this, things ſeemed to look a little gloomy in this Juncture, and ſo much the worſe, that it was thought ſome bold Attempts had been made to infect the Fleet. However it were, the brave Admiral's Addreſs and Vigilancy kept them clear, and brought the Officers to ſign an Addreſs to the Queen, with utmoſt Aſſurances of their Loyalty; which indeed they failed not to ſhew ſoon after.

The Conduct of *France* ſeemed to be ſomewhat ſingular at this time; for though *Tourville* was not yet joined by the *Thoulon* Squadron, yet he had Orders to make up the *Engliſh* Channel, and fight the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. The firſt Intimations we had of the Action, and which was entertained with moſt ſurprizing Joy, was in a Letter from the Admiral himſelf to the Secretary of State, wherein he gave him an Account, "That upon the 19th by three in
La Hogue Sea-fight. "the Morning, Cape *Barfleur* bearing S.W. and by S. "ſeven Leagues off; his Scouts had made the Signal "for ſeeing the Enemy, the Wind Weſterly; that "by eleven the *French* bore down, and engaged him "at ſome diſtance; and both Fleets continued fighting till half an hour paſt five in the Evening, at "what time the *French* towed away with all their "Boats,

" Boats, and the *Engliſh* after them; that about ſix *A.D.* 1692.
" there was a freſh Engagement to the Weſtward of
" him, which he ſuppoſed to be the Blue; that
" he could give no further Account at preſent,
" but only that the *French* were beaten, and that
" they were ſteering away for *Conquet* Road, having
" a freſh Gale Eaſterly, but extreamly foggy." But though it happened to be a Calm all that Night, and foggy the following Morning, yet the Weather beginning to clear up about eleven, they ſaw the *French* Fleet about two Leagues from thence, yet conſiderably leſſened in number, as not ſeeming to be above ſix and thirty Sail, after whom they made all the Sail they could; but it growing calm again about ten, both Fleets came to an Anchor about three in the Afternoon, but weighed about ſeven, anchored [illegible] and the *Engliſh* ſailed again on the one and twentieth againſt the Enemy, the Admiral ſteering towards *Barfleur*, and the *Dutch* and Blue Squadron, [illegible]rds the Race of *Alderney*, through which part of the *French* Fleet made their Eſcape; whereas the others [illegible]ght it not adviſeable to hazard the Men of War in purſuit of them through that dangerous Road: though Sir *John Aſhby*, Admiral of the Blue, was afterwards examined in Parliament about it, and honourably acquitted.

But Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Vice-Admiral of the Red, had better Succeſs; for he burnt near Cape *de Wick*, the *Royal Sun*, commanded by Count *de Tourville* himſelf, Admiral of the *French* Fleet, carrying a hundred and four Guns; the *Admirable* an hundred and two; the *Conqueror* fourſcore, with three more of a leſſer Rate. French *Ships burnt at* La Hogue.

Ruſſel himſelf was no leſs ſucceſsful in purſuit of another part of the Enemies Fleet, who hawled for *La Hogue*; he ſent on the 22d Vice-Admiral *Rook* into it, with ſeveral Men of War and Fire-ſhips, beſides the Boats of the Fleet, to endeavour to deſtroy them. None of the Men of War, except ſmall Frigates, could come to do any Service againſt them; however ſuch of the *Engliſh* Veſſels as could, going bravely in with the Boats, they burnt ſix of the Men

A. Reg. 4. Men of War that Night, and next Day the other ſeven (beſides ſeveral Tranſports) whereof ſix were three decked Ships, and the other carried from ſixty to ſeventy ſix Guns, only one had but fifty ſix, and that Ship was over-ſet and utterly loſt.

Tho' this glorious Action proved almoſt a heart-breaking to King *James*, yet it could not put a Stop to the Progreſs of the *French* Arms by Land in the *Netherlands*; for the *French* King in Perſon on the 22d of *May* inveſted the ſtrong Town of *Namur*; and though upon the News of our Naval Victory, King *William* cauſed all the Artillery in his Camp at *Bethlehem*, to be drawn to the top of the Hill upon the Right of the Army that looked toward *Namur*, and placed the *Dutch* Artillery upon the ſame Hill to the Left; and that the whole Army was drawn up to expreſs their Joy by a triple diſcharge of all the Cannon and ſmall Arms, upon ſo Glorious an Occaſion; yet it was reported, that the *French* King took ſo little notice of it, that he ſhould ſay, *Sure is a mighty Pudder indeed about burning two of the Ships.*

French *beſiege* Namur.

The King of *England* was very ſolicitous to relieve it, reſolving, if poſſible, to fight the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who was appointed to cover the Siege; and who, upon Information that the King moved towards the *Mehaign*, marched that way likewiſe; and upon the 18th of *June* the two Armies, which were very ſtrong, and pretty equal as to Number, the Confederates being reckon'd at eighty thouſand Men, came in ſight of one another, with the River remaining between them. The Confederates had the Addreſs to poſſeſs themſelves of all the Poſts upon the River on their ſide, as the *French* did of two Villages ſurrounded with ſtrong Hedges and Thickets on theirs; but the Confederates, by raiſing of Batteries at all their Poſts, were become entire Maſters of the River, ſo that none of the *French* Soldiers could come and fetch a Drop of Water from it. The King that very Evening ordered Bridges to be erected over the *Mehaign*, with a Deſign to paſs it the next Day, to attack the Enemy; and he had ſo well diſpoſed of things, that the whole Army might paſs in Front at the

the ſame time; but the great Rains which began to fall that Evening, and ſo held on for ſeveral Days, that it broke the Bridges, made it unpaſſable for the Cannon, and the Conſequence was the Surrender of the Caſtle of *Namur* on the 30th of *June*, (for the Town had been yielded before) which conſidering the Strength and Importance of the Place, with the ſhortneſs of the Siege, made a great many People believe there was ſome Treachery in the Caſe. *A.D.* 1692.

The King of *England* was incamped at *Melle*, when *Namur* was ſurrendred, where he formed a Deſign to ſurprize *Mons*, and the ſame was very near being executed, when the *French* having Information of it, took great Care to prevent it, and took ſome conſiderable Officers Priſoners, who were entruſted with the Management of the Enterprize. This Stratagem failing, the King reſolved to fight the *French* at *Steenkirk*, and gave Orders for ſix Battalions to be ready to march an Hour before Day-light, and to Parade at the Head of Prince *Waldeck*'s Regiment. About the ſame time Orders were given for ſeventeen Men in each Battalion in *Churchil*'s Brigade, to be ready at the time and place; their Buſineſs being to make ways thro' the Defiles, and they were all to receive a Ducat a Man for their Pains; and as they were to join with the Van-Guard in time of Action, they carried their Arms with them, as well as Hatchets and Spades, and the whole was to be commanded by the Duke of *Wirtemburg*; Orders were in like manner given for the whole Army to march very early in the Morning, the General to be beat at Break of Day, and the Army to be ready at Sun-riſing.

About nine in the Morning of the firſt of *Auguſt*, the Van-Guard came to the advanced Poſts of the Enemy. *Luxemburg*, having been informed of the Deſign of the Confederates by Monſieur *Tracey*, who commanded a Detatchment of Horſe that Night, between his Camp and that of the Confederates, had taken care to poſſeſs himſelf of the moſt conſiderable Poſts in the Defiles; but for all that, the Confederates Van obliged the *French* to retreat from them all, till they came to a little Wood upon the Right of the *French* Camp, except a ſmall Guard in a Village

K. William reſolves to attack the French.

A. Reg. 4. a Village upon the Left of their own Columns, almoſt a League from the Enemies Camp, who upon the March of the Confederate Army, were all made Priſoners of War.

Battle of Steenkirk. The Confederates, between 10 and 11, lodged themſelves in a Wood that fronted the Right of the *French* Army; the *Danes* and the Battalion of Guards taking their Poſt upon the Left in the Wood, and *Douglas*'s, *Fitz-Patrick*'s and *O Farrel*'s, upon the Right of them: On the other ſide of the Wood was the Enemies Camp, a little Valley between them, and a great many Hedges, which the *French* reſolved to maintain with utmoſt Vigour. *Wirtemberg* planted a Battery of Cannon upon a little Aſcent to the Left of the Wood, which began to play about eleven; and another upon the Right of *Douglas*'s Battalion, which did great Execution. In the mean time the Army marched up to the Head of the Defile, about half an *Engliſh* Mile from the Wood, where it open'd in a little Plain upon the Right, not above half a League over, which terminated upon the Right of the Wood, where the Confederates Van was, and at the Right of their Army were ſeveral Rows of high Trees. Thro' theſe they could ſee the *French* Infantry drawn up in two Lines, and making towards their Right to defend the Poſt upon the Wood: Upon the Right of this Plain, there was a pretty conſiderable Farm, which ſoon after the Engagement the *French* ſet on Fire, to cover with Smoak ſeveral of their Battalions, which were ordered this way. Now from the Head of their Defile upon the Left of the Plain, there went for about half a Mile a deep hollow Way with high Trees and Hedges upon the Banks of it, which reached as far as the Wood, where the Van-Guard was poſted, and where it branched itſelf into two other deep Ways, one going through the Wood upon the Left to the *Danes* Attack, and to that of the Guards, almoſt ſtrait forwards; and the other upon the Right along the outſide of the Wood, between which two laſt *Douglas*, *Fitz-Patrick*, and *O Farrel*'s Battalions were poſted: On the other ſide of the deep Way went ſeveral narrow Fields, which lay all along between it and a part of the Wood, which reached

as

as far as the Confederates Advanced Guards to their Defiles. A.D. 1692.

When the Army was come up to the Head of these Defiles, and were just entring into the small Plains, they were order'd to halt, except the *English* Life-Guards, and Horse and Dragoons, which were commanded upon the Right Skirts of the Wood; where the Confederates Vanguard was with the Regiments of *Cutts*, *Mackay*, *Graham* and *Angus*, which being interlined with the *English* Horse, were commanded at the same time to the outside of the Wood, on this side of that Way that branched upon the Right: The Regiments of *Hesse*, *Louder*, and *Leven*, were also interlined with the Left Wing of Horse; and posted likewise upon the side of the Wood: The Duke of *Wirtemberg*, after he had cannonaded the Enemy for above two hours, began the Attack with the *Danes* upon the Right, which was immediately followed by the other four *English* Regiments that compos'd the Van, and seconded by those of *Cutts*, *Mackay*, *Angus*, *Graham*, *Louder*, *Hesse* and *Leven*: The Confederates Van behaved themselves to such Wonder and Admiration, that though they received the Charge of several of the Enemies Battalions, one after another, they forced them to retreat almost to their very Camp; insomuch that the Second Battalion of the First Regiment of Guards possest themselves of a Battery of Cannon, which the *French* were obliged to quit by the Vigour of their Charge. The brave Sir *Rob. Douglas* with his First Battallion, charged several of the Enemies, and beat them from no less than three Hedges, and having made himself Master of the 4th, he was unfortunately slain upon the Spot; all the other Regiments performed equal Wonders, and beat the Enemy from the Hedges so far, that in this Hedge-fighting, their Firing was generally Muzzle to Muzzle. But now to the Army, we have already said they were ordered to halt, particularly the Left Wing of Horse, that the Foot which were interlined with them, might march up through the Horse: They were under a necessity of halting, though indeed it was the Loss of the Day, because the Ground was so strait, and the *French* had such Hedges, Copses, and little Woods to

A. Reg. 4. cover them, that there was nothing to do for the Horſe; ſo that when the Vanguard began to engage, they had now but part of the Infantry interlined with the Left Wing of Horſe to ſecond them, the Body of the Foot being almoſt a Mile in the Rear. However, as ſoon as the Action began, the King uſed all poſſible Diligence to get up the Infantry, ordering a Brigade to march up to the Wood, and forming a Line of Battle in the Plain with ſuch Foot as could come up: The Soldiers were ſo eager to come at the Enemy, that they put themſelves into ſome diſorder, and it took up more time to form their Battalions, than was then convenient: So that the Vanguard, and the Infantry of the Left Wing being overpowered by the vaſt many Battalions of the *French*, and laſtly by the coming in of *Boufflers*'s freſh Troops, they were forced to retreat in great diſorder, and to leave the Wood.

Now the Vanguard being put out of Order for want of timely Relief, the King ordered his Army to retreat, which was done with admirable Order; for though the *French* followed them for ſome time, yet they did not fire a Shot. The *Engliſh* Grenadiers brought up the Rear. The Confederates in this Action loſt ſeveral Pieces of Cannon; they likewiſe blew up ſome of their own Powder-Waggons in the Retreat, which they could not bring off, ſome of 'em having their Carriages broken, and others their Horſes tired. The Number of the Slain and Wounded was very conſiderable; for though we would not own above Two thouſand Men killed, and Three thouſand wounded, they certainly amounted to a great many more; the Loſs in the whole being allowed to amount to Six thouſand Men; many, eſpecially the *Engliſh*, threw the Blame upon Count *Solms*, that he had not brought them timely Succours: A great many brave Men periſhed here; among whom, the moſt conſiderable were the Lieutenant-Generals *Mackay* and Sir *John Lanier*; and the King himſelf, though he diſſembled the matter very much, yet could not but diſcover his Regret for the Diſappointment, he being obſerved the Night after the Action, while he ſate at Supper, frequently to frown, and bite his Lips: At

other

other times he expreſt his Concern for the Diſappoint- A.D. 1692.
ment, often repeating theſe Words; *Oh! my poor* Engliſh, *how were they abandon'd?* Nor would he admit *Sidney* into his Royal Preſence for many Months after.

This Prince was not only expoſed to the Dangers of War, but a baſe Conſpiracy had been form'd againſt his Life by one *Granvalle*; who being brought to his Trial on the 11th of *Auguſt*, before a Court Martial at *Lembeck*, it there appeared by Informations, intercepted Letters, and other Authentick Pieces, that ſome of the greateſt Miniſters in the *French* Court had laid a Deſign to aſſaſſinate him, and made choice of this Perſon for their Inſtrument to manage the horrid Enterprize: To this purpoſe, *Granvalle* underſtanding that one *Anthony Du Mont* had been formerly engaged in the ſame Deſign by the Marqueſs of *Louvois*, when he was alive, propoſed the ſame thing to him again by the Order of the Marqueſs of *Barbeſieux*, *Louvois*'s Son, upon which there were ſeveral Projects drawn up, to have brought it to paſs the laſt Campaign: But finding themſelves then diſappointed, they nevertheleſs purſued their Deſign, *Granvalle* being employed to write to *Du Mont*, then retired to *Hanover*, and encouraged him to a ſecond Attempt this preſent Campaign: Soon after this, *Granvalle* made his Deſign known to one *Leefdale* at *Paris*, who ſeemed readily to comply with him, but ſoon gave notice of it to his Friends in *Holland*, that they might inform the King of it, as *Du Mont* had done to the Duke of *Zell*, who acquainted the King with it: But *Granvalle* being ignorant of all this, departed from *Paris* with *Leefdale*, and gave *Du Mont* a meeting at *Uden* in *Raveſtein*, having in his way at *Bruſſels* imparted his Deſign to one *John d'Amours*, and coming to *Eindhoven*, was there ſeized, with his Companions, and carried to *Bois le Duc*. Several Perſons were examined, and *Granvalle* was the laſt, who confeſſed all the Circumſtances of the Conſpiracy: Whereupon he was carried to the Army to be put upon his Trial, upon which the Evidence appear'd ſo clear, that he himſelf confeſſed ſo much without naming the Rack. The Judges gave Sentence, That whereas *Bartholomew de Liniere*, *Sieur de*

Granvalle *confeſſes the Deſign.*

A. Reg. 4. *Granvalle*, a Native of *Picardy*, Had confeſſed before the Court Martial without any Conſtraint, and it farther appear'd, that the Marqueſs of *Louvois*, late Secretary to the King of *France*, had agreed with *Du Mont* about the murdering of the King of *England*, upon which the ſaid *Du Mont* preſented the Marqueſs with the Draught of the Manner how it ſhould be done; that upon the Death of *Louvois*, his Son, and Secretary alſo to the *French* King, the Marqueſs of *Barbeſieux* revived the ſaid Conſpiracy with *Du Mont*, and paid him 30 Piſtoles, which his Father had order'd in his Life-time; that the Priſoner came acquainted with *Du Mont* at *Rabenal*'s Houſe, where Monſieur *Paparel* ſaying, that *Du Mont* would be a fit Perſon to carry off the King, he replied with Execrations, he would carry him off dead or alive, as he had promiſed *Louvois*; that *Du Mont* having delivered the ſame, or another Project to *Barbeſieux*; the Priſoner to forward the Deſign, had ſeveral Conferences with *Barbeſieux* and *Paparel*, and being told, that he ſhould inform *Du Mont*, that the King of *Great Britain* wore a Coat of Mail; *Du Mont* replied, it was no matter, he would kill him for all that; that the Priſoner was engaged with one *Parker*, a Colonel to the late King *James*, to execute the Deſign, and that the ſaid *Parker* told him, he had laid the ſame Deſign with the Marqueſs of *Louvois*; that the Priſoner, with the ſaid *Barbeſieux*, *Paparel*, *Parker* and *Du Mont*, did agree upon the manner of Executing the Deſign, *viz.* That he and *Parker* ſhould meet at the Grand Guard of the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who was to ſupply him with Fifteen hundred Horſe; that *Du Mont* was to watch when the King of *England* went to viſit the main Guard, and there to ſhoot him, and that the Priſoner and *Parker* were to bring him off, with the Fifteen hundred Horſe now mentioned; and that *Barbeſieux* gave the Priſoner an Order to the Duke of *Luxemburg*, to ſupply him with ſuch a Detachment as he ſhould think neceſſary for the Deſign; that the Priſoner by *Barbeſieux*'s Order received 80 *Louis d'Ors* from *Paparel*, and by *Barbeſieux*'s Directions gave *Du Mont* Five and fifty out of the Sum; that *Barbeſieux* promiſed the Priſoner an Annual Revenue of Twenty thouſand Livres,

Livres, and to make him a Knight of the Order of St. *Lazarus*, in caſe the Deſign took effect: That the Priſoner took ſome meaſures in order to the Deſign with Monſieur *Chamlays*, Quarter-Maſter General to the *French* King; that in the mean time *Leefdale* came acquainted with the Priſoner by the means of one *Sterck*, and diſcovered his Deſign to him towards the latter end of *March* 1692. and afterwards carried him to *Barbeſieux* and *Chamlays*, who told *Leefdale* in the Priſoner's hearing, that he ſhould have a great Reward if the Buſineſs ſucceeded, and that *Barbeſieux* and *Paparel* both knew of the Reward that was promiſed; That the Priſoner, together with *Leefdale* and *Parker*, went to St. *Germains* on the 16th of *April* this Year to ſpeak with the late King *James* about the Deſign, who knew of it before; and that the Priſoner ſpake to the late King, the late Queen being there preſent; at what time King *James* told him, that *Parker* had acquainted him with the Buſineſs, and added this farther, if you and the reſt do me this Service, you ſhall never want: That *Du Mont*'s Wife delivered ſeveral Letters to *Barbeſieux*, which ſhe receiv'd from her Husband at *Hanover*, where the Priſoner continuing his Correſpondence with him, engaged him by Letters of *April* the 20th, 25th, and 12th of *May*, to meet him at *Uden*, in order to their final Reſolution: That the Priſoner, with *Chamlays* and *Leefdale*, agreed upon the manner of perpetrating the Aſſaſſination; that when the King ſhould paſs along the Lines, or ride out to take a View, or when the Army ſhould decamp, that *Du Mont* ſhould lie in Ambuſh, and when the King came within a hundred Paces, he ſhould fire upon him, and that *Chamlays* ſhould be ready with Three thouſand Horſe to bring him off; that the Priſoner and *Leefdale* left *Paris* on the 17th of *April* laſt, and arrived at *Mons* within a few Days after, where they waited for *Chamlays*; but he not coming, they reſolved to ſet forward to the Place of general Meeting; after which the Priſoner, with *Leefdale*, were apprehended at *Eindhoven*: All which being maturely examined and conſidered, the Court-Martial adjudged the Priſoner guilty, and condemn'd him to be Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd, his Eſtate

A.D. 1692.

A. Reg. 4. to be confiſcate, and to bear the Coſt and Charges of the Trial. This Sentence was pronounced in the Head Quarters of the Army by the Earl of *Athlone*, Preſident, General *Scravenmore*, Lieutenant General *Talmaſh*, the Marqueſs *de la Foreſt*, the *Heer van Weed*, Count *Noyelles*, and the *Heer Zobell*, Major Generals, the Brigadiers *Churchil* and *Ramſey*, *Cornelius van Won*, and *Richard Elthwait*, Judge-Advocates, aſſiſting; and on the 13th the Criminal executed.

Granvalle ſentenced, and executed.

When the *French* were threatning to invade *England*, a Camp was formed near *Portſmouth*, with which the Queen and Council upon the Defeat of the *French* Fleet, projected to make a Deſcent upon the Coaſt of *France*; in purſuance of which, the Men of War and Tranſports being got ready, the Forces imbarked under the Command of the Duke of *Leiceſter*, and when got to ſuch a height of diſtance, and the Commiſſions opened, all the Tranſport Ships put into St. *Hellens* Road; where, on the 9th, a Council of War was held, when it was reſolved they ſhould return for *England*; which being done accordingly, the Queen thought fit to ſend down ſeveral Lords of the Council to confer with the General at *Portſmouth*: The Foot remained ſtill on board, and were tranſported into *Flanders*, where they landed on the 1ſt of *September*; and though the Duke of *Luxemburg* ſeemed to have Apprehenſions of it, yet they maſtered *Dixmude* and *Furneſs*, which they began to fortify, and by which the King ſeemed to have projected ſome great Enterprize on that ſide; but all unhappily miſcarried, for both Places towards the end of the Year were quitted to the Mareſchal *de Boufflers*, by Count *Horn*, which the King much reſented in him, who before had always had a great ſhare in his Eſteem, and perhaps the ſame went very near the Count's Heart, for he did not live long after.

Engliſh take Dixmude and Furneſs.

Earthquake.

On the 8th of *September* there happen'd an Earthquake in *London* and the adjacent Parts, which laſted about a Minute, and was very ſenſibly felt, not only in *England*, but in other Parts of the Continent: The King was then in his Camp at Dinner, in an old decayed Houſe, which ſhaking very much, and every one apprehending it was ready to fall, his Majeſty

was

was prevailed on to riſe from Table, and with difficulty, becauſe of the Crowd, got out at the narrow Door; but the Surprize was ſoon over, and he return'd to his Dinner. A.D. 1692.

Before his Majeſty returned for *England*, he received a Letter from the Emperor of the *Turks*, Sultan *Achmet* the Second, to congratulate his Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*, and to deſire his Mediation for the Concluding of a Peace between him and the Emperor of *Germany*. The Parliament alſo being ſitting at this time in *Ireland*, they not only made an Act of Recognition of his Majeſty's Title to the Crown of that Kingdom, and another to invite more Proteſtants to come and ſettle in that Kingdom, but one for an Additional Duty of Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for the Support of the Government: *Scotland* alſo ſeemed very forward and zealous to contribute new Levies, and do all that lay in their Power for their Majeſties Service.

There was a very great noiſe made at this time about the Maſſacre of the Men of *Glenco*, by the King's Soldiers, they not having taken the Oaths, and ſo were reputed to be ſtill Rebels: Some People endeavour'd to blacken the King to the utmoſt about it, in an open and invidious Letter, ſuppoſed to have been writ by Mr. *Lesley*: However, the Parliament of *Scotland*, in *July* 1695, taking this Affair of *Glenco* into Conſideration; Voted that the Letter of the Maſter of *Stairs*, who was their Secretary of State, exceeded the King's Inſtructions, as to the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men: Sir *Thomas Levingſton* (afterwards Lord *Tiweot*) being then Commander in Chief in *Scotland*, and having given his Orders herein, the Queſtion was put whether he had not alſo exceeded his Inſtructions, as the Maſter of *Stairs* had done? But it was anſwered, that was not fair, ſince the Maſter of *Stairs* might have known his Majeſty's Mind from his own Mouth; but Sir *Thomas* receiving the King's Inſtructions, and the Letters of his Secretary at the ſame time, muſt needs underſtand the Inſtructions in the extended Senſe, that the Letters gave them, or take what was further in the Letters of his Majeſty's Addition at Pleaſure; then 'twas moved, whether Sir *Thomas*'s

A. Reg. 4. Orders did not exceed the King's Inſtructions, and the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters; it was carried in the Negative, for he had been ſo cautious as to copy the Words of both in his Orders, and upon the whole, that he had reaſon to give ſuch Orders as he did: Soon after which an Expreſs arriving from his Majeſty with his Approbation of the Parliament's Proceedings, and Orders to proceed in their Inquiry into the Affair of *Glenco*; they thereupon ſummoned Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*, who was concerned in that Buſineſs, to appear before them upon pain of being declared a Fugitive and a Rebel; but what became of him and this Affair afterwards, I cannot account for.

In the mean time his Majeſty having diſpatched his Affairs abroad, and landed happily at *Yarmouth* upon the 19th of *October*, the Parliament was appointed to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 4th of *November*, to whom his Majeſty was pleaſed to deliver himſelf in the following Speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

K's Speech in Parliament. " I am very glad to meet you again in Parliament, " where I have an Opportunity of Thanking you for " the great Supplies you have given Me for the Proſecution of this War: And I hope by your Advice " and Aſſiſtance, which has never failed Me, to take " ſuch meaſures as may be moſt proper for Supporting Our Common Intereſt againſt the exceſſive " Power of *France*.

" We have great reaſon to rejoice in the happy " Victory, which, by the Bleſſing of God, We obtained at Sea: And I wiſh I could tell you that " the Succeſs at Land had been anſwerable to it; I " am ſure My own Subjects had ſo remarkable a Part " in both, that their Bravery and Courage muſt ever " be remembred to their Honour.

" The *French* are repairing their Loſſes at Sea with " great Diligence, and do deſign to augment the " Land-Forces conſiderably againſt the next Campaign; which makes it abſolutely neceſſary for Our " Safety, that at leaſt as great a Force be maintained " at Sea and Land, as we had the laſt Year; And

" there-

" therefore I muſt aſk of you, Gentlemen of the A.D. 1692.
" Houſe of Commons, a Supply ſuitable to ſo great
" an Occaſion.

" I am very ſenſible how heavy this Charge is upon my People; and it extreamly afflicts Me, that " 'tis not poſſible to be avoided without expoſing " Ourſelves to inevitable Ruin and Deſtruction: The " Inconvenience of ſending out of the Kingdom great " Sums of Money for the Payment of the Troops a- " broad, is indeed very conſiderable; and I ſo much " wiſh it could be remedied, that if you can ſug- " geſt to Me any Methods for the Support of them, " which may leſſen this Inconvenience, I ſhall be ready to receive them with all the Satisfaction imagi- " nable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" None can deſire more than I do, that a Deſcent " ſhould be made into *France*; and therefore notwith- " ſtanding the Diſappointment of that Deſign this laſt " Summer, I intend to attempt it the next Year with " a much more conſiderable Force; And ſo ſoon as " I ſhall be enabled, all poſſible Care and Applica- " tion ſhall be uſed towards it.

" And upon this Occaſion I cannot omit taking no- " tice of that ſignal Deliverance, which by the good " Providence of God, We receiv'd the laſt Spring, to " the Diſappointment and Confuſion of Our Enemies " Deſigns and Expectations: This has ſufficiently " ſhewn Us how much We are expoſed to Attempts " from *France*, while that King is in a Condition to " make them: Let us therefore improve the Advan- " tage, We have at this time, of being joyned with " moſt of the Princes and States of *Europe*, againſt ſo " dangerous an Enemy; In this ſurely all Men will " agree, who have any Love for their Country, or " any Zeal for Our Religion: I cannot therefore " doubt but you will continue to ſupport Me in this " Work againſt the declar'd Enemy of this Nation; " and that you will give as ſpeedy Diſpatch to the " Affairs before you, as the Nature and Importance " of them will admit, that Our Preparations may be

" timely

A. Reg. 4. "timely and effectual for the Preſervation of all that "is dear and valuable to Us.

"I am ſure I can have no Intereſt but what is yours; "We have the ſame Religion to defend, and you can- "not be more concern'd for the Preſervation of your "Liberties and Properties, than I am that you ſhould "always remain in the full Poſſeſſion and Enjoyment "of them; for I have no Aim but to make you a hap- "py People.

"Hitherto I have never ſpared to expoſe my own "Perſon for the Good and Welfare of this Nation; "and I am ſo ſenſible of your good Affections to Me, "that I ſhall continue to do ſo with great Cheerful- "neſs upon all Occaſions, wherein I may contribute "to the Honour and Advantage of *England*.

This Judicious Speech having produced hearty Addreſſes that received kind Anſwers, the Commons, beſides the Supplies, took into Conſideration the Naval Affairs of the laſt Summer; and having returned the Thanks of the Houſe to Admiral *Ruſſel* for his Services, but at the ſame time ſuſpecting others had not done their Duty, Sir *John Aſhby* was called before them; who ſo well anſwered all the Queſtions put to him, that the Speaker, by the Directions of the Houſe, acquainted him, "That the Houſe took no- "tice of his ingenuous Behaviour at the Bar, and that "he had given an Account to the Satisfaction of the "Houſe, and was diſmiſt from farther Attendance." The next thing the Houſe took into Conſideration, was, why a Deſcent had not been made in *France*? Admiral *Ruſſel* was queſtion'd about it; but he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, twenty Days had paſſed between his firſt Letter to the Earl of *Nottingham*, after the Fight, and his Lordſhip's Anſwer: And on the other hand, the Earl made it appear, that he had acted according to the Orders he had received, which was all he could do as Secretary of State. While theſe things were in Agitation, the Lords at a Conference communicated to the Commons ſome Papers which their Lordſhips had received from the King, relating to thoſe Affairs: Which Papers being read by the Commons,

mons, it was reſolved, "That Admiral *Ruſſel*, in his "Command of the Fleet, during the laſt Summer's "Expedition, had behaved himſelf with Fidelity, "Courage and Conduct." Thus you ſee the brave Admiral had the Acknowledgment of his Services twice by the Houſe of Commons in one Seſſions; and yet that he ſhould be put out of his Command ſoon after, is a Paradox I cannot unriddle: And the ill Succeſs of our Naval Affairs in the other hands that were employed in his ſtead, were no Proof of the Wiſdom and Steadineſs of the Councils that then prevailed. They had alſo the *Eaſt-India* Company's Buſineſs before them; and a Bill being brought into the Houſe for Free and Impartial Proceedings in Parliament, the ſame was paſt and ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence; but ſeveral Perſons in Employments, both Military and Civil, being incapacitated to ſit in the Houſe by this Bill, it was much oppoſed by the Court Lords, though others ſpoke vehemently againſt it, and particularly the Earl of *Mulgrave*, who perhaps foreſeeing the Fate of the Bill, concluded his Speech thus; A.D. 1692. *Commons Thanks to Adm. Ruſſel.*

"*My Lords*,

"That whatever Succeſs the Bill might have, there "muſt needs come ſome good Effect of it; for if it "paſſed, it would give us Security; and if it was "obſtructed, it would give us Warning.

Without looking back any further than the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, the Diſcontinuance of Parliaments for twelve Years together, was the Occaſion of the Multiplication of ſo many Grievances that almoſt neceſſarily introduced a Civil War, which brought on the Murder of the King, the Extirpation of the Monarchy, and the Introduction of Tyranny, Anarchy, and perpetual Changes: In that of his Son *Charles* II, the frequent and long Prorogations, and the Non-Entity of a Parliament for the four laſt Years of his Reign occaſioned many Uneaſineſſes, Fears, Jealouſies and Dangers, that are ſtill freſh in the Memories of many living: In King *James* the Second's Reign, there was but one Parliament in all, and they made but one Seſſion, and that not a long one; which had like *Remarks upon the Rejection of it.*

A. Reg. 4. like to have terminated in our utter Ruin by the Introduction of Popery and Arbitrary Power: Is it not a Wonder then, that either the King himſelf, or any about him, ſhould be againſt the frequent and fixed Meeting of a Parliament once in three Years to make a Seſſion? The only Reaſon then given was, that he had no mind to part with that Parliament as long as the War laſted; which yet did not prove true in the Event.

The Courtiers being too numerous, the other Party took an occaſion from an Objection they made, to wit, That that might by its Conſequence prolong *A.D.* 1693. that Parliament, which they allow'd would be a very great Grievance, to bring in and paſs another Bill, for the frequent Calling and Meeting of Parliaments, which they ſent down to the Commons on the 21ſt of *January* for their Concurrence; but tho' the Lords had agreed to the Amendments made to it by the Commons, the King refuſed his Aſſent to it.

Bill for frequent Parliaments.

Acts paſſed. The Commons nevertheleſs proceeding on the Supplies, the King on the 29th of *January* gave his Royal Aſſent to, 1. An Act for granting an Aid of four Shillings in the Pound for one Year, for carrying on a vigorous War againſt *France*. 2. An Act, that the Inhabitants of the Province of *York* may diſpoſe of their perſonal Eſtates by their Wills, notwithſtanding the Cuſtom of that Province: And to 11 private Bills. About the ſame time a Complaint being made of a Pamphlet called, *King* William *and Queen* Mary *Conquerors*, the ſame was cenſured, as containing Aſſertions of dangerous Conſequence to their Majeſties, to the Liberties of the Subject, and the Peace of the Kingdom, ordered to be burnt, and the King deſired to remove Mr. *Bohun* from being Licenſer; though there was nothing in the Pamphlet but the Title that could ſtrictly give any Offence. The Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s Paſtoral Letter being alſo examined into at this time, the ſame Cenſure was paſſed upon it. On the 24th the Lords came to a like Reſolution, that the Aſſertion of King *William* and Queen *Mary* being King and Queen by Conqueſt, was highly injurious to their Majeſties, and inconſiſtent with the Principles on which the Government

Books cenſured about the Notion of Conqueſt.

Government was founded, and tending to the Subverſion of the Rights of the People: This Vote being communicated to the Commons, they unanimouſly concurred with their Lordſhips, with the remarkable Addition of theſe Words, *viz. Injurious to their Majeſties rightful Title to the Crown.* A.D. 1693.

On the 26th the Royal Aſſent was given to, 1. An Act for granting certain Rates and Duties of Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for ſecuring certain Recompences and Advantages therein mention'd, to ſuch Perſons as ſhall voluntarily advance ten hundred thouſand Pounds towards carrying on the War againſt *France*. 2. An Act for taking ſpecial Bail in the Country, upon Actions and Suits depending in the Courts of *King's-Bench* and *Common-Pleas*, and *Exchequer at Weſtminſter*; and to one private Act. *More Acts paſſed.*

There were alſo ſome Grievances laid before the King about Preſſing of Soldiers under the Notion of Seamen, and carrying them over to *Holland*; his Anſwer was, "That he much reſented his Subjects "ſhould meet with ſuch hard Uſage, and that he "would take all poſſible Care for the future to puniſh the Authors of it: That in the firſt place "he had called before him the Officers of the Army, and given them a ſtrict Charge they ſhould "receive no Men that were impreſſed: And that "he had given Orders to the Admiralty to examine "the Preſs-Maſters that had committed thoſe Abuſes: "And that there ſhould be ſuch exemplary Puniſhments inflicted on them, that others ſhould be "deterred from doing the like." *Grievances about Preſſing.*

The Commons, beſides theſe Grievances, more particularly finding Matters were not ſo well managed in *Ireland*, lately reduced under the *Engliſh* Obedience, as they ought, on the fourth of *March* addreſs'd the King, laying before him 'the great 'Abuſes and Miſmanagements of the Affairs of that 'Kingdom. By expoſing his Proteſtant Subjects to 'the Miſery of free Quarter, and the Licentiouſneſs 'of the Soldiers, to the great Oppreſſion of the 'People, which they conceived had been occaſioned chiefly by the want of that Pay which they 'hoped they had fully provided for. By recruiting *Commons Addreſs to the King about Ireland.*

'his

A. Reg. 4. ‘ his Troops with *Iriſh* Papiſts, and ſuch Perſons, ‘ who were in open Rebellion againſt him, to the ‘ great endangering and diſcouraging of his good and ‘ loyal Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom. By ‘ granting Protections to *Iriſh* Papiſts, whereby Pro- ‘ teſtants were hindred from their legal Remedies, ‘ and the Courſe of Law ſtopt. By reverſing Out- ‘ lawries for High-Treaſon againſt ſeveral Rebels ‘ (not within the Articles of *Limerick*) to the great ‘ Diſcontent of his Proteſtant Subjects. By letting ‘ the Forfeited Eſtates at under Rates, to the Pre- ‘ judice of his Revenue. By the great Embezzle- ‘ ment of his Stores in the Towns and Garriſons left ‘ by the late King *James*. And by the great Em- ‘ bezzlement which had been made in the Forfeited ‘ Eſtates and Goods, which might have been em- ‘ ployed for the Safety and better Preſervation of ‘ his Kingdom.

‘ They craved leave alſo to repreſent to him, that ‘ the Addition to the Articles of *Limerick*, after the ‘ ſame were finally agreed to and ſigned, and the ‘ Town thereupon ſurrendred, had been a very great ‘ Encouragement to the *Iriſh* Papiſts, and a Weakning ‘ to the *Engliſh* Intereſt: And having thus, out of their ‘ affectionate Zeal to his Service, with all humble Sub- ‘ miſſion to his great Wiſdom, laid before him theſe ‘ Abuſes and Miſmanagements in *Ireland*, they moſt ‘ humbly beſeech'd him for Redreſs thereof: That ‘ the Soldiers might be paid their Arrears, and the ‘ Country what was due to them for Quarters; and ‘ that no *Iriſh* Papiſts might ſerve in his Army there.

‘ And foraſmuch as the Reducing of *Ireland* had ‘ been of great Expence to this Kingdom, they alſo ‘ humbly beſeech'd his Majeſty, that (according to ‘ the Aſſurance he had been pleaſed to give them) ‘ no Grant might be made of the Forfeited Eſtates ‘ in *Ireland*, till there were an Opportunity of ſettling ‘ that Matter in Parliament in ſuch manner as ſhould ‘ be thought moſt expedient.

‘ That a true Account of the Eſcheats and Forfei- ‘ ted Eſtates both Real and Perſonal, and Stores left ‘ by the late King *James*, might be laid before his ‘ Commons in Parliament, to the end that the ſaid

‘ Eſcheats,

'Eſcheats, Forfeitures and Stores, and the Embezzle- A.D.1693.
'ments thereof, might be enquired into. That no
'Outlawries of any Rebels in *Ireland* might be re-
'verſed, or Pardons granted to them, but by the Ad-
'vice of his Parliament, and that no Protection might
'be granted to any *Iriſh* Papiſts to ſtop the Courſe of
'Juſtice.

'And as to the Additional Article which open'd
'ſo wide a Paſſage to the *Iriſh* Papiſts to come and
'repoſſeſs themſelves of the Eſtates which they had
'forfeited by their Rebellion; They moſt humbly
'beſeech'd his Majeſty, that the Articles of *Limerick*,
'with the ſaid Addition, might be laid before them,
'that the Manner of obtaining the ſame might be en-
'quired into, to the end it might appear by what
'means the ſaid Articles were ſo engaged, and to
'what Value the Eſtates thereby obtained did amount
'to.

This Addreſs having been preſented to his Majeſty, his Anſwer was, 'He ſhould always have great Con- *King's Anſwer.*
'ſideration of what came from the Houſe of Com-
'mons, and ſo ſhould take great Care, that what was
'amiſs ſhould be remedied.

The Houſe ſeeming ſatisfied with this Anſwer, proceeded vigorouſly in the remaining part of the Supplies; and by the 14th of *March*, his Majeſty going into the Houſe, ſigned, amongſt others, two Money *Acts paſs'd.* Bills more, *viz. An Act for granting to their Majeſties, certain Additional Impoſitions upon ſeveral Goods and Merchandizes, for proſecuting the War againſt* France; *And an Act for a Review of the Quarterly Poll granted to their Majeſties the laſt Seſſions of Parliament:* After which his Majeſty told them, 'That the large Supplies they *King's Speech in Parliament.*
'had given him this Seſſion, were ſo great Teſtimo-
'nies of their good Affections, that he took that Oc-
'caſion with great Willingneſs, to return his hearty
'Thanks to them: He aſſured them it ſhould be his
'Care to ſee that that Money might be effectually
'applied to ſuch Services as might be moſt for the
'Honour and Intereſt of *England.*

'Then

A. Reg. 4. 'Then recommending to their Care, the Peace and 'Quiet of the ſeveral Counties to which they were 'now returning; He doubted not but by their Care, 'the Supply which they had ſo freely given, would 'not only be effectually levyed, but with the greateſt 'Equality too, and the leaſt Uneaſineſs to the Peo-'ple that was poſſible.

'That the Poſture of Affairs neceſſarily required 'his Preſence abroad; but he ſhould take care to 'leave ſuch a Number of Troops here, as might be 'ſufficient for the Security of the Kingdom, againſt 'any Attempts of our Enemies. That he ſhould con-'tinue to expoſe his own Perſon upon all Occaſions, 'for the Good and Advantage of theſe Kingdoms; 'and aſſured them, that his hearty and ſincere Endea-'vours ſhould never be wanting in any other kind, to 'make it a great and flouriſhing Nation.'

This Speech being ended, the Parliament was pro-rogued to the 2d of *May*.

Honours and Preferments. Some time before this, Sir *John Trevor* Speaker, and Firſt Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, was made Maſ-ter of the *Rolls* in the Room of *Henry Powle* Eſq; de-ceaſed. In *April* Sir *Henry Capel* was made Baron of *Tewkſbury* in the County of *Gloceſter*; before the end of the ſame Month there was a new Call of Serjeants at Law: Before which, *Henry Killigrew* Eſq; Sir *Ralph Delaval*, and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, were appointed to command the Fleet for the Summer's Expedition; and the King before his Departure, committed the Cuſto-dy of the Great Seal (hitherto in Commiſſioners hands) to Sir *John Sommers* Knight, their Majeſties Attorney General, who was ſworn Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and one of their Majeſties Privy Council, his Place being ſupplied by *Edward Ward* Eſq; and the ſame Day likewiſe he made Sir *John Trenchard* Knight, one of his Principal Secretaries of State, and a Privy Councellor: There was a new Com-miſſion in like manner ordered to paſs under the Great Seal, to conſtitute Sir *John Lowther* of *White-Hall* Baronet, *Henry Prieſtman* Eſq; *Anthony* Lord Viſcount *Faulkland*, *Robert Auſtin* Eſq; Sir *Robert Rich* Baronet,

Henry

Henry Killigrew Esq; and Sir *Ralph Delaval* Knight, to be Commissioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*. A.D. 1693.

This done, his Majesty, on the 20th of *March*, departed from *Kensington* for *Harwich*, and so for *Holland*, where he did not arrive, by reason of contrary Winds, till the beginning of *April*. *King goes for Holland.*

The Fleet of *England* and *Holland* was numerous, and ready pretty early this Year, as was also a great Fleet of Merchant-men, near Four hundred Sail in all of *English*, *Dutch*, *Hamburghers*, &c. prepared to sail for the *Streights* under the Convoy of Sir *George Rook*, with a strong Squadron of Men of War, with whom the Grand Fleet was to keep Company till they came to a certain Latitude, or as some of the Ministers of State gave out afterwards, till they had true Information where the *French* Fleet was; which made their Orders discretionary, and Sir *George*, who seem'd to have some Foresight of the Danger, expreſt himself very loth to part with them: However he sail'd on, and leaving by the way the Vessels bound for *Bilbao*, *Lisbon*, St. *Tubes*, and other Ports, under the Convoy of two Men of War, which reduc'd Sir *George*'s Squadron to One and twenty Ships only: He soon discover'd the *French* Fleet about twenty Leagues short of Cape St. *Vincent*, which made him in a Council of War, resolve, that the Wind being fresh Westerly, and so giving them a fair Opportunity to hasten their Passage to *Cadiz*, the Merchant-Ships should make the best of their way thither; that upon the discovering of the Enemies Fleet, he brought too, and stood off with an easy Sail, to give what time he could to the heavy Sailors to work away to the Windward, and sent away the *Sheernesse* to order the small Ships that were under the Shore, to endeavour to get along there in the Night into *Faro*, *St. Lucar*, or *Cadiz*; that about Six in the Evening of the same Day, the *French* Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Blue came up with the Leeward and Sternmost of the Fleet, which were two or three *Dutch* Men of War, who fought first eleven, then seven *French* Men of War, but were forced at last to yield after the most obstinate Resistance that ever was known. *Smyrna Fleet attack'd by the French.*

A. Reg. 4. This made the *Dutch* Merchant-men that were there, make for the Shore, and the Enemy after them, which gave a fair Opportunity to the Ships to Windward, and ahead, to make ſail off; and this tacking after the *Dutch*, ſaved moſt of the Fleet: However, the Loſs was very conſiderable, for the Confederates themſelves allowed of Thirty two Merchant-men being taken, and Twenty ſeven burnt; ſome of the former indeed belonged to Neutral Princes; and the greateſt Loſs that befel the *Engliſh*, was the ſinking of four of the greateſt Merchant-men in the Bay of *Gibraltar*, where it was hoped they were ſafe; whereas the *Danes*, *Dutch*, &c. that put in there for ſhelter, came off unhurt. Sir *George*, upon this ſad Diſaſter, with the Men of War and ſome Merchant-men, made the beſt of his way for *Ireland*, where in time he ſafely arrived, to the great Satisfaction of the Nation.

Weſt-India Expedition. Somewhat to alleviate our great Loſs and Diſappointment, we received News about this time of ſome petty Succeſs a Squadron of Ships had in the *Weſt-Indies* under Sir *Francis Wheeler*, where ſome regular Troops he had on board landed on the Iſland of *Martinico* belonging to the *French*, and deſtroyed ſeveral Houſes and Plantations there; from whence he ſail'd to the Bay of Port *St. Pierre*, and ſo to *Dominica* and *St. Chriſtopher*; of which Expedition, conſidering the great Loſs we ſuſtained of Men, who were moſtly ſwept away with the Diſtempers of thoſe Countries, we had but very little room in the main to boaſt.

We now return to his Majeſty in the *Netherlands*, where we find the *French* prodigiouſly ſtrong this Year on that ſide, and by Computation of their Forces with thoſe of the Confederates, they exceeded them almoſt by one half in the beginning of the Campaign; but the King's Dexterity and Diligence in poſſeſſing himſelf of the Camp at *Park*, entirely broke the *French* King's Deſign upon *Brabant*, which made the latter ſend a ſtrong Detachment under the Command of the *Dauphin* and Mareſchal *de Boufflers* into *Germany*, and return himſelf to *Verſailles*; without making any manner of Attempt, which occaſioned various Cenſures and Speculations both in *France* and other Countries: The

French

French were all this while encamped at *Meldorf*, and it seemed to be a Trial of Skill between both the Armies who ſhould hold their Poſts longeſt; but at length the *French* were neceſſitated to quit theirs firſt, and march to *Heiliſſen* in their way towards the *Meuſe*; which made King *William* take the Opportunity of ſending a ſtrong Detachment under the Command of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to force the *French* Lines in *Flanders*: Now while the Duke was putting this in Execution with very good Succeſs, and that Count *Tilly*, who commanded the Troops of *Liege*, directed his March with a Reinforcement to join King *William*; the Duke of *Luxemberg* having timely notice of it, immediately poſted away ſome Troops in order to prevent that Conjunction; and they uſed ſo much Expedition, that they in a manner ſurprized the Count in the hollow Ways through which he was marching, and very briskly charged ſuch of his Troops as they could come at: On the other hand, the Count endeavouring to make a Virtue of Neceſſity, commanded his Men not to engage, but to retreat with all the Celerity they could, and they were purſued by the *French* almoſt as far as *Maeſtricht*. *A.D.1693.*

However, this Succeſs encouraged Monſieur *Luxemburg* to lay Siege to *Huy*, which was inveſted on the 9th of *July*, and this made the King of *England* move nearer the Country of *Liege*; but when he came to *Tongres*, he was ſurprized to hear the Caſtle of *Huy* was ſurrendred, which made him, upon a farther Information that *Luxemburg* was drawn nearer to *Liege*, ſend 10 Battalions thither, who with very great difficulty got into the Place: *Luxemburg* thereupon made as if he deſigned to attack it, but in reality concluded to attack the Confederate Army now encamped under the King of *England* at *Neerheſpen*, ſo much diminiſhed by the ſeveral Detachments he had ſent to cover the Places that ſeemed moſt in danger, that it was generally computed the *French* at the time of the Engagement exceeded the other by Five and thirty thouſand Men at leaſt. The King, before he went further off from the *Meuſe*, ſent out Parties of Horſe to get Intelligence of the *French*'s Motion; one of which *French take Huy.*

A. Reg. 4. gave him an Account, they could not go beyond *Waren*, becauſe they met there with a great Party of the Enemies Horſe, which was indeed the Left-Wing of their Army; who ſoon drew up by the Confederates Camp: The King ordered Brigadier *Ramſey* with his Brigade of five Battalions, to the Right of all before the Right-Wing of Horſe, to guard ſome Hedges and hollow Ways, which there covered the Right, juſt upon the Right of the Village of *Laer*: The *Brandenburg* Battalions were poſted at this Village, and to the Left thereof, and more to the Left the *Hanover* Foot; who were to defend the Village of *Nerwinden*, that covered part of the Confederates Camp, between the Right-Wing of Horſe, and their main Body: Theſe were afterwards reinforced by the firſt Battalion of the firſt Regiment of *Engliſh* Guards, and the ſecond Battalion of *Scotch* Guards: Upon the Left at *Neer-landen*, his Majeſty ordered the firſt Battalion of the Royal Regiment, *Churchil's*, *Selwin's* and *Trelawny's*, Prince *Frederick's* Battalion of *Danes*, and *Fagel's*, to poſſeſs the Village that covered the Left of their Body of Foot; which upon the approach of the *French* Army, wheeled from the Left to the Right, to bring up the Left to the Brook of *Beck*, where it was covered by this Village of *Neer-landen*: The Ground being open between *Neer-winden* and *Neer-landen*, his Majeſty ordered a Retrenchment to be made in the Night from the one to the other, to cover the Foot; it was indeed but a ſlight Breaſt-work.

Now the Remainder of the Body of the Infantry was drawn up into one Line within the Intrenchment, and the Dragoons upon the Left were order'd to the Village of *Dormall*, to guard that Paſs upon the Brook of *Beck*, from whence the Left-Wing of the Cavalry extended to *Neer-landen*, where it was cover'd by that Brook, and from thence turned off to the Right, behind the Body of Foot. The King, who had been on Horſeback till late in the Evening, not only to give all the neceſſary Orders, but to ſee the Execution of them, commanded his Coach at laſt to be brought to the Rear of *Stanley's* Regiment, where he repoſed himſelf about two Hours, and early in the Morning

ſent

ſent for Dr. *Menard* into his Coach, to pray with him ſuitable to the Occaſion; a very rare Example in a Prince, and worthy the Imitation of all Perſons. It was the 19th Day of *July* that this mighty Battle was fought, which will be talked of in all future Generations, and of which take the following Particulars: A.D. 1693.

The *French* by Sun-riſing were drawn up within Cannon-ſhot of the Confederates Camp, who play'd upon them with their Cannon very ſucceſsfully, and the *French* received this firing with admirable Conſtancy, till about Six they made a Motion to come nearer the Retrenchments, and about Eight *Luxemburg* commanded a ſtrong Body to attack the Village of *Laer* or *Neer-winden*; which they performed with great Fury and various Succeſs, having gain'd and loſt thoſe Poſts once and again; but at laſt the Confederates, though inferiour in number, remained Maſters of them; and here it was the Duke of *Berwick* was taken Priſoner: But this no way diſcouraged them from attacking their Left at *Neer-landen*; which Poſt, tho' it was not weak in itſelf, yet was attacked with great diſproportion of Forces, and the Fire was very ſmart on both ſides: The *French* gained and loſt the Advantage ſeveral times, but were at laſt, after two Hours hot Diſpute, entirely beaten off: The King's great Example and Royal Preſence, as being there in Perſon, very much heartned the Confederates to ſtand ſtoutly to it. *Luxemburg* having ſtill ſeveral Brigades of freſh Men, reſolved a ſecond time to gain the Village of *Neer-winden*, and attack'd it with great Fury. The Diſpute laſted a long time, his Majeſty performing the Office of a private Soldier as well as a grand Captain at the ſame time; and the Elector of *Bavaria* did the ſame, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf upon this Occaſion by ſeveral Repulſes he gave the Enemy. In ſhort, nothing but Numbers prevail'd over the Confederates, who, together with the Field of Battle, whereon the King ſtood rallying ſome Horſe, till he was almoſt ſurrounded, loſt moſt of their Cannon, and retreated to *Lewe* unpurſued by the *French*, who loſt vaſt Numbers of Men in this memorable Action: The *The Battle of* Landen, *or* Neer-winden

A. Reg. 4. King in the Day of Battle ſhew'd himſelf, as he had always done, a brave and gallant Man; and it was only the wonderful Providence of God that preſerved One who expoſed himſelf ſo much as he did, and narrowly eſcaped three Muſket-ſhot, one through the Peruke, which made him deaf for awhile; another through the Sleeve of his Coat, which did no harm; and the third carried off the Knot of his Scarf, and left a ſmall Contuſion on his Side: And in ſhort, his Majeſty this Day gained ſo far the Reſpect and Admiration of his Enemies, that it was a common Saying amongſt them, "That they wanted but ſuch a King to make them "Maſters of Chriſtendom:" And the brave Prince of *Conti*, in a Letter of his intercepted to his Princeſs, was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf thus: "That he ſaw the "King every where preſent where there was any "Action, expoſing his Perſon to the greateſt Dan-"gers; and that it was pity ſo much Valour could "not have the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Crown he "wore.

Computation of the Loſs at Landen. The Confederates thought their Loſs at firſt much greater than afterwards, when upon a Review it did appear, they did not miſs above Five or ſix thouſand, killed, wounded, and taken Priſoners; whereas the *French* would have them amount to no leſs than Twenty thouſand, and theirs Two thouſand ſlain; but the Confederates poſitively affirmed, the Enemy had above that number of Officers killed and wounded; and if the Allies did ſomewhat exaggerate the Loſs of the *French* in computing it at Eighteen thouſand Men, yet certainly *Luxemburg*'s not purſuing them at all upon the Retreat, and his continuing for 15 Days together at *Waren*, without making the leaſt Attempt, gave a conſiderable Reputation to what they ſaid; but for their Cannon and Mortars, the Confederates muſt be content to own, they loſt the greateſt part of them.

However, the *French*, to give ſome Reputation to their Aſſertions, at laſt reſolve to beſiege *Charleroy*, which they inveſted on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, after they had been reinforced with the Troops from the Sea-Coaſt, and a great Detachment under *Boufflers* from the *Rhine*; They attacked the Place with very great Fury, which

which was as well defended by the Beſieged; who A.D. 1693.
though they had little or no Proſpect of Relief, yet they gallantly held it out till the 1ſt of *October*, and then made an honourable Capitulation, and indeed this was the only Place that made a brave Defence in *Flanders* ſince the War, and afforded no Suſpicion of Treachery in the Surrendry of it.

His Majeſty's Arms, more through the vaſt Numbers of the Enemy than otherwiſe, having not been ſo ſucceſsful as could have been deſired in the *Netherlands*, they fared as badly in *Piedmont*, where the Troops in his Pay under the Command of the brave D. of *Schomberg*, in Conjunction with the *Germans*, *Spaniards*, and *Savoyards*, were defeated by *Catinat* in the Battle of *Marſaglia*, and that brave Duke mortally wounded; wherefore, in conſideration hereof, he took his Meaſures with the States before his Return into *England*, that they ſhould conſiderably augment both their Army and Navy, for which his Majeſty return'd them Thanks in their Aſſembly before his Departure; and then going on Board, on the 29th of *October* happily landed at *Harwich*; from whence he was no ſooner arriv'd at *London*, but he more particularly ſhewed his Diſlike of the Sea Proceedings, and before the Meeting of the Parliament, declared in Council the Right Honourable *Edward Ruſſel* Eſq; to be Admiral of the Fleet; and on the 7th of *November*, which was the Day of the Parliament's meeting, delivered himſelf to them to this effect;

" That he was always glad to meet them here, and could heartily wiſh that their Satisfaction were not leſſened by reflecting upon the Diſadvantage received this Year at Land, and the Miſcarriages in our Affairs at Sea: That he thought it was evident, the former was only occaſioned by the great Numbers of our Enemies, which exceeded ours in all Places: For what related to the latter, which had brought ſo great a Diſgrace upon the Nation, he had reſented it extremely; and as he would take care that thoſe who had not done their Duty ſhould be puniſhed, ſo he was reſolved to uſe his Endeavours, that our *King's Speech in Parliament.*

A. Reg. 4. " Power at Sea might be rightly managed for the fu-
" ture; and it well deſerved Conſideration, whether
" they were not defective both in the Number of their
" Shipping, and in proper Ports to the Weſtward for
" the better annoying our Enemies, and protecting
" our Trade, which was ſo eſſential to the Welfare
" of this Kingdom. That he was very ſenſible of the
" good Affection wherewith they had always aſſiſted
" him, to ſupport the Charges of the War, which had
" been very great; and yet he was perſwaded, that
" the Experience of that Summer was ſufficient to
" convince them all, that to arrive at a good end of
" it, there would be a Neceſſity of encreaſing our
" Forces both by Sea and Land. Our Allies having
" reſolved to add to theirs, and he could not doubt
" but they would have ſuch regard to the preſent
" Exigency, as that they would give him a ſuitable
" Supply to enable him to do the like: He therefore
" earneſtly recommended it to the Houſe of Com-
" mons, to take ſuch timely Reſolutions as that their
" Supplies might be effectual, and our Preparations
" ſo forward, as would be neceſſary both for the Se-
" curity and Honour of the Nation.

The Houſe of Commons having taken this Speech into their ſerious Conſideration, quickly came to a generous and unanimous Reſolution to ſupport their Majeſties, and likewiſe ſhewed a good Diſpoſition to comply with the King's Deſires in the Increaſe of his Forces both by Sea and Land; but at the ſame time they did not forget to make Inquiry into the Miſcarriage of the *Smyrna* Fleet, concerning which they came to this Reſolve, *That the Houſe was of Opinion, that there had been a notorious and treacherous Miſmanagement in that Affair.* But ſuch was the Corruption of the Times, and ſo ſtrange a Fatality upon this Reign, that though his Majeſty, contrary to the Rules of ſome of his Predeceſſors, gave all the way imaginable, and even earneſtly deſired to have the Bottom of the Sore raked into, yet they could make nothing of it, and ſo the Enquiry ended; however, Captain *Bembo*'s Bombing and Burning Part of St. *Malo* about this time,

St. Malo bombarded.

gave

gave ſome ſort of Contentment to Mens Minds, tho' it was but an ill Reparation of our Loſs. With this Action we ſhall cloſe up the fourth Year of his Majeſty's Reign; on the laſt Day of which the brave Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* landed at *Graveſend*, from whence he went directly for *Whitehall*, and ſo to *Kenſington* to wait upon His Majeſty, who received him with great Civility and Reſpect, and with whom he was to concert Meaſures for the enſuing Campaign. *A.D.1693.*

The Bill about the frequent Elections of Parliament, after the third Reading, having been rejected by the Commons, another Bill, on the 28th of *November*, to the ſame purpoſe, was ſent down to them by the Lords; which being read the third time was likewiſe rejected. *A.D.1694.*

His Majeſty, while the Parliament was deliberating upon the Methods of raiſing the neceſſary Supplies for the Army, and ſuch an additional Force as was to be further levied, was pleaſed to entertain this Prince with the Diverſions of Hunting, Hawking, and Shooting flying, wherein he excelled, and other the like innocent Recreations; to ſay nothing of the more momentous Affairs of the War, agitated between them, and the Bill of four Shillings in the Pound for carrying on a vigorous War againſt *France*, being ready, he gave the Royal Aſſent to it on the 25th of *January*. But though the Parliament could not laſt Year get the Royal Aſſent to the Bill touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament, they were reſolved to bring in a new one this Seſſions, which being paſt by both Houſes, his Majeſty thought fit again to refuſe his Aſſent to it; which the Commons took ſo ill, that the next Day, having conſidered the State of the Nation, it was reſolved, *Whoever had adviſed the King not to give the Royal Aſſent to that Act, was an Enemy to their Majeſties and the Kingdom.* *Acts paſſed.*

Then a Committee was alſo appointed to draw up a Repreſentation, wherein the Commons laid it before him, 'That the Uſage in Parliament in all 'Times had been, that what Bills had been agreed 'by both Houſes for the Redreſs of Grievances, or 'rather publick Good, had, when tendred to the 'Throne *Repreſentation of the Commons to his Majeſty, about the Bill of impartial Proceedings in Parliament.*

A. Reg. 5. Throne, obtain'd the Royal Aſſent: And that there were very few Inſtances in former Reigns where ſuch Aſſent, in ſuch Caſes, had not been given, and thoſe attended with great Inconveniences to the Crown of *England*; eſpecially where the ſame had been withheld by Inſinuations of particular Perſons, without the Advice of the Privy-Council, thereby creating great Diſſatisfaction and Jealouſies in the Minds of the People. That the Commons therefore, out of their ſincere Deſire of the Welfare of His Majeſty and his Government, could not without Grief of Heart reflect, that ſince His Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown, ſeveral Publick Bills made by Advice of both Houſes of Parliament, had not obtain'd the Royal Aſſent, and in particular one Bill Entituled, *An Act touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament*; which was to Redreſs a Grievance, and take off a Scandal relating to the Proceedings of the Commons in Parliament, after they had freely voted great Supplies for the Publick Occaſions; which they could impute to no other Cauſe than the Inſinuations of particular Perſons, who took upon them, for their own particular Ends, to adviſe his Majeſty contrary to the Advice of Parliament; and therefore could not but look on ſuch as Enemies to his Majeſty and his Kingdoms. Upon which Conſiderations they humbly pray'd, that for the future His Majeſty would be pleaſed to hearken to the Advice of his Parliament, and not to the ſecret Advices of particular Perſons, who might have private Intereſts of their own, ſeparate from the true Intereſt of His Majeſty and his People. To this Repreſentation the King anſwer'd, *That he was very ſenſible of the good Affections the Commons had expreſſed towards him upon many Occaſions, and of the Zeal they had ſhewn for the Common Intereſt. That no Prince ever had a higher Eſteem for the Conſtitution of the* Engliſh *Government than himſelf, and that he ſhould ever have a great Regard to the Advice of Parliaments. That he was perſuaded that nothing could ſo much conduce to the Happineſs and Welfare of this Kingdom, as an entire Confidence between King and People; and that he ſhould look upon ſuch Perſons,*

King's Anſwer.

to

to be his Enemies, who ſhould adviſe any thing that leſſen'd it. A.D. 1694.

Three Days after the Commons took his Majeſty's Anſwer into Conſideration, and the Queſtion being propounded, that an humble Application be made to His Majeſty for a farther Anſwer, it paſſed in the Negative. This Heat allay'd by Degrees, but before the Signing of any more Acts, came the unfortunate News of our Loſs in the *Mediterranean*; Sir *Francis Wheeler*, being conſtituted Admiral of a Squadron of Men of War deſigned for the *Streights*, ſailed with a Fleet of Merchant Ships under his Convoy on the 17th of *February* from *Gibraltar* to the *Streights Mouth*, with a good Wind at N. W. but on *Sunday* about ten in the Morning, there aroſe ſuch a violent Storm with Thunder and Lightning, and Rain, that hardly any Man in the Fleet had ever ſeen the like, and the ſame continued all that Day and the following Night, the Wind blowing at E. and E. N. E. ſo that upon the 19th about five in the Morning Sir *Francis Wheeler*'s own Ship the *Suſſex*, was foundred, and all her Men, except two *Moors*, were loſt; and the brave Admiral's Body was on the one and twentieth found on a Sand Bank, near *Gibraltar*, in his Shirt and Slippers. Tho' the Loſs was already too great, it had been well it had ſtop'd here: But alas! the *Cambridge*, *Lumley-Caſtle*, both of them Men of War, the *Serpent Bomb-Ketch*, and the *Mary Ketch*, together with the *Italian* Merchant, the *Aleppo Factor*, the *Great George*, and the *Berkſhire* bound for *Turkey*; the *William* for *Venice*, and the *Golden Merchant* for *Legborn*, all *Engliſh*, were driven aſhore and utterly loſt, on the Eaſt ſide of *Gibraltar*, all Ships of good Value: But Rear-Admiral *Neville*, with two *Dutch* Men of War, had the good Fortune to be blown out of the *Streights*, and put ſafe into *Cadiz*, as the reſt of the Fleet did on the 19th into *Gibraltar*, to repair the Damages they had ſuſtained in the Storm.

Sir Francis Wheeler, &c. *loſt.*

The Enemies to the Government took this Opportunity to revile it, ſaying, God was angry with us, ſince the very Elements fought againſt us; but how heavy ſoever this loſs was, it did not ſo affect the Nation, but that they went ſtill on cheerfully with

A. Reg. 5. with their Buſineſs; the finiſhing of divers new Men of War that we had upon the Stocks, was puſhed on with extraordinary Vigour and Diligence; and the Parliament loſt no time in the arduous Affairs that lay before them, beſides the new Levies ordered to be made, which were to amount to fifteen thouſand Men. They conſidered the State of the *Eaſt-India* Company: And the Commons reſolving, that all the Subjects of *England*, had an equal Right to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, unleſs prohibited by Act of Parliament; this gave occaſion to the erecting of a new *Eaſt-India* Company, more to the Diviſion of the Merchants than to the Benefit of Trade. About the ſame time they ordered a *Socinian* Pamphlet to be burnt, call'd, *A Dialogue concerning the Dieties, and a brief, but clear Confutation, of the Doctrine of the Trinity.* On the 8th of *February* the King gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. An Act to ſupply the Deficiency of the Money raiſed by a former Act, entituled, *An Act for granting to their Majeſties certain Rates and Duties of Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for ſecuring certain Recompences and Advantages in the ſaid Act mentioned, to ſuch Perſons as ſhould voluntarily advance the Sum of ten hundred thouſand Pounds, towards carrying on the War againſt France.* 2. An Act to prevent Diſputes and Controverſies concerning Royal Mines; and one private Act.

Acts paſſed.

Caſe of the Lord Falkland.

In the *interim* the Commiſſioners of Publick Accounts, having laid before the Houſe an Account of what Money had been paid for ſecret Services, and to Members of Parliament, out of the publick Revenues, it was reſolved on the 17th of *February*, that the Lord *Falkland*, a Member of that Houſe, by begging and receiving two thouſand Pounds from his Majeſty, contrary to the ordinary Method of iſſuing and beſtowing the King's Money, was guilty of a High Miſdemeanor, and Breach of Truſt; and that he ſhould be committed to the Tower, during the Pleaſure of the Houſe. His Lordſhip being ſent thither accordingly, two Days after petitioned the Houſe, ſetting forth he was highly ſenſible of their Diſpleaſure; and that a longer Continuance of his Confinement would be extremely prejudicial to him, whereupon

whereupon he was ordered to be diſcharged. Theſe following Bills being ready by the 23d of *March*, the King gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. An Act for Relief of the Orphans, and other Creditors, of the City of *London*. 2. An Act for Repeal of a Clauſe in the Statute of the fifth Year of Queen *Elizabeth* (containing divers Orders for Artificers and others) which relates to Weavers of Cloth. 3. An Act to take away the Proceſs for the *Capiatur* in the ſeveral Courts of *Weſtminſter*. 4. An Act to repeal the Statute made in the tenth Year of *Edward* III. for finding Sureties for the good Abearing of him or her that has a Pardon for Felony. 5. An Act to prevent Delays of Proceedings at the Quarter Seſſions of the Peace. 6. An Act for explaining, and for the more effectual Execution of a former Act for Relief of poor Priſoners; as alſo to divers private Acts. *A.D.* 1694.

After which his Majeſty was pleaſed to make a Speech to both Houſes, importing, 'That when he 'conſidered how far the Year was advanced, what 'Preparations our Enemies made to be early in the 'Field, and how neceſſary it was that we ſhould 'be ready to meet them both by Sea and Land, he 'moſt earneſtly recommended to them the Diſpatch 'of thoſe important Affairs, which they had under 'their Deliberation. That he was very ſenſible of 'the good Affection which they had ſhewn in this, 'as well as former Seſſions, by enabling him to 'carry on the War, for our common Safety. There 'was nothing he had ſo much at his Heart, as the 'Eaſe and Happineſs of his People; and it was 'with great Reluctance, he was forced to ask ſuch 'large Supplies: But ſince their preſent Circum'ſtances made this unavoidable, it ſhould be his En'deavour, that the Sums which were given, ſhould 'be laid out in the beſt manner, to the Uſe for which 'they were deſigned. *King's Speech in Parliament.*

He cloſed his Speech with mentioning to the Commons 'the Debt for the Tranſport Ships, which 'were uſed in the reducing of *Ireland*. That it 'grieved him exceedingly to ſee ſuch a Number of 'Perſons, who came ſo freely in for ſo good a Ser'vice, brought to the laſt Extremities for want of

'what

A. Reg. 5. 'what was due to them. That it was not poſſible 'for him to diſcharge that Debt without their Help. 'And as he doubted not but they had a juſt Com- 'miſeration of their Caſe, ſo he hoped they would 'find out ſome way for their Relief.'

Acts paſſed. The Commons being thus quickned by his Majeſty, he on the 16th paſſed, 1. An Act for raiſing Money by Poll, payable quarterly every Year. 2. An Act to puniſh Mutiny and Deſertion. 3. For the Exportation of Iron, Copper and Mandick Metal. 4. For the Importation of Salt-Petre for one Year. Some Bills now depending were left unfiniſhed; as thoſe for regulating Tryals in Caſes of High-Treaſon; the Naturalization of foreign Proteſtants; *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Forfeitures; the Regiſtring of Wills; againſt Stock-jobbing; and for encouraging Privateers. But others being ready by the 25th of *April*, theſe following publick Bills had the Royal Aſſent: 1. An Act, granting to their Majeſties ſeveral Rates and Duties upon Tonnage of Ships and Veſſels, and upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for ſecuring certain Recompences and Advantages to ſuch Perſons as ſhould voluntarily advance the Sum of fifteen hundred thouſand Pounds towards the carrying on the War againſt *France*. 2. An Act for granting to their Majeſties ſeveral Duties upon Vellum, Parchment and Paper for four Years. 3. An Act for Licenſing and Regulating Hackney and Stage-Coaches.

More Acts paſſed.

K's Speech in Parliament. The King concluded the Seſſions with his Thanks for the Supplies given him; 'That he would en- 'deavour to do his Part; and it was from the Bleſ- 'ſing of God that we muſt all expect ſuch Succeſs 'as might Anſwer our Deſires. That the Poſture 'of Affairs making it neceſſary for him to be abſent 'for ſome time out of the Kingdom, he recom- 'mended to them, That in their ſeveral Stations 'they would be careful to preſerve the publick 'Peace.'

Then the Lord Keeper, having prorogued the Parliament to the eighteenth of *September*, the King, before he went for *Holland*, was pleaſed to conſtitute *Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury* Principal Secretary of State, in

in the room of the Earl of *Nottingham*, and made him also Knight of the Garter; *John* Earl of *Mulgrave* he made Marquess of *Normanby*; *Henry Herbert*, of *Ribbesford* in the County of *Worcester*, was created a Lord by the Title of Baron *Herbert* of *Cherbury* in the County of *Salop*; he also appointed the Right Honourable *Edward Russel* Esq; Sir *John Lowther* of *Whitehaven* Baronet, *Henry Priestman* Esq; Sir *George Rook*, and Sir *John Houblon*, Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England* and *Ireland*: His Majesty was also pleased to create *Thomas* Lord Marquess of *Caermarthen*, a Duke of *England*, by the Title of Duke of *Leedes*; *William*, Earl of *Bedford*, a Marquess and Duke of this Kingdom, by the Title of Marquess of *Tavistock*, and Duke of *Bedford*; the Earl of *Devonshire*, Marquess of *Hartington* and Duke of *Devonshire*; the Earl of *Clare*, Marquess of *Clare* and Duke of *Newcastle*; and the Lord Viscount *Newport* Earl of *Bradford*. Farther, *Charles Montague* Esq; was made Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the *Exchequer*; and the Lord *Godolphin*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, *Charles Montague* and *John Smith* Esq; Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; the Marquess of *Normanby*, and the Lord *Dursley* were sworn Privy Counsellors, and the Lord Viscount *Sidney* was made Earl of *Rumney*. A.D. 1694. *King makes new Promotions.*

The Fleet, notwithstanding all the Dispatch made, could not be so early out this Year as to be able to block up that of *France* in *Brest*, or to come at them to fight them by Sea; which the *French* declined, and would sooner venture a Caper into the *Mediterranean*, rather than hazard a Battel. But to own the Truth, they had concerted such vast Designs against *Spain* this Year, both by Sea and Land, that had it not been for the Confederate Fleet's going into those Seas, nothing, morally speaking, could have prevented the *French* from making an entire Conquest of *Catalonia*, before the Army went into Winter Quarters. But before Admiral *Russel* sailed with the Fleet to *Spain*, being inform'd there was a Fleet of *French* Merchant Men in *Bertraume* Bay, he sent Captain *Pickard* and the *Roe-Buck* Fireship, either to take or destroy them; and he executed his Orders so successfully, that of fifty *Adm. Russel goes for the Streights.*

A. Reg. 5. fifty five Sail, he burnt and ſunk thirty five, beſides the Man of War that was their Convoy, which run among the Rocks, and ſoon after blew up, with her two Sloops of between ten and fifteen Guns. The Grand Fleet we ſhall now leave, making the beſt of their way for the *Mediteranean*, and here take notice of the Deſcent attempted upon *Breſt*. On the 5th of *June* the Lord *Berkley*, Admiral of the Blue, parted with Admiral *Ruſſel* with nine and twenty Sail of Men of War, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, for the Line of Battel, beſides ſmall Frigates, Fireſhips, Well-boats, Bomb-Veſſels, &c. in order to attack *Breſt*; and upon the ſeventh anchor'd between *Camaret* and *Bertraume* Bay; tho' as the main Fleet tacked from Shore to Shore (which they were neceſſitated to do, to come at the Place where they intended to anchor) they had a world of Bombs thrown at them, firſt from *Camaret* Weſtern Point, then from a high Caſtle on a tall Rock in *Bertraume* Bay; afterwards from two Forts on each ſide of the *Iſthmus*, going into the Road of *Breſt*, but without any Damage.

Deſcent in France attempted.

While the Fleet was preparing to come to an Anchor, my Lord *Cutts*, and the Marqueſs of *Caermarthen* in his own Galley, ſtood in a conſiderable way into the Bay; and when they had got a good View of it, without any Damage, returned and gave the Lord *Berkley* an Account of the Bay, and the Situation of the Caſtle, which was very advantageouſly placed to defend the Landing Places. Thereupon it was thought convenient the *Monk* of ſixty Guns, and the *Diameten* of equal Force ſhould go in for that end; but the Marqueſs not believing thoſe two Ships would be ſufficient to cover the Boats at their Landing, from the Shot from the Fort, nor to aſſiſt the Land Troops at their Landing, againſt all the regular Troops there, a Conſultation was held of all the Flags, and General Officers of the Land Forces; wherein it was reſolved more Men of War ſhould be added, *viz.* the *Greenwich* of fifty four Guns, the *Charles-Galley* of thirty two, the *Shoram* of as many, the *Darkenſtein* of forty four, the *Weſep* of thirty, and the *Wolf* of thirty; all which the Marqueſs undertook to poſt, ſo as to bear with moſt Advantage upon the Caſtle,

Camaret-Bay Expedition.

and

and to perform thoſe other Services for which they were deſigned. The *Monk* was no ſooner come within the reach of the Enemies Mortars, but they began to throw their Bombs at her from the Point *Des Fletes*, and the Weſtern Point of *Camaret* Bay; and coming up a breaſt with the Weſtern Point, they fired thick and threefold upon her from *Camaret* Fort, and ſhe being neceſſitated to ſtand with her Stern right upon it, the Shot raked her Afore and Aft from thence, and did her a great deal of Miſchief: When all the Ships were got pretty well in the Bay, they were ſurprized with three Batteries more, all firing upon them: However, the Marqueſs made a ſhift to poſt the eight Ships in ſuch a manner as to be able to give great Succour to the Landing Forces: For as ſoon as the Men of War drop'd their Anchor in the Bay, they fired inceſſantly upon the Enemy, and forced the *French* to run twice out of *Camaret* Fort. A.D. 1694.

On the other ſide, Lieutenant General *Talmaſh*, with a ſmall number of Well-Boats, went a ſhore in a confuſed manner, under a little Rock on the South of the ſmall Bay: Nor indeed was there any Proſecution of that Regular Landing which was propoſed by my Lord *Cutts*, and had been agreed on; ſo that the *French* fell with the utmoſt Fury upon them, and with their Batteries and ſmall Arms quickly drove them back again with conſiderable Loſs. The Signal being now given to bring off the Ships, the Marqueſs applied himſelf to undergo the greateſt Difficulty he had in the whole Courſe of the Action, and the rather becauſe all their Rigging was cut to Pieces; and moſt of their Sails and Yards diſabled. The *Shoram*, not ſo much damaged as the other Ships, got clear out of Danger with little Aſſiſtance, but it coſt the Marqueſs a world of Labour and Hazard to get off the reſt, but more eſpecially the *Charles-Galley* and the *Monk*; but at length they were all brought off clear, except the *Teſep*, a ſmall *Dutch* Man of War of thirty Guns, which they found with twelve Foot Water in her Hold, and all the Men killed that were left with the Lieutenant, but himſelf, a Drummer, and one Man more.

A. Reg. 5. As for the loſs ſuſtained at Sea, the Marqueſs owned there were kill'd four hundred Men in the three *Engliſh* and four *Dutch* Ships under his Command; and for that of the Land Troops they reckoned at leaſt ſeven hundred ſlain, wounded or taken Priſoners. The brave *Talmaſh* ſoon died of his Wounds: And thus ended this unfortunate Expedition, from which indeed no better Succeſs could be expected; ſince it was a common Talk at *London*, and elſewhere, long before the Fleet went out, that the Deſign was upon *Breſt*; and that the *French* themſelves were ſo ſenſible of it, that they took all the Precaution imaginable, by planting Batteries, making Intrenchments, and bringing numerous Bodies of Regular Troops, to defend themſelves againſt the impending Danger.

Diep and Havre de Grace Bombarded by the Engliſh.

However, to make ſome Amends for the Miſcarriage of this ill concerted Deſign, the Fleet made all neceſſary Preparations to Bomb ſome of the Maritime Towns of *France*. Lord *Berkley* arrived on the 12th of *July* with the Fleet before *Diep*, and ſent ſix Men of War and nine Bomb Galliots away to take their Stations, and from that Day at Night till four next Morning, they threw Eleven hundred Bombs and Carcaſſes into the City, which ſet the Houſes on Fire in ſeveral Places; ſo that the Townſmen, not knowing whither to run, and deſpairing to quench it, took a Fright, and began to run away in Diſorder, which made the Marqueſs of *Bearon* ſend two Battalions of the Militia of *Bretagne* to encourage them: But the Diſorders were ſo great, and the Fire ſo terrible, that the Soldiers fled with the reſt; ſo that if the Confederates had known what had paſt, they might in all Probability have poſſeſt themſelves of the Place. However, they ſo ruined it with their Bombs, that there was hardly a Houſe left unſhattered, nay almoſt all of it was entirely reduced to Aſhes. From hence the Fleet terribly alarming all the Coaſt, ſailed towards *Havre de Grace*, where on the 26th, about three in the Afternoon, they began to approach the Town, under the Direction of Captain *Bembo*, into which they began to throw their Bombs between four and five, which they continued till next Morning, when the Wind blowing hard, they gave over ſhooting; but

but tho' this Place was not ſo entirely ruined as *Dieſ*, yet a great part of it was burnt, and ſo conſiderable Damage done to it, as was not ſoon repaired. *A.D.*1694.

Campaign in Flanders.

The Confederate Army in *Flanders* was very numerous this Year, for being encamped at *Mont St. Andrew*, they amounted in Horſe and Dragoons to no leſs than one and thirty thouſand eight hundred Men; and for the Foot they conſiſted of one and fifty thouſand, beſides a Body of about ſeven thouſand under the Command of Count *Thien*, near *Ghent*. But tho' the *French* were not far inferiour in number to them, yet the Dauphin uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to decline fighting, and the King put him hard to it; ſo that the *French* Army was in a manner cooped by him for a time under the Walls of the Garriſon of *Huy*, and reduced to ſome Streights. The King made a Shew of attacking them more than once. But tho' the Dauphin declared he had Orders not to budge from his Camp at *Vignamont*, as [illegible] the Confederates were in theirs at *Mont St. And[illegible]*; yet being not able poſſibly to ſubſiſt there any longer, he reſolved to decamp firſt; and though he thought to have concealed his Deſign, by ſending out divers ſmall Bodies of Horſe under Preſence of Foraging, to reinforce the Marqueſs of *Harcourt's* Body on the other ſide of the *Meuſe*, who was to ſeize the advantageous [illegible] of *Peiton*, and by that means get before the [illegible]derates; yet the King, who was aware of the Deſign, decamped before him on the eighth of *Auguſt*, and ſoon gained that Poſt, where there was not Forage for above four Days; and being informed of the Enemies March, moved towards *Neville*, thence to *Leſſines*, having before ſent his Orders for baking of Bread at *Ghent* and *Aeth*. On the 12th the Army was poſted at *Chievre*, from whence that Evening a numerous Detatchment of Horſe and Foot, with ſome Pieces of Cannon, went to poſſeſs themſelves of a Poſt upon the *Scheld*, and they were on the 14th followed by the Army, with an Intention to have paſſed the River at *Pont Eſperies*: But though the Confederates uſed great Celerity to get thither, the *French* well knowing the Conſequence of it, uſed more to

A. Reg. 5. prevent them. For the Elector of *Bavaria* having advanced towards *Pont de Eſchauffe*, with a numerous Detatchment, he found the *French* to the number of thirty thouſand Men, intrenched on the other ſide of the River up to their Chins, ſo as that he did not think it convenient to proceed.

The *French* were indeed ſo apprehenſive of the ill Conſequence of the King's gaining this Point upon them, that they did not a little triumph, that they had thus warded off the dangerous Blow. However, his Majeſty to give them ſome Mortification, ordered Prince *Serclaes de Tilly*, with all the Horſe and Dragoons of the Dioceſs of *Liege*, being followed by a Party of *Brandenburgh* Horſe, and ſome Battalions of Foot, to inveſt *Huy*, where next Day arrived ſixteen Regiments of Foot, under the Command of the Duke of *Holſtein Ploen*, whom the King had appointed to Command the Siege. The Town preſently ſurrendred, and by the 19th of *September* the Batteries were raiſed againſt the Caſtle, and the Artillery conſiſting of ſixty Pieces of Cannon and thirty Mortars, came up, when the *French* made a Sally upon Major-General *Coborn*'s Quarters, but were beaten back with Loſs; and ſo the Works were carried on vigorouſly, till the twenty firſt at Night, when the Beſieged open'd their Trenches, which they carried on briskly, till that on the 24th in the Morning a *Brandenburgh* under-Officer of the Regiment of [illegible] mounted the Counterſcarp of Fort *Piccard*, at the Head of fifteen Soldiers only, and that with ſuch undaunted Reſolution and Bravery, that they killed the few *French* that were there, threw a handful of Grenadoes into the Water, and took away a Barrel of Powder, and ſome Arms, which were brought by them into the Camp: And all this was perform'd in the Sight of the Duke of *Holſtein Ploen*, and ſome other Generals, who were ſo pleaſed with the Serjeant's Bravery, that the *Brandenburgh* General immediately wrote to the Elector, to deſire him to beſtow a Captain's Commiſſion upon him. The Beſiegers the ſame Day continued firing upon the Caſtle and the two Forts, both which laſt were taken by ſeven hundred

hundred *Brandenburghers* by Dint of Sword, who in the Heat of their Fury put a hundred and fifty *French* to Death, but gave Quarters to ſeventy others, who were moſt of them wounded, and all with no more loſs than twenty Men only; ſo that being fluſhed with ſuch good Succeſs, the Siege of the Caſtle was puſh'd on with the utmoſt Vigour, wherein they had made a conſiderable Breach, and had all things ready for a general Aſſault by the 27th, when the Governor beat a Parley, and the Articles were ſoon agreed on, whereby the Garriſon was to be convoy'd to *Namur*. *A.D.* 1694.

But how well ſoever things ſeemed to begin to look now upon the *Spaniſh* in the *Netherlands*, it appear'd as if they would have been quite run down in *Catalonia* and the *Mediterranean*, had it not been for the Arrival of his Majeſty's and the *Dutch* Fleet there, under the Command of Admiral *Ruſſel*, which put ſome Heart into them, and whereby the *French* Fleet were cooped up in *Thoulon*.

The King being returned to *England*, met his Parliament on *November* 12, and told them, 'That he was glad to meet them there, when he could ſay, our Affairs were in a better Poſture both by Sea and Land than when they parted laſt. That the Enemy had not been in a Condition to oppoſe our Fleet in theſe Seas, and our ſending ſo great a Force into the *Mediterranean*, had diſappointed their Deſigns, and left us a Proſpect of further Succeſs. 'That with reſpect to the War by Land, he thought 'he might ſay, that this Year a Stop had been put 'to the Progreſs of the *French* Arms. *King's Speech in Parliament.*

'To the Commons he more particularly ſaid, he 'had had ſo much Experience of their good Affec- 'tion to him, and of their Zeal for the Publick, that 'he could not doubt of their Aſſiſtance at that time; 'He therefore earneſtly recommended to them to 'provide ſuch Supplies as might enable him to pro- 'ſecute the War with Vigour; which was the only 'means to procure Peace to Chriſtendom, with the 'Safety and Honour of *England*. He likewiſe put 'them in Mind that the Act of Tunnage and Poun-

A. Reg. 5. 'dage expir'd at *Chriſtmas*; and he hop'd they would 'think fit to continue that Revenue to the Crown, 'which was the more neceſſary at that time, in re'gard the ſeveral Branches of the Revenue were un'der great Anticipations, for extraordinary Expences 'of the War, and ſubject to many Demands upon 'other Accounts. That he could not but mention 'to them again, the Debt for the Tranſport-Ships 'employed in the reducing of *Ireland*, which was a 'Caſe of Compaſſion, and deſerved Relief.

'He concluded his Speech to the Lords and Com'mons, that he ſhould be glad they would take into 'their Conſideration the Preparing ſome good Bill 'for the Encouragement of Seamen: They could 'not but be ſenſible how much a Law of that Na'ture would tend to the Advancement of Trade, and 'of the Naval Strength of the Kingdom, which was 'our great Intereſt and ought to be our principal 'Care.'

The Parliament ſoon began to conſider the Speech, and the other difficult Matters lying before them; and calling to Mind the Difficulties of former Reigns, and how dangerous it was to the Subjects to be without frequent Parliaments, they went through a Bill, and his Majeſty was pleaſed to give it the Royal Sanction, for the frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments, which were hereby made Triennial; and at the ſame time, *viz.* the 27th of *December*, an Act of Tunnage and Poundage, and other Sums of Money payable upon Merchandizes and Goods imported, being ready, the ſame was likewiſe paſſed. *Acts paſſed.*

Soon after this came on the moſt afflicting Day of his Life to his Majeſty, by the Sickneſs and Death of his incomparable Queen *Mary*; who, after a few Days Illneſs of the Small-Pox, departed this Life on the 28th of *December*, to the inexpreſſible Grief of his Majeſty, and the whole Nation; and ſhe did not die unlamented by her very Enemies. There were ſeveral Ways by which we might eaſily diſcern his Majeſty's deep Senſe of this Loſs; when the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* went to adminiſter ſome Spiri-

tual

tual Comfort unto him, under this heavy Stroke of Providence, he anſwered, *That he could not chooſe but grieve, ſeeing ſhe had been his Wife for ſeventeen Years, and he had never known her Guilty of an Indiſcretion.* He was obſerv'd to be for ſome Months more abſtemious, and often found Fault with his Victuals; but nothing perpetuated more his Affection to her, and the Senſe he had of the Diſpenſation of Providence, than his conſtant Obſervance of the Day of her Death, by a religious Faſt, and Retirement in his Cloſet upon the Anniverſary thereof, till the Diſſolution of his own Life. To ſay nothing of his remaining a Widower, and his fixed Reſolution of continuing ſo, which was another Indication of his Conjugal Love to her, who could not merit too much of it. This Queen, both in reſpect to her ſublime Virtues, and perſonal Accompliſhments, juſtly merited a Crown; ſhe was extremely prudent in her Conduct and Adminiſtration, humble in her Converſation, ſincerely pious, exceeding charitable, a great Lover of Hiſtory and Divinity; and among others was a great Admirer of that excellent Book of Father *Paul*'s Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*. She much delighted in Gardening and Architecture, and would work with her Needle diligently, eſpecially when her Eyes were endanger'd by reading much: And ſhe uſed to ſay, that ſhe look'd on Idleneſs as the great Corrupter of Human Nature; and that if the Mind had no Employment given it, it would create ſome of the worſt ſort to itſelf: She could not endure Calumny; and in a Word, as ſhe lived an excellent Life, ſo ſhe died a bleſſed Death; and declared a little before her Diſſolution, that ſhe felt the Joys of a good Conſcience, and the Power of Religion, giving her Supports, which even the laſt Agonies could not ſhake. A.D. 1694. Q. Mary's Death and Character.

Both Houſes of Parliament immediately preſented an Addreſs of Condolance to the King: And the Lords in their 'humbly aſſured his Majeſty of the 'deep Senſe they had of the Loſs his Majeſty, and 'the whole Kingdom, ſuſtain'd by the Death of that 'excellent Princeſs, our Sovereign Lady the Queen, 'moſt *Lords Addreſs to the King upon the Queen's Death.*

A. Reg. 5. ‘ moſt humbly beſeeching his Majeſty, that he would ‘ not indulge his Grief upon that ſad Occaſion, to ‘ the Prejudice of the Health of his Royal Perſon, ‘ in whoſe Preſervation, not only the Welfare of his ‘ own Subjects, but of all Chriſtendom, was ſo nearly ‘ concerned. They farther beg'd Leave, upon that ‘ ſad Occaſion, humbly to renew to his Majeſty the ‘ hearty and ſincere Aſſurances of their utmoſt Aſſiſt- ‘ ance againſt all his Enemies, both at Home and ‘ Abroad; and of all other Demonſtrations of the ‘ greateſt Duty and Affection, that could poſſibly be ‘ paid by the moſt faithful Subjects.’

King's Anſwer. To this Addreſs his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay, *I heartily thank you for your Addreſs to me, but much more for the Senſe you ſhew of our Great Loſs, which is above what, I can expreſs.*

The Commons Addreſs to the King. The Commons in their Addreſs declared, That ‘ being deeply ſenſible of the great Misfortune which ‘ had befallen his Majeſty, and this Kingdom, by the ‘ Death of their moſt gracious Queen, they did, with ‘ unſpeakable Grief of Heart, humbly beg leave to ‘ condole the irreparable Loſs of that moſt excel- ‘ lent Princeſs, the beſt of Women, to enumerate ‘ whoſe Virtues were to aggravate their Sorrow. ‘ They could not at the ſame time but bleſs God ‘ for the Preſervation of his Majeſty to them, ‘ on whoſe Life the Welfare and Happineſs of the ‘ Kingdom, and the Liberties of *Europe*, did in ſo ‘ great a meaſure depend; humbly beſeeching his Ma- ‘ jeſty ſo to moderate his Grief under that Affliction, ‘ as not to prejudice his Health: And that he would ‘ be pleas'd to take ſuch further Care of his Royal ‘ Perſon, that they might all enjoy the Bleſſing of ‘ his long Life and happy Reign. Then having ad- ‘ ded, that they looked upon it as a Duty they ow'd ‘ to him, themſelves, and thoſe they repreſented, to ‘ take that Occaſion to aſſure his Majeſty, that they ‘ would always, to the utmoſt of their Power, ſtand ‘ by, ſupport, and defend his Perſon and Govern- ‘ ment againſt all his Enemies, both at Home and ‘ Abroad.’

His

His Majesty returned them this Answer: *Gentlemen, I take very kindly your Care of me, especially at this time, when I am able to think of nothing, but our Great Loss.* A.D. 1694. *King's Answer.*

I can but just mention the Addresses of the City of *London*, and other Corporations, to his Majesty, upon this sad Occasion, which likewise drew a Letter to him from the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*; wherein she 'beg'd his favourable Acceptance of her 'sincere and hearty Sorrow for his great Affliction in 'the Loss of the Queen; and assur'd him, she was 'as sensibly troubled with his Misfortunes, as if she 'had never been so unhappy as to fall under her Dis-'pleasure: She earnestly desired his Majesty to give 'her Leave to wait upon him, as soon it could be 'with no Inconveniency to him, and without Dan-'ger of increasing his Affliction; that she might 'have an Opportunity, in Person, not only of re-'peating this, but of assuring his Majesty of her 'real Intention to omit no Occasion of giving him 'constant Proofs of her sincere Respect and Concern 'for his personal Interest and Safety.' *Princess Anne's Letter to the King upon the Queen's Death.*

The King having kindly received this Letter, Dr. *Tenison*, the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, laid hold of this favourable Opportunity to reconcile the Royal Family, by representing to his Majesty the prudent and loyal Conduct of her Royal Highness, and the Prince of *Denmark*, during their Recess from Court: That they had been so far from giving any Obstruction to his Affairs, that they were always in the same publick Measures with him; and that those Members of either House of Parliament, who had Employments under their Highnesses, had ever appear'd forward in promoting his Majesty's Interest. These Reasons being offer'd as a Comment on the Princess's Letter, wrought so effectually on the King's Mind, that as a Mark of his Favour and Affection, he immediately presented her Royal Highness with most of the late Queen's Jewels, and invited her to reside at *St. James's*, where he often visited her. *Archbishop of Canterbury reconciles them.*

THE

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